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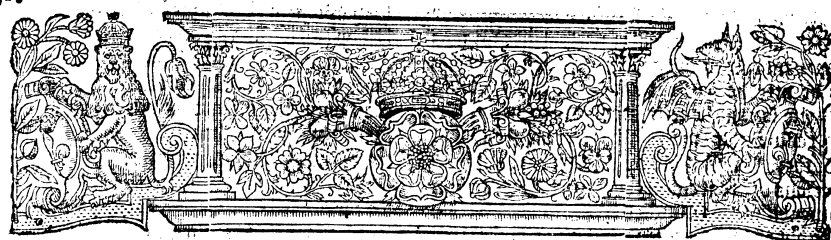
I earned men  
that wrote in  
the reign of  
king Ed-  
ward.

1553  
Came the  
proclamation,

Will ex  
the 10th,

Carmen  
phicem  
in obitu  
Edmundi.

For the  
council,  
and  
served by  
the duke  
of Arundell,



# Marie the eldest daughter of king Henrie the eight successor to Edward the sixt.



Marie eldest daughter of  
k. Henrie the eight, by the  
ladie Katharine of Spaine,  
his first wife, and sister  
to king Edward the first, by  
the fathers side, began his  
reigne the first daie of Julie,  
which daie the king his bro-  
ther died, and he was pro-

claimed at London (as is before remembred in the  
end of the historie of king Edward the first) the nine-  
teenth daie of the same moneth, in the yeare of our  
Lord 1553: after the creation of the world 5520,  
in the five and thirtieth yeare of Charles the first, em-  
peroz of Almaine, in the seventh yeare of Henrie the  
second of that name k. of France, & in the eleventh  
of Marie quene of Scotland. The twentieth of Julie  
the duke of Northumberland being come backe to  
Cambridge, heard that the proclamation of quene  
Marie was come thither, whereof he being aduer-  
tised, called for a trumpet and an herald; but none  
could be found. Whereupon he riding into the mar-  
ket place with the mazo, and the lord marques of  
Northampton, made the proclamation himselfe,  
and shew by his cap in token of joy. Within an  
houre after he had letters from the counsell (as he  
said) that he should forthwith dismis his armie, and  
not come within ten miles of London: for if he  
did, they would fight with him, the rumoz whereof  
was no sooner abroad, but euerie man departed. And  
shortly after, the duke was arrested in the kings  
college by one maister Sleg sargeant at arms.

At the last, letters were brought from the coun-  
sell at London, that all men should go each his waie.  
Whereupon the duke said to them that kept him;  
We do me wrong to withdraw my libertie, see you  
not the counsels letters without exception, that all  
men should go whither they would: At which words  
they that kept him and the other noblemen, set them  
at libertie, and so continued they for that night: in-  
somuch that the earle of Warwicke was readie in  
the morning to haue rode awaie. But then came the  
erle of Arundell from the quene to the duke into his  
chamber, who went out to meet him. Now as soone  
as he saw the earle of Arundell, he fell on his knees,  
and desired him to be good to him for the loue of God:  
Consider (saith he) I haue done nothing but by the  
consents of you and all the whole counsell. My lord  
(quoth the earle of Arundell) I am sent hither by the  
quens maiestie, and in his name I do arrest you.  
And I obeie it my lord (quoth he) I beseech you my  
lord of Arundell (quoth the duke) vse mercie towards  
me, knowing the case as it is. My lord (quoth the  
earle) ye should haue sought for mercie sooner, I must  
do according to commandment; herewith he com-

mitted the charge of him and the others to the gard  
and gentlemen that stood by. The lord marques af-  
ter this went to quene Marie. On the five & twen-  
tith daie of the said moneth, the duke of Northum-  
berland, with Francis earle of Huntingdon, John  
earle of Warwicke son and heire to the said duke,  
and two other of his yonger sons, the lord Ambrose  
and the lord Henrie Dupleie, sir Andrew Dupleie,  
sir John Gates capteine of the gard to king Ed-  
ward the first, sir Henrie Gates byethzen, sir Thomas  
Palmer knights, and doctor Sands were brought  
to the tower by the earle of Arundell. But as they  
entered within the tower gate, the earle of Arundell  
discharged the lord Hastings, taking him out of the  
tower with him. On the six & twentieth of Julie, the  
lord marques of Northampton, the bishop of Lon-  
don, the lord Robert Dupleie, and sir Robert Coy-  
bet were brought from the quenes campe unto the  
tower. The eight and twentieth of Julie, the duke  
of Suffolke was committed to the tower, but the  
one and twentieth of the same moneth he was set at  
libertie by the diligent sute of the ladie Francis  
grace his wife.

After that quene Marie was thus with full con-  
sent of the nobles and commons of the realme pro-  
claimed quene, she being then in Northfolke, at hir  
castell of Framingham, repaired with all speed to  
the citie of London: and the third daie of the said  
moneth of August she came to the said citie, and so  
to the tower, where the ladie Jane of Suffolke (late  
afore proclaimed quene) with hir husband the lord  
Gilsford, a little before hir comming, were commit-  
ted to ward, & there remained almost after five mo-  
neths. And by the waie, as the quene thus passed, she  
was fullie saluted of all the people, without anie  
mistaking; sauing that it was much feared of manie,  
that she would alter the religion set forth by king  
Edward hir brother, whereof then were giuen full  
occasions: because (notwithstanding diuerse lawes  
made to the contrarie) she had daile masse and La-  
tine seruice said before hir in the tower. For it was  
doubted in like sort, that she would both aduall and  
innouat certeine lawes and decrees established by  
the yong prince hir predecessor: which she did in deed,  
as one hath left testified in a memoriall of hir succe-  
ssion (but little vnto hir commendation) sauing:

*At Maria Eduardi regni succedit habenis,  
Confirmans iterum regno papalia iura,  
Concilioque nouas leges sancire vocato  
Molitur, latus a fratre perosa priores.*

At hir entrie into the tower there were presented  
to hir certeine prisoners; namely, Thomas duke of  
Northfolke, who in the last yeare of king Henrie the  
eight (as you haue heard) was supposed to be attain-  
ted of treason: but in the parliament of this first  
of m m m. iii. yeare

The lord Ha-  
stings dis-  
charged out of  
the tower.

Duke of  
Suffolke  
committed to  
the tower.

Quene Ma-  
rie commit-  
ted to London.

Prisoners  
discharged.



Stephan  
Gardiner  
made lord  
chancelor.

Edward  
Courtneie  
created earle  
of Deuon-  
shire.

Bishops re-  
stored, and o-  
thers depri-  
ued.

Why Kildie  
was more ri-  
gorouslie  
handled than  
the rest.  
Abr. Fl. ex  
I. S. pag. 1067.

The buriall  
of king Ed-  
ward.

Dector  
Wozne a  
chapleine of  
bishop Won-  
ner.

yeare of queene Marie, the said supposed attaindour was by the authoritie and act of parlement, for god and apparant causes alleged in the said act, declared to be utterly frustrat and void. Also Edward Courtneie son and heire to Henrie marques of Excester, comine germane to king Henrie the eight, and Gilbert Tunstall bishop of Durham, with other persons of great calling; but speciallie Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, whom the not onlie released out of imprisonment, but also immediatlie advanced and preferred to be lord chancelor of England, restoring him also to his former estate and bishopricke, and removed from the same one doctor Poinet, who a little before was placed therein by the gift of king Edward the first.

And touching Edward Courtneie, the not onlie advanced him to the earldome of Deuonshire, but also to so much of his fathers possessions as there remained in his hands; whereby it was then thought of manie, that the bare affection to him by the waie of marriage: but it came not so to passe (for what cause I am not able to giue anie reason) but surelie the subiects of England were most desirous thereof. Upon the receiving of this new queene, all the bishops which had bene depriued in the time of king Edward the first his brother, for the cause of religion, were now againe restored to their bishopricks; and such other as were placed in king Edward his time, removed from their sees, and others of contrarie religion placed. Amongest whom, Edmund Bonner doctor of the lawes, late afore depriued from the see of London, and committed prisoner to the Marshalsea by order of king Edwards counsell, was with all fauour restored to his libertie and bishopricke. Maister Nicholas Kildie doctor in diuinitie, late before advanced to the same see by the said king, was hastily displaced, and committed prisoner to the tower of London. The cause why such extremities was used towards the said bishop Kildie, more than to the rest, was for that in the time of ladie Jane, he preached a sermon at Pauls crosse by the commandment of king Edwards counsell, where in he dissuaded the people, for sundrie causes, from receiuing the ladie Marie as queene. ¶ On the ninth of August in the afternone, the queene held an obsequie in the tower for king Edward, the dirge being long in Latine, and on the morrow a masse of requiem, whereat the queene with hir ladies offered. The same daie the corps of king Edward was buried at Westminister, the lord treasurer, the earle of Penbroke, and the earle of Shrewesburie being chiefe mourners, with diuerse other noble men and others. Doctor Waie bishop of Chichester preached at the said buriall, and all the seruice with a communion was in English. Thus was finished the solemne funerall of that good prince, at whose birth there were not so manie reioicing hearts, but at his death there were by infinit ods manie more weeping eyes, & sad spirits: whose tender bodie, though pined with sicknesse, & consumed with rottennesse, maie perhaps leaue for succeeding ages no relike to gaze vpon; yet the memorie of his name shall be euer greene. For he was, as one trulie saith of him:

*Ille erat Europa Phoenix, quem funere acerbo  
(Vt flos vere nouo viridanti carpitur horto)  
Sussulit ante diem mors immatura Britannia,  
Imadet hac terris pietatem & iura colentes.*

The thirteenth of August doctor Bonner restored now to his bishopricke againe, appointed one late a chapleine of his called doctor Wozne to preach at Pauls crosse, who was then promoted to the queens seruice, & not long after was made bishop of Bath. The said doctor taking occasion of the gospell of that daie, spake somewhat largelie in the iustificing of his

shop Bonner, being present at the sermon, which bishop (as the said preacher then openlie said) for a sermon made vpon the same text, and in the same place the same daie foure yeeres afore passed, was most vnjustlie cast into the vile dungeon of the Marshalsea among theues, and there kept during the time of king Edwards reigne. This matter being set forth with great vehemencie, so much offended the eares of part of the audience, that they brake silence, and began to murmur and throng together, in such sort as the maior and aldermen with other of the wisest then present feared much an uprore. During which muttering, one more feruent than his fellows threw a bagger at the preacher: but who it was, came not to knowlege. By reason of which outrage the preacher withdrew himselfe from the pulpit, and one maister Bradford at the request of the preachers brother and others standing there, took the place, and spake so mildlie to the people, that with few words he appeased their furie: and after the said maister Bradford and maister Rogers, although men of contrarie religion, conuieced the said preacher into Pauls schole, and there left him safelie.

The next sundaie following, for feare of a like tumult or worse, order was taken that the queens gard should be present in place to defend the preacher with weapons. Where vpon the wisest men perceiving such a number of weapons, and that great perill was not vnlike to insue, by such appearance of late not accustomed, would not be present at the sermon, by reason whereof there was left a small auditoire. Wherefore afterward there was a commandement giuen by the lord maior, that the ancient of the companies should be present at the next sermon in their lierries, and so they were, whereby all became quiet. The eighteenth of August next following, the duke of Northumberland, the lord marquess of Northampton, and the earle of Warwick, son and heire to the said duke, were brought in to Westminister hall, and there arraigned of high treason before Thomas duke of Norfolk high steward of England.

The duke of Northumberland at his coming to the barre, used great reuerence towards the iudges: and professing his faith and allegiance to the queens maiestie, whome he confessed graueouslie to haue offended, he said that he meant not to speake anie thing in defense of his fact, but would first vnderstand the opinion of the court in two points. First whether a man doing anie act by authoritie of the princes counsell, & by warrant of the great scale of England, & doing nothing without the same, maie be charged with treason for any thing which he might do by warrant thereof? Secondlie, whether anie such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandments he was directed in all his doings might be his iudges, or passe vpon his triall as his peeres? Wherevnto was answered, that as concerning the first, the great scale which he said for his warrant, was not the scale of the lawfull queene of the realme, nor passed by authoritie: but the scale of an usurper, and therefore could be no warrant to him. And to the second it was alledged, that if anie were as despit to be touched in that case as himselfe, yet so long as no atteindor were of record against them, they were neuertheless persons able in law to passe vpon anie triall, and not to be chalenged therefore, but at the princes pleasure. After which answer the duke using few words, declared his earnest repentance in the case (for he saw that to stand vpon bittering anie reasonable matter, as might seme, would little profite) and he moued the duke of Norfolk to be a meane vnto the queene for mercie, and without fur-

The preacher  
at Pauls  
crosse de-  
fended by  
the  
gard.

The duke of  
Northumber-  
land arraigned.

The dukes  
request to be  
decided by  
the opinion of  
the court in  
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points.

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ther answer confessed the indictment, by whose example the other prisoners arreigned with him, did likewise confesse the indictments produced against them, and thereupon had iudgement.

the Duke of Northumberland was beheaded at Pauls crosse

How when iudgement was giuen, the duke said; I beseech you my lords all to be humble suiters to the quenes maiestie, and to grant me foure requests, which are these: first, that I maie haue that death which noble men haue had in times past, and not the other: secondarilie, that hir maiestie will be gracious to my chyliden which maie hereafter do good service, considering that they went by my commandement who am theire father, and not of theire owne free willes: thirdlie, that I may haue appointed to me some learned man for the instruction and quieting of my conscience: and fourthlie, that the will send two of the counsell to commune with me, to whome I will declare such matters as shall be expedient for hir and the common-weale: and thus I beseech you all to praye for me.

The nineteenth of August, sir Andriew Dobleie, sir John Gates, and sir Henrie Gates brethren, and sir Thomas Palmer knights, were arreigned at Westminster; and confessing their indictments, had iudgement, which was pronounced by the marquisse of Winchester high treasurer of England that sate that daie as chiefe iustice. On the twentieth of August doctor Watton chapleine to the bishop of Winchester preached at Pauls crosse, by the quenes appointment, & for feare of the like tumult as had bene not long before, certeine lords of the counsell repaired to the sermon, as the lord treasurer, the lord priuie seale, the earle of Bedford, the earle of Denbroke, the lord Wentworth, the lord Rich, and sir Henrie Gerningham capteine of the gard with two hundred of the gard, which stood about the preacher with halberts. Also the maior had warned the companies of the citie to be present in their liveries, which was well accepted of the quenes counsell: and the sermon was quietlie ended.

On the two and twentieth of August John duke of Northumberland was beheaded on the tower hill, whose bodie with the head was buried in the tower, by the bodie of Edward late duke of Somerset. So that there lieth before the high altar two dukes betwene two quenes, to wit, the duke of Somerset: the duke of Northumberland betwene quene Anne and quene Katharine, all foure beheaded. At the same time and place also was likewise beheaded sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer, which sir John Gates in that place vsed few words, but laid downe his head without anie hercher, and had the same striken off at thre blowes. Sir Thomas Palmer, as soon as he came to the scaffold, toke euerie man by the hand, and desired them to praye for him: then putting off his gowne, he leaned vpon the east raille, and said these words in effect.

The effect of such words as sir Thomas Palmer uttered on the scaffold at his death.

**M**y maisters (quoth he) God saue you all. It is not vnknowne vnto you wherefore I come hither, which I haue worthilie well deserved at Gods hands: for I know it to be his diuine ordinance, by this meanes to call me to his mercie, and to teach me to know my selfe, what I am, and whereunto we are all subiect: I thanke his mercifull goodnesse, for he hath caused me to learne more in one little darke corner in

pouder towre, than euer I learned by anie trauell in so manie places as I haue bene. For there (I saie) I haue seene Gods what he is, & how vnsearchable his wonderous works are, & how infinit his mercies be: I haue seene there my selfe throghe lie, and what I am, nothing but a lump of sin, earth, dust, and of all vilenesse most vilest: I haue seene there and know what the world is, how vaine, deceitfull, transitorie, and short it is; how wicked and lothsome the works thereof are in the sight of Gods maiestie, how he neither regardeth the manaces of the proud men and mightie ones, neither despiseth the humbleness of the poore & lowlie which are in the same world: finally, I haue seene there what death is, how nie hanging ouer all mens hedds, and yet how vncerteine the time, and how vnknowne to all men, and how little it is to be feared. And should I feare death or be sad therfore: Haue I not seene two die before mine eyes: Pea and within the hearing of mine eares: No, neither the sprinkling of the blood, nor the sheading thereof, nor the bloudie ax it selfe shall make me afraid. And now taking my leaue of the same, I praye you all to praye for me. Come on good fellow (quoth he) art thou he that must doe the deed: I forgiue thee with all my hart; & then kneeling downe, & laieing his hed on the blocke, he said; I will see how met the blocke is for my necke, I praye thee strike not yet, for I haue a few prayers to saie; and that done, strike on Gods name, good leaue haue thou.

His prayers ended, and desiring ech man to praye for him, he laid downe his head againe, and so the executioner forthwith toke it from him at one stroke. On the thre and twentieth of August the quene deliuered the great seale to doctor Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and made him lord chancellor. The seauen and twentieth of August, the seruice began in Latine to be song in Pauls church in London. The six and twentieth of August in the euenting the notablest ship in England called the great Harrie was burnt at Woolwich by negligence of the mariners, the was of burthen a thousand tuns. The first of September the quene demanded a prest of the citie of London of twentie thousand pounds, to be repaid againe within fouretene daies after Michaelmasse next folowing, which sum was leuied of the aldermen and one hundred & twentie commoners. The fourth of September was proclaimed certeine new coins of gold and siluer, a souereigne of gold of thirtie shillings, the halfe souereigne fiftene shillings; an angell at ten shillings, the halfe angell five shillings. Of siluer, the grote, halfe grote and pennie: all base coines to be currant as before. Also the same daie by proclamation was pardoned the subsidie of foure shillings the pound of lands, and two shillings eight pence the pound of mouable goods, granted in the last parlement of king Edward the first. Some after this Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canturburie, and late before of king Edwards priuie counsell, was committed to the towre of London, being charged of treason, not onelie for giuing aduise to the disheriting of quene Marie, but also for aiding the duke of Northumberland with certeine horse and men against the quene, in the quarrell of the ladie Jane of Suffolke: wherein (if he were culpable) he lacked

The dagger throwne at the preacher.

The preacher at Pauls crosse defended by the gard.

preacher at Pauls crosse

The duke of Northumberland

The dukes request to vnderstand the opinion of the court in two points.

the Duke of Northumberland

New lord chancellor.

Latine seruice.

Great Harrie a ship burnt.

Direct to the quene.

New coines.

Subsidie pardoned.

The archbishop of Canturburie committed to the tower.

\* See before  
pag. 1030, 1031  
Abr. Flex.  
1. Stow 1567.

lacked the providence and foresight of after-claps, which doctor Parker in the insurrection of Ket being saved both his life and estimation.

Coronation of  
queene Ma-  
rie, hir pompe  
and traine.

who rode be-  
fore and after  
hir.

The ladie  
Elizabeth and  
the ladie Anne  
of Cleve.

A pageant  
made by stran-  
gers.

The conduit  
in Cornewall  
ran wine.

The recorder  
of London  
maketh a  
short speech  
to the queene  
passing by.

A Dutchman  
on the wea-  
thercocke of  
Paules.

¶ On the seven and twentieth of September queene Marie came to the towne by water, accompanied with the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, and other ladies, before whose arrivall there was shot a great peale of guns. The last of September queene Marie rode through the citie of London towards Westminster, sitting in a chariot of cloth of tisse, drawn with six horses all trapped with the like cloth of tisse. She sat in a gowne of purple velvet, furred with powdered ermins, having on hir head a hall of cloth of tinsel, beset with pearle and stone, and about the same upon hir head a round circlet of gold, beset so richlie with pretious stones, that the value thereof was incalculable, the same hall and circle being so massie and ponderous, that she was faine to beare up hir head with hir hand, and the canopie was borne over hir chariot. Before hir rode a number of gentlemen & knights, then iudges, then doctors, then bishops, then lords, then the counsell, after whose folloved the knights of the Bath in their robes, the bishop of Winchester lord chancellor, and the marques of Winchester lord high treasurer, next came the duke of Norfolk, and after him the earle of Oxford, who bare the sword before hir, the mayor of London in a gown of crimson velvet bare the scepter of gold, &c. After the queenes chariot sir Edward Hastings led hir horse in his hand: then came another chariot having a covering of cloth of silver all white, and six horses trapped with the like: therein sat the ladie Elizabeth, and the ladie Anne of Cleve: these ladies and gentlewomen riding on horses trapped with red velvet, and their gowns and kirtles likewise of red velvet; after them folloved two other chariots covered with red sattin, and the horses be trapped with the same, and certeine gentlewomen betwene euerie of the said chariots riding in crimson sattin, their horses be trapped with the same; the number of the gentlewomen so riding were six and forty, besides them in the chariots.

At Fenchurch was a coslie pageant made by the Genowayes: at Gracechurch corner there was another pageant made by the Easterlings. At the upper end of Gracesstreet there was another pageant made by the Florentins verie high, on the top whereof there stood foure pictures, and in the midst of them and most highest, there stood an angell all in greene, with a trumpet in his hand: and when the trumpetter (who stood secretly in the pageant) did sound his trumpet, the angell did put his trumpet to his mouth, as though it had bene the same that had sounded, to the great maruelling of manie ignorant persons: this pageant was made with three thorough faires of gates, &c. The conduit in Cornhill ran wine, and beneath the conduit a pageant made at the charges of the citie, and another at the great conduit in Cheape, and a founteine by it running wine. The standard in Cheape new painted, with the waits of the citie aloft thereon plaieng. The crosse in Cheape new washed and burnished.

Another pageant at the little conduit in Cheape next to Paules was made by the citie, where the aldermen stood, & when the queene came against them, the recorder made a short proposition to hir, and then the chamberleine presented to hir in the name of the mayor and the citie, a purse of cloth of gold, and a thousand marks of gold in it: then she rode forth, and in Paules church-yard against the schole, one master Hestwood sat in a pageant under a vine, and made to hir an oration in Latine & English. Then was there one Peter a Dutchman that stood on the weathercocke of Paules steeple, holding a streamer in his

hand of five yards long, and waving thereof, stood sometimes on the one foot, and shooke the other, and then kneeled on his knees, to the great maruelling of all people. He had made two scaffolds under him, one above the crosse, having torches and streamers set on it, and another over the ball of the crosse like wise set with streamers & torches, which could not burne, the wind was so great: the said Peter had sixtene pounds thirtene shillings foure pence given him by the citie for his costs and paines, and for all his strife.

Then was there a pageant made against the deane of Paules gate, where the queristers of Paules plaid on bials and long. Ludgate was netolie repaired, painted, and richlie hanged, with minstrels plaieng and singing there. Then was there another pageant at the conduit in Fleetstreet, and the temple barre was netolie painted and hanged. And thus she passed to Whitehall at Westminster, where she toke hir leaue of the lord mayor, giuing him great thanks for his pains, and the citie for their cost. On the morrow, which was the first daie of October, the queene went by water to the old palace, and there remained till about eleven of the clocke, and then went on foot upon blew cloth, being railed on either side, unto saint Peters church, where she was solemnie crowned and anointed by Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester (for the archbishops of Cantuarburie and Poike were then prisoners in the tower) which coronation and other ceremonies and solemnities then used according to the old custome, was not fullie ended till it was nigh foure of the clocke at night that she returned from the church, before whom was then borne three swords sheathed, & one naked. The great service that daie done in Westminster hall at dinner by diuerse noblemen, would aske long time to write. The lord mayor of London & twelve citizens kept the high cupbord of plate as butlers: and the queene gaue to the mayor for his fee a cupbord of gold with a cover weighing seventene ounces.]

At the time of this queenes coronation, there was published a general pardon in hir name, being interlaced with so manie exceptions, as they that needed the same most, toke smallest benefit thereby. In which were excepted by name no small number, not onelie of bishops and other of the cleargie, namely the archbishops of Cantuarburie and Poike, the bishop of London, but also manie lords, knights, and gentlemen of the lastie, beside the two chiefe iudices of England called sir Edward Pontacute, and sir Roger Cholmeleie, with some other learned men in the law, for counselling, or at the least consenting to the deprivation of queene Marie, and albing of the foresaid duke of Northumberland, in the pretended right of the before named ladie Jane, the names of which persons so being excepted, I have omitted for shortnes sake.

As soone as this pardon was published, and the solemnitie of the feast of the coronation ended, there were certeine commissioners assigned to take order with all such persons as were excepted out of the pardon, and others, to compound with the queene for their severall offenses. Which commissioners sat at the deane of Paules his house, at the west end of Paules church, and there called before them the said persons apart, and from some they toke their fees and offices granted before by king Edward the first, and yet neuer the lesse putting them to their fines: and some they committed to ward, depriving them of their states and livings: so that for the time, to those that tasted thereof, it seemed verie grievous. God deliuer us from incurring the like danger of law againe. The first daie of October next following, the queene held hir court of parliament at West-

A pageant  
suberren  
the queene  
of Paules  
on bials.

Queene Ma-  
rie crowned  
queene by  
Stephan  
Gardiner.

A pardon  
with excep-  
tions.

Commis-  
sioners.

A parliament.

Treason.  
felonie.  
perjurie.

The par-  
ment 1570  
gr.

Abr. Flex. I. S.  
pag. 1075.  
Cheritable  
deeds of Sir  
Thomas  
white.

A president of  
some well  
employed af-  
ter death.

Pardon of  
copie for the  
page.

A perpetuall  
order of an  
hundred and  
four pounds  
lent yearly  
by court.

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Ab. Flex. I. S.  
pag. 1075.  
Cheritable  
hels of his  
Thomas  
pione.

Appident of  
name fozell  
imploud af:  
to death.

Provision of  
name fozell  
imploud af:  
to death.

2. p. 1075.  
Cheritable  
hels of his  
Thomas  
pione.

minister, which continued untill the one and twentieth daie of the said moneth.

In the first session of which parliament, there passed no more acts but one, and that was, to declare queene Marie lawfull heire in descent to the crowne of England by the common lawes, next after hir brother king Edward; and to repeale certeine causes of treason, felonie, and premuntre, contained in diuers former statutes: the which act of repeale was, for that cardinall Pole was especiallie looked for (as after ye shall heare) for the reducing of the church of England to the popes obedience: and to the end that the said cardinall now called into England from Rome, might hold his courts legantine without the danger of the statutes of the premuntre, made in that case, wherinto cardinall Wolseie (when he was legat) had incurred to his no small losse, and to the charge of all the clergie of England, for exercising the like power: the which act being once passed, forthwith the queene repaired to the parliament house, and gaue thereunto hir roiall assent, and then proposed the parliament unto the four and twentieth daie of the said moneth. In which second session were confirmed and made diuerse and sundrie statutes concerning religion, wherof some were restozed, and other repealed.

¶ Sir Thomas White for this yere maior and merchant tailor, a worthy patrone and protecto: of poore scholars & learning, renewed or rather erected a college in Drenford, now called saint Johns college, befoze Bernard college. He also erected schooles at Bisslow and Reading. Moreover, this worthy citizen in his life time gaue to the citie of Bisslow two thousand pounds of readie monie to purchase lands, to the yearly value of one hundred & twentie pounds, for the which it is decreed, that the maior, burgeles and communalitie of Bisslow, in the yere of our Lord 1567, and so yerele during the terme of ten yeaes then next ensuing, should cause to be paid at Bisslow, one hundred pounds of lawfull monie. The first eight hundred pounds to be lent to sixtene poore yongmen clothiers, & freemen of the same towne, for the space of ten yeaes, fiftie pounds the peece of them, putting sufficient surerties for the same, and at the end of ten yeaes, to be lent to other sixtene, at the discretion of the maior, aldermen, and foure of the common counsell of the said citie.

The other two hundred pounds to be imployed in the pzeuision of coine, for the relae of the poore of the same citie, for their readie monie, without gaine to be taken. And after the end of ten yeaes on the feast daie of saint Bartholomew, which shall be in the yere of our Lord 1577, at the merchant tailors hall in London, unto the maior and communalitie of the citie of Pothe, or to their attornie authorized, an hundred & foure pounds, to be lent unto foure yongmen of the said citie of Pothe, freemen and inhabitants (clothiers alwaie to be preferred) that is, to euerie of them five and twentie pounds, to haue and occupie the same for the terme of ten yeaes, without paing anie thing for the loane, the foure pounds ouerplus of the hundred and foure pounds, at the pleasure of the maior and communalitie for their paines to be taken about the receipts and payments of the said hundred pounds.

The like order in all points is taken for the deliuerie of an hundred and foure pounds in the yere 1578, to the citie of Canturburie. In the yere 1579 to Reading, 1580 to the companie of the merchant tailors, 1581 to Glocester, 1582 to Worcester, 1583 to Cirester, 1584 to Salisburie, 1585 to Westchester, 1586 to Pozeuich, 1587 to Southhampton, 1588 to Lincolne, 1589 to Winchester, 1590 to Drenford, 1591 to Herefordcast, 1592 to

Cambridge, 1593 to Shretesburie, 1594 to Lin, 1595 to Bath, 1596 to Derby, 1597 to Ipswich, 1598 to Colchester, 1599 to Newcastle. And then to begin againe at Bisslow an hundred and foure pounds, the next yere to the citie of Pothe, and so forth to euerie of the said citie and townes, in the like order as befoze: and thus to continue for euere, as in the indentures tripartite more plainelie maie appeare.]

10 At this time manie were in trouble for religion, and among others, sir James Hales knight, one of the iustices of the common ples, which iustice being called among other by the counsell of king Edward to subscribe to a deuise made for the disheriting of queene Marie, and the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, would in no wise assent to the same, though most of the other did: yet that notwithstanding, for that he at a quarter sessions holden in Kent, gaue charge vpon the statutes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, in derogation of the pismassie of the church of Rome, abolished by king Henrie the eight, he was first committed prisoner to the kings bench, then to the Counter, & last to the Fleet, where, whether it were thorough extreme feare, or else by reason of such talke as the warden of the Fleet bled vnto him, of more trouble like to insue, if he persisted in his opinion (or for what other cause, God knoweth) he was so moued, troubled, and bered, that he sought to rid himselfe out of this life, which thing he first attempted in the Fleet, by wounding himselfe with a penknife, well nere to death. After the lesse afterward being recovered of that hurt, he seemed to be verie conformable to all the queenes proceedings, and was therevpon deliuered of his imprisonment, and brought to the queenes presence, who gaue him words of great comfort: neuertheless his mind was not quiet (as afterward well appeared) for in the end he drownded himselfe in a riuer not halfe a mile from his dwelling house in Kent, the riuer being so shalow, that he was faine to lie groueling befoze he could dispatch himselfe, whose death was much lamented. For beside that he was a man wise, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the realme, he was also a good and true minister of iustice, whereby he gat him great fauour and estimation among all degrees.

During the aforesaid parliament, about the eighth tenth daie of October, there was kept at Paules church in London a publike disputation, appointed by the queenes commandement, about the presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, which disputation continued six daies, docto Weston then being prolocuto: of the conuocation, who used manie vnseemelie checks & taunts against the one part, to the pzeiudice of their cause. By reason whereof the disputers neuer resolved vpon the article proponed, but grew daillie more and more into contention, without anie fruit of their long conference, and so ended this disputation, with these words spoken by docto Weston prolocuto: It is not the queens pleasure that we should herein spend anie longer time, and ye are well enough, for you haue the word, and we haue the sword. But of this matter ye maie read more in the booke of the monuments of the church. At this time was cardinall Pole sent for to Rome by the queene, who was verie desirous of his coming, as well for the causes befoze declared, as also for the great affection that he had to him, being hir nere kinsman, and consenting with hir in religion.

This message was most thankfullie receiued at Rome, and order taken to send the said cardinall hither with great expedition: but befoze his coming, queene Marie had married Philip prince of Spaine,

Sir James Hales knight, one of the iustices of the common ples, which iustice being called among other by the counsell of king Edward to subscribe to a deuise made for the disheriting of queene Marie, and the ladie Elizabeth hir sister, would in no wise assent to the same, though most of the other did: yet that notwithstanding, for that he at a quarter sessions holden in Kent, gaue charge vpon the statutes of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, in derogation of the pismassie of the church of Rome, abolished by king Henrie the eight, he was first committed prisoner to the kings bench, then to the Counter, & last to the Fleet, where, whether it were thorough extreme feare, or else by reason of such talke as the warden of the Fleet bled vnto him, of more trouble like to insue, if he persisted in his opinion (or for what other cause, God knoweth) he was so moued, troubled, and bered, that he sought to rid himselfe out of this life, which thing he first attempted in the Fleet, by wounding himselfe with a penknife, well nere to death. After the lesse afterward being recovered of that hurt, he seemed to be verie conformable to all the queenes proceedings, and was therevpon deliuered of his imprisonment, and brought to the queenes presence, who gaue him words of great comfort: neuertheless his mind was not quiet (as afterward well appeared) for in the end he drownded himselfe in a riuer not halfe a mile from his dwelling house in Kent, the riuer being so shalow, that he was faine to lie groueling befoze he could dispatch himselfe, whose death was much lamented. For beside that he was a man wise, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the realme, he was also a good and true minister of iustice, whereby he gat him great fauour and estimation among all degrees.

See befoze pag. 1083.

More temptations in afflictions, against which we are to pray for patience.

He drownded himselfe.

A publike disputation about the real presence in the sacrament.

John Fox.

Cardinal Pole sent for home.

The councell  
divided about  
the receiuing  
of the cardi-  
nall.

as after shall appere. But here to touch somewhat  
the comming of the said cardinal. When he was ar-  
riued at Calis, there was conference had amongst  
the counsellors of the queene for the maner of his re-  
ceiuing: Some would haue had him verie honoura-  
bly met and interteined, as he was in all places  
where he had before passed, not onelie for that he was  
a cardinall, and a legat from the pope; but also for  
that he was the queenes néere kinsman, of the house  
of Clarence. Wherefore, after much debating, 10  
it was thought meetest, first, for that by the lawes of  
the realme (which yet were not repealed) he stood at-  
tainted by parlement, and also for that it was doubt-  
full how he being sent from Rome, should be accep-  
ted of the people, who in five and twentie yeares be-  
fore, had not bene much acquainted with the pope  
or his cardinals, that therefore (untill all things  
might be put in order for that purpose) he should  
come without anie great solemnitie vnto Lambeth,  
where (in the archbishops house) his lodging was 20  
prepared.

**Cranmer**  
archbishop of  
Canturburie  
arreigned of  
treason.

The thirde of Nouember next following, Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Cantaburie (notwithstand-  
ing that he had once refused plainelie to subscribe  
to king Edwards will, in the disheriting of his sis-  
ter Marie, and alledging manie reasons and argu-  
ments for the legitimatation of both the kings sisters)  
was in the Guildhall in London arreigned and at-  
tainted of treason, namelie for aiding the duke of  
Northumberland with horse and men against the  
queene, as aforesaid. At the same time also, the la-  
die Jane of Suffolke (who for a while was called  
queene Jane) and the lord Gilford hir husband, the  
lord Ambrose and lord Henrie Dudley sonnes to the  
duke of Northumberland, were likewise arreigned  
and attainted, and therupon led backe againe to the  
tower. In the beginning of Ianuarie next follow-  
ing, Charles the fift emperor sent into England an  
honorable ambassage, amongst whome was the  
Conte de Aiguemont admerall of the low coun-  
tries, with Charles Conte de la Laing, John de  
Montmorencie lord of Curriers, and the chancelloz  
Nigre, with full commission to conclude a mariage  
betwene Philip prince of Spaine his sonne & heire,  
and queene Marie (as you haue heard) which ambas-  
sage toke such place, that shortly after all things  
were finished accordinglie.

Ab. Fl. ex I. S.  
pag. 1077.  
Stephan  
Gardiner ma-  
keth an orati-  
on to the lordes  
of the counsell  
&c: touching  
the quēnes  
marriage.

¶ On the foureteenth of Ianuarie, docto: Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester lord chancelour of England, in the chamber of p[re]sence at Westmin[ster], made to the lordes, nobilitie, and gentlemen, an oration verie eloquent, wherein he declared that the queenes maiestie, partie for amitie, and other weightie considerations had, after much lute on the emp[er]ours and p[ri]nce of Spaines behalfe made, determined by the consent of the counceill and nobilitie, to match hir selfe with the said p[ri]nce in most godlie and lawfull matrimonie: and declared further, that the should haue for hir iointer thirtie thousand ducats by the yeare, with all the low countrie of Flanders, and that the issue (if there happened anie) betwene them two lawfullie begotten, should be heire as well to the kingdome of Spaine, as also to the said low countrie. He said therefore that they were all bound to thanke God, that so noble, worthy, and famous a p[ri]nce would vouchsafe so to humble himselfe, as in this marriage to take vpon him rather as a subiect, than otherwise. For the queene & hir counceill should rule all things as he did befoze; and that there should be of the counceill no stranger, neither to haue custodie of any forts or castles, &c: nor to beare anie rule or office in the queenes house, or else where in all England, with diuerse other articles there by him rehearsed. Wherefoze he said the queenes plea-

Gardiner cō-  
mendeth the  
king of  
Spaine,

sure and request was, that like good subjects for his sake, they would most longingly receive him with reverence, love, and honour. On the next daie, the lord maior of London with his brethren the aldermen, were sent for to the court, and to bring with them forty of the head commoners of the citie, unto whom before the counsell, the lord chancellor made the libration, desiring them to behaue themselves like good subjects with all humble nesse and reioysing.

10 But this marriage was not well thought of by the commons, nor much better liked of manie of the nobilitie, who for this, and for the cause of religion, conspired to raise war, rather than to see such change of the state. Of the which conspiracie though there were manie confederats; yet the first that shewed force therein, was one sir Thomas What a knight in Kent, who in verie deed was desired to prevent the time of the purposed enterpryse by this way. Whereof the partakers in this conspiracie, being withdrawn from London (where they had denised their first) home into their countries (amongst whome the said sir Thomas What was one) it fell out, that whilist he was returned into Kent, where his lands and livings chiefe lie, a gentleman of that shire, one to the said sir Thomas What most deere, was by the counsell for other matters committed to the Fleet. Wherebpon he verelie suspecting his secrets were betrayed, had no other shift (as he took it) but to put on armour, and to begin the attempt, before the time appointed with his complices. And herebpon giving intelligence of his determination to his associates, as well at London, as else where, on the Thursday next following, being the five and twentieth of Januarie at Maidstone, being accompanied with master Thomas Aleie and others, published a proclamation against the quenes marriage, desiring all his neighbours, friends, and Englishmen to ioine with him and others, to defend the realme in danger to be brought in thalosome unto strangers: and herewith he gat  
40 him to Rochester, and met with sir George Harper by the waie, that was one appointed afoze to ioine with him in that quarrell. They brake vp the bridge at Rochester, and fortified the east part of the towne, & staid there abiding the coming of more strength, and in the meane while suffered all passengers to passe quietly thorough the towne to London, or to the sea, taking nothing from them, but onelie their weapons.

In the meane while, Sir Henrie Flete, Anthonie  
50 Knevet esquier, and his brother William Knevet  
were busie in west Kent to raise the people there; and  
likewise in east Kent there were other that were of  
the same confederacie, which set forth the like procla-  
mations at Milton, Ashford, and other towns there  
in that part of the shire: and thus in each part of  
Kent in a maner was great fur. But yet such was  
the diligence and warie circumspection of John  
Twine at that present mai<sup>or</sup> of Canturburie, so  
that he misliked their disordered attempts, that there  
60 was not any of that citie knowne to fur, or go forth  
to ioine themselves with the said Sir Thomas Wat,  
or with any other of his confederats: and yet verelike  
the more part of the people in all other parts of that  
shire were marvellouslie affected to the said Sir Tho-  
mas Wats quarrell, doubting that which might  
follow of the queenes matching his selfe thus with a  
stranger. At Milton when a gentleman of those  
parts named Christopher Koper, went about to resist  
them that set forth this proclamation, he was taken  
and conveyed to Rochester vnto maister Wat. Like-  
wise maister Lucke and maister Worrell iustices of  
peace, were fetched out of their owne houses, & like-  
wise brought to Rochester, where they with the said  
Koper were kept as prisoners.

What public  
ethics a procla-  
mation at  
Madison

**The committee  
to Rochester**

Sir George  
Harper,

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Число операций  
за период таблица

Maister De  
well & maister

1



Sir Thomas What had written unto Sir Robert  
 Southwell shiriffe of Kent, to moue him in respect  
 of the preservation of the common-wealth not in  
 danger to be overrun of strangers, through the pre-  
 tended marriage, if it should go forward, to ioine  
 with him and others, in so necessarie a cause for the  
 disappointing of the same marriage, and to worke so  
 to the lord of Aburgauernie, with whom he might  
 do much, that it might please him also to ioine with  
 them. But as well the said Sir Robert Southwell, as  
 the said lord of Aburgauernie, and one George  
 Clerke assembled themselves with such power as  
 they might make against the said Sir Thomas What  
 and his adherents; and coming to Helling on the  
 saturdaye, being the market daie a seven and twen-  
 tith of Januarie, the said Sir Robert Southwell ha-  
 ving penned an exhortation to dissuade the people,  
 and to bring them from having any liking to What  
 ates enterpryse, did read the same openlie unto all the  
 people there assembled, exhorting, reproving, and  
 refelling the proclamations set forth by Sir Thomas  
 What and his adherents.

On the other part, sir Henrie Alesie, Anthonie  
Kneuet, and his brother William Kneuet being at  
Lambidge, proclaimed the Herisse, the lord of Abur-  
gannonie, & George Clerke gentleman, traitors to  
God, the crowne, and the common-wealth; fo: raising  
the quenes subiects: to defend the most wicked & di-  
uellish enterpryse of certeine of the wicked & peruerse  
councellozs. And this they ppronounced in their owne  
names & in the names of sir Thomas What, sir Ge-  
orge Harper, and of all the faithfull gentlemen of  
Kent, & trustie commoners of the same. This done,  
they marched to Seuennocke, mening from thence  
to passe to Rochester. But in the meane tunc the fore-  
said 27 of Januarie, there came from the quene an  
herald & a trumpetter to sir Thomas What, but he  
was not suffered to passe the bidge, and so did his  
message at the bidge end, in the hearing of sir Tho-  
mas What and diuerse others. The effect of his mes-  
sage was, to offer pardon to so manie as within  
four and twentie houres would depart to their  
houses, and become quiet subiects.

Sir Thomas Cheinefe lord warden sent also vnto  
 What, with words of contempt and defiance, de-  
 sirous in deed to haue bene doing with him, if he  
 had not mistrusted his owne people, which he should  
 haue brought against him, as those that fauoured so  
 greatly Whats cause, that they would haue bene  
 loth to haue seene him take anie foile. And that sir  
 Thomas What knew well inough, and therefore de-  
 sired nothing more than to haue him come forth, un-  
 derstanding that he wanted no friends, as well a-  
 bout him, as all other that would take in hand to re-  
 presse him with force gathered in that shire. The lord  
 of Aburgauennie, the shiriffe Warram Sentleger,  
 and diuerse other gentlemen that were assembled  
 at Spalling, late there within foure miles of Roche-  
 ster on saturday at night, & hauing aduertisement  
 that sir Henrie Hleie, the two Lancets, and certene  
 other, with five hundred Welshmen, being at Se-  
 uennocke, meant earlie in the morning to march to-  
 wards Rochester for the aid of What against the  
 duke of Norfolke, that was come to Grauesend  
 with five hundred white cotes Londoners, and cer-  
 taine of the gard: and further that the said sir Hen-  
 rie Hleie and the Lancets meant in their waie to  
 burne and spoile the house of George Clerke gentle-  
 man: they departing with five hundred gentlemen  
 & likewise yeomen, berie earlie that sundaie in the  
 morning, marched out in order till they came to  
 Worham heath, where they might easilie heare the  
 sound of their aduerfaries drums, and thereupon  
 followed after them with all speed, till they came to a

place called Barrow greene, throught which laie the right readie waie from Seuenmoocke towards master Clerks house. Here the lord of Aburgauennie staid for the coming of his enimies, and understanding they were at hand, placed his men in order, thinking to giue or take the oerthrow. But they vpon their approach, milking (as it should seme) the match, thranke aside as secretlie as they could, by a bywaie, and were so farre gone before the lord of Aburgauennie understood thereof by his espials, as for doubt of ouertaking them afore their coming to Rochester, he was driuen to make such hast for the ouertaking of them, as diuerse of his souldiers were farre behind at the onset quiting.

The first sight that the lord of Aburgauennie could haue of them, after they forooke their purposed waie, was as they ascended Wrotham hill, directly vnder Pallam maister Berchams house, where they thinking to haue great aduantage by the winning of the hill, displayed their ensignes, thinking they had bene out of danger. But the Lord of Aburgauennie made such hast after them, that ouertaking them at a field in the parish of Wrotham, a mile distant from the berie top of the hill, called Blacke soll field, after some resistance with shot and arrowes, and profer of onser made by their horsemen, they were put to flight, and chased for the space of foure miles, euen to Hartleie wood. Wherescor of them were taken prisoners, and some on both sides were wounded, as commonlie cometh to passe in an ordinarie and yuat fraie: how then is it possible, that a skirmish should be vnfashioned with slaughter and bloodshed, speciallie in a sedition or insurrection, which is the plague of all common-wealths, as the poet saith:

*regnorum pefima pefis*      *Seditio.*  
Sir Henrie Fleet fled into Hampfhire, Anthonic Kneuet made fuch Shift, that he got that night unto Rochester; and the fame time fir George Warper departing from fir Thomas Wat, and comming to the duke of Suffolke, fubmitted himfelfe vnto his grace, & the duke receiued him. Which duke (as before we haue partlie heard) being lent with five hundred Londoners, and certeine of the gard for his better defence, to go againft the Kentifhmen thus afsembled with fir Thomas Wat, was come downe to Crauefend, fet forth from thence on mondaie the nine and twentieth daie of Ianuarie, about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, marching towards Stroud on this fide of Rochester, & about foures of the clocke in the after none of the fame daie, he arriued at Stroud neare vnto Rochester, hauing with him fir Henrie Feringham capteine of the gard, fir Edward Wate, fir John Fog, knights, John Couert, Roger Appleton, elquiers, Maurice Croft the bifhop of Rochester, Thomas Swan gentleman, with certeine of the gard, and others, to the number of two hundred; whereabout, befides Wate and other five capteins, who with the fir bands tarried behind at Spittle hill nere vnto Stroud, whilft the duke went to Stroud to fee the placing of the ordinance, which being readie charged & bent vnto the towne of Rochester, and perceiuing by fir Thomas Wat and his men by hanging out their enfignes, little to regard him, the duke commanded one of the peeces to be fired and shot off into Rochester, and as the gunner was firing the pece, fir Edward Wates elbest fon came in all haft to the duke, and told him how the Londoners would beate him.

Herewith turning backe, he might ! old how  
 Bet, and the other captains of the ship comes with  
 their hands being upon the hill, and at his backe,  
 made great and loud shouts fumble times, crying;  
 We are all Englishmen, we are all Englishmen:  
 fashioning themselves in arate, ready bent with  
 their

Barrow  
green.

Wrotham hilt.  
Yallam.

Blacke folli  
field.

## The Skirmish.

The duke of  
Norfolke ar-  
riueth at  
Stroud.

The revol-  
ing of the  
Londoners.

Wiat public  
heth a proclai  
nation at  
Maidstone

**He cometh  
to Rochester**

Mr George  
Harper.

Christopher  
is over taken.

Maister Dorell & maister  
Tucke taken

The duke  
with the cap-  
taine of the  
gard, &c. put to  
their blis.

their weapons to set upon the duke, if he had made  
any resistance: whereupon the duke willed the pe-  
ces that were bent against Rochester, to be turned  
upon Het and his fellows. But upon further con-  
sideration the shot was spared, and the dukes grace,  
with the capitaine of the gard, considering with wo-  
full hearts their chiefe strength thus turned against  
them; and being thus instructed both behind and be-  
fore with enemies, shifted themselves awate, as did  
also their companie. Sir Thomas What accompa-  
nied with two or three, and not manie mo, came forth  
halfe a mile from Rochester, to meet Het and the o-  
ther captains, amongst whom was sir George Har-  
per, notwithstanding his former submission to the  
duke. Their meeting verelie seemed right to full  
both in gesture and countenance, & therewith having  
saluted each other, they entered all together into Ro-  
chester. The lord of Aburgauennie & the shiriffe were  
greatlie abashed when they understood of this mis-  
hap, for they doubted that such as were evil disposed  
before, would not be greatlie amended thereby. The  
shiriffe being then at Maidstone, hasted to come to  
Dalling, where the lord of Aburgauennie laie, and  
upon his comming thither, he took aduise to ride in  
post to the councell, to know their minds how they  
would direct them. Sir Thomas What and his asso-  
ciats were greatlie recomforted with this new sup-  
plie added to their strength, by the renolting thus  
of the Londoners: and verelie it bred no small hope in  
all their hearts, that wished well to his enterprise,  
that he should the better attaine vnto the hoped end  
of his purpose. But it pleased God otherwise, who ne-  
uer prospereth any that attempt such exploits with-  
out publike and lawfull authoritie.

The shiriffe of  
Kent rideth to  
the councell.

In this meane while, the duke of Suffolke being  
persuaded to foine with other in this quarell, as he  
that doubted (as no small number of true English-  
men then did) least the pretended mariage with the  
Spanish king should bring the whole nobilitie and  
people of this realme into bondage and thraldome  
of strangers, after he was once aduertised that sir  
Thomas What had prevented the time of their pur-  
posed enterprise, he secretlie one euening departed  
from Shene, and rode with all speed into Leice-  
stershire, where in the towne of Leicester and o-  
ther places, he caused proclamation to be made  
in semblable wise, as sir Thomas What had done,  
against the quenes match which she meant to make  
with the said king of Spaine: but few there were  
that would willingly hearken thereto. But now ye  
must understand, that before his comming downe,  
he was perswaded that the citie of Couentrie would  
be opened vnto him, the more part of the citizens be-  
ing throughlie bent in his fauour, in so necessarie a  
quarell, for defense of the realme against strangers,  
as they were then perswaded.

The duke of  
Suffolke go-  
eth downe in-  
to Leicesters-  
hire.

The citie of  
Couentrie.

But howsoeuer it chanced, this proued not alto-  
gether true: for whether through the misliking which  
the citizens had of the matter, or through negligence  
of some that were sent to solicite them in the cause,  
or chieslie (as should seeme to be most true) for that  
God would haue it so, when the duke came with sir  
Edward Courtenay seven score horsemen well appointed for the pur-  
pose, presenting himselfe before the citie in hope  
to bee receiued, hee was kept out. For the citi-  
zens through comfort of the erle of Huntington that  
was then come downe, sent by the quene to staie the  
counties from falling to the duke, and to raise a  
powder to apprehend him, had put themselves in ar-  
mor, and made all the prouision they could to defend  
the citie against the said duke. Whereupon percei-  
uing himselfe destitute of all such aid as he looked  
for among his friends in the two shires of Leicester  
and Warwick, he got him to his manour of Aisle,

The duke of  
Suffolke kept  
out of Co-  
uentrie.

distant from Couentrie five miles, where appoin-  
ting his companie to disperse themselves, and to  
make the best shift each one for his owne safegard  
that he might, and distributing to euerie of them a  
portion of monie, according to their qualities; and  
his store at that present, he and the lord John Greie  
his brother, bestowed themselves in secret places  
there within Aisle parke; but through the vntrusti-  
nesse of them, to whose trust they did commit them-  
selves (as hath bene crediblie reported) they were  
betrayed to the earle of Huntington, that then was  
come to Couentrie, and so apprehended they were  
by the said earle, and afterwards brought vp to  
London.

The duke of  
Suffolke is ap-  
prehended.

The duke had meant at first to haue rid awate (as  
I haue crediblie heard) if promise had bene kept by  
one of his seruants, appointed to come to him to be  
his guide; but when he either feining himselfe sicke,  
or being sicke in deed, came not, the duke was con-  
strained to remaine in the parke there at Aisle, ho-  
ping yet to get awate after that the search had bene  
passed ouer, and the countie once in quiet. How-  
euer it was, there he was taken, as is said, together  
with his brother the lord John Greie; but his bro-  
ther the lord Thomas got awate in deed at that time,  
meaning to haue fled into Wales, & there to haue  
got to the sea shes, so to transport himselfe ouer into  
France, or into some other foreign part. But in the  
borders of Wales he was likewise apprehended  
through his great mishap, and folie of his man that  
had forgot his capeale with monie behind him in his  
chamber one morning at his time; and comming  
for it againe, upon examination what he should be,  
it was mistrusted that his maister should be some  
such man, as he was in deed, and so was staied, fa-  
ken, and brought vp to London, where he suffered;  
as after shall appeare.

The lord  
John Greie  
taken.

The lord  
Thomas  
taken.

But now to returne vnto sir Thomas What. Af-  
ter that the Londoners were renolled to him, as be-  
fore ye haue heard; the next daie being tuesday the  
thirtieth of Januarie, he marched forth with his  
bands, and sir peeces of ordinance (which they had  
gotten of the quenes) besides their owne. And first  
they came to Cowling castell, an hold of the lord  
Cobham, foure miles distant from Rochester, and  
not much out of the waie towards London, whither  
they were now fullie determined to go, in hope of  
friends which they trusted to find within and about  
the citie. At their comming to Cowling, knowing  
that the lord Cobham was within the castell, they  
bent their ordinance against the gate, breaking it  
with sundrie shots, and burning it vp with fier, made  
a waie through it. The said lord Cobham defended  
the place as stoutlie as he might, hauing but a few  
against so great a number, and so little store of mu-  
nition for his defense: he himselfe yet discharged his  
gun at such as approached the gate right hardlie, and  
in that assault two of his men were slaine. After  
this assault, and talke had with the lord Cobham,  
sir Thomas What marched to Grauesend, where he  
rested that night.

Cowling ca-  
stell.

The lord  
Cobham.

The next daie he came to Dartford with his bands,  
and laie there that night, whither came to him sir  
Edward Hastings maister of the quenes horse, and  
sir Thomas Cornwallis knights, both being of the  
quenes priuie counsell, and now sent from him by  
to sir Thomas What, to understand the cause of his  
commotion. When he understood they were come, he  
toke with him certeine of his band to the west end  
of the towne, where he had lodged his ordinance.  
And at the lighting downe of sir Edward Hastings  
and his associat, sir Thomas What hauing a parti-  
san in his hand, aduancing himselfe somewhat afore  
such gentlemen as were with him, traced nere them:

Quene ad-  
uancement to  
the Lendo-  
n.

La-  
ag-  
fai

to whome the maister of the hofse spake in substance as followeth. The quenes maiestie requireth to vnderstand the verie cause wherefore you haue thus gathered together in armes hir liege people, which is the part of a traitor, and yet in your proclamations and persuasions, you call your selfe a true subiect, which can not stand together. I am no traitor: quoth Will at, and the cause wherefore I haue gathered the people, is to defend the realme from danger of being ouerrun with strangers, which must follow, this marriage taking place.

Why, quoth the quenes agents, there be no strangers yet come, who either for power or number ye need to suspect. But if this be your onelie quarrell, because ye mislike the marriage; will ye come to communication touching that case, and the quene of hir gracious godnesse is content ye shall be heard. I yeld thereto, quoth sir Thomas Willat: but for my tuerie I will rather be trusted than trust, and therefore demanded, as some haue written, the custodie of the tower, and hir grace within it; also the displacing of some counsellors about hir, and to haue other placed in their romes. There was long & stout conference betwene them, in so much that the maister of the hofse said: What, before thou shalt haue thy traitorous demand granted, thou shalt die, and twentie thousand with thee. And so the said maister of the hofse, and sir Thomas Cornewallis, perceiving they could not bring him to that point they wished, returned to the court, aduertising the quene what they had heard of him. The same daie being the first of Februarie, proclamation was made in London by an herald, to signifie that the duke of Suffolkes companie of hofsmen were scattered, and that he himselfe and his brethren were fled. Also that sir Peter Carew, and sir Gauen Carew knights, and William Gibs esquire, which being parties to the conspiracie of the said duke, with sir Thomas Willat & others, were likewise fled. True it was that sir Peter Carew, perceiving himselfe in danger to be apprehended, about the thre & twentith of Januarie last past fled out of the realme, and escaped into France: but the other taried behind and were taken.

Moreover, on this first daie of Februarie being Candlemas euen, the emperors ambassadors, of whome ye haue heard before, hearing of Willats hap, appoching thus towards London, sped themselves aboue by water, and that with all hast. The quene then lying at hir palace of White hall beside Westminster, and hearing of hir enemies so nere, was counselled for hir safeguard to take the tower of London, whereunto the would by no meanes be persuaded. Neuertheless, to make hir selfe more stronger of friends in the citie, so soon as the said ambassadors were departed, she came to the Guildhall in London: against which time, order was taken by the lord maior, that the chiefe citizens in their lueries should be there present. After that the quene had taken hir place in the said hall, and silence made, she with verie good countenance vttered in effect this oration following.

Queene Maries oration in Guildhall in a solemne assemblee.

**I** Am (quoth she) come vnto you in mine owne person, to tell you that which alreadie you doe see and know, that is, how traitorously & seditiously a number of Kentish rebels haue assembled themselves together against both vs and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was onelie to resist a marriage de-

termined betwene vs and the prince of Spaine. To the which pretended quarrell, and to all the rest of their euill contriued articles ye haue bene made priuie. Since which time, we haue caused diuers of our priuie counsell to resort thither to the said rebels, and to demand of them the cause of their continuance in their seditious enterpryse. By whose answers made againe to our said counsell, it appeared that the marriage is found to be the least of their quarrell. For they now swauing from their former articles, haue betrayed the inward treason of their hearts, as most arrogantlie demanding the possession of our person, the keeping of our tower, and not onelie the placing & displacing of our counsellors; but also to vse them & vs at their pleasures.

Now louing subiects, what I am, you right well know. I am your quene, to whome at my coronation when I was wedded to the realme, and to the lawes of the same (the spousall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your allegiance and obedience vnto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crowne of this realme of England; I not onelie take all christendome to witnesse, but also your acts of parlement confirming the same. My father (as ye all know) possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance, which now by the same right descended vnto me. And to him alwaies ye shewed your selues most faithfull and louing subiects, and him obeyed and serued as your liege lord & king: and therefore I doubt not but you will shew your selues likewise to me his daughter. Which if you doe, then maie you not suffer anie rebell to vsurpe the gouernance of our person, or to occupie our estate, especiallie being so presumptuous a traitor: as this Willat hath shewed himselfe to be; who must certeinlie, as he hath abused my ignorant subiects to be adherents to his traitorous quarrell: so doth he intend by colour of the same, to subdue the lawes to his will, and to giue scope to the rascall and forlorne persons, to make generall hauocke and spoile of your goods. And this further I say vnto you in the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturalie a mother loueth hir children, for I was neuer the mother of anie, but certeinlie a prince and gouernor may as naturallie and as earnestlie loue subiects, as the mother doth hir child. Then assure your selues, that I being your soueraigne ladie & quene, doe as earnestlie and as tenderlie loue and fauour you. And I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that ye as hartlie and faithfullie loue me againe: and so louing together in this knot of loue and conoord, I doubt not, but we together shall be able to giue these rebels a short and speedie overthrow.

And as concerning the case of my intended marriage, against which they pretend their quarrell, ye shall vnderstand that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduise of all our priuie counsell, yea, and by assent of those to whome the king my father committed his trust, who so considered & weighed the great commodities that might issue thereof, that they not onlie thought it very honorable, but expedient, both for the wealth of our realme, and also of all our louing subiects. And as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so desirous of wedding, neither so precise or wedded to my will, that either for mine owne pleasure I will chuse where I lust, or else so amorous as needs I must haue one. For God I thanke him (to whome be the praise thereof) I haue hitherto liued a bvirgine, and doubting nothing but with Gods grace shall as well be able so to liue still. But if as my progenitors haue done before, it might please God that I might leaue some fruit of my body behind me to be your gouernour, I trust you

Demands are pretended to be sent from M. what and his companie to quene Marie.

How he pretended the spoile of their goods it appeared that he coming to Southwiche, did hurt neither man, nor child, neither in body nor in a pennie of their goods.

Quene Maries oration touching her marriage.

The promise  
of queene  
Marie tou-  
ching hir ma-  
riage.

would not onelie reioyse thereat, but also I know  
it would be to your great comfort. And certeinlie  
if I either did knowe or thinke, that this marriage  
should either turne to the danger or losse of anie of  
you my louing subiects, or to the detriment or im-  
pairing of anie part or parcell of the roiall estate of  
this realme of England, I would neuer consent  
thereunto, neither would I ever marrie while I li-  
ued. And in the word of a queene I promise and as-  
sure you, that if it shall not probable appeere before  
the nobilitie and commons in the high court of par-  
lement, that this marriage shall be for the singular  
benefit and commoditie of all the whole realme; that  
then I will abstaine, not onelie from this marriage,  
but also from anie other, whereof perill maie insue  
to this most noble realme. Wherefore now as god &  
faithfull subiects plucke vp your harts, and like true  
men stand fast with your lawfull prince against  
these rebelles, both our enemies and vnrant, and feare  
them not: for assure you that I feare them nothing  
at all, & I will leaue with you my lord Howard, and  
my lord tresuro: to be your assistants, with my lord  
maior, for the defense and safeguard of this citie from  
spoile and sarrage, which is onelie the scope of this  
rebellious companie.

After this oration ended, the citizens seeming  
well satisfied therewith, the queene with the lords of  
the counsell returned to White hall from whence she  
came: and forthwith the lord William Howard  
was associate with the lord maior of London, whose  
name was sir Thomas White for the protection and  
defense of the citie. And for more suertie, as well of  
hir owne person, as also of hir counsellors and other  
subiects, she prepared a great armie to meet with the  
said rebelles in the field, of which armie William  
Herbert earle of Denbroke was made generall,  
which earle with all speed requisite in such a case, pre-  
pared all things necessarie to such a seruice belong-  
ing. The same daie sir Thomas What having with  
him fourtene ensignes, containing about foure  
thousand men, although they were accounted to be a  
farre greater number, marched to Dersford Strand,  
eight miles from Dersford, and within foure miles  
of London: where vpon such aduertisement as he  
received by spiall, of the queens being in the Guild-  
hall, & the order of the people to hir wards, he remai-  
ned that night & the next whole daie; diuerse of his  
owne companie doubting by his longer tarrying  
there than in other places, and vpon other presump-  
tions which they gathered, that he would haue passed  
the water into Essex.

What suffereth  
his prisoners  
to go abrode  
vpon their  
sworde.  
What cometh  
into South-  
wiche.

His prisoners Christopher Koper, George Do-  
rell, and John Tucke esquiers, who were kept some-  
what strict, for that they seemed sicklie, and finding  
within the towne no conuenient harborough or at-  
tendance, were licenced by sir Thomas What, vpon  
promise of their worshipps to be true prisoners, to pro-  
uide for themselves out from the towne, where they  
best might. But they breaking promise with him,  
sought waies to escape and come no more at him.  
On saturday following verie earlie What marched  
to Southwiche, where approaching the gate at Lon-  
don bridge foot, he called to them within to haue it o-  
pened: which he found not so readie as he looked for.  
After he had bene a little while in Southwiche, and  
began to trench at the bridge foot, and set two peeces  
of ordnance against the gate, diuerse of his soldiors  
went to Winchester place, where one of them (be-  
ing a gentleman) began to fall to rising of things  
found in the house. Wherewith sir Thomas What  
seemed so much offended, that he threatened fore to  
hang him euen presentlie there vpon the wharfe, and  
so as he made others to beleue he meant to haue

done, if capteine Bzet and others had not intreated  
for him.

The lord William Howard lord admerall of  
England, being appointed by the queens commission  
capteine generall, with the lord maior sir Thomas  
White, watched at the bridge that night with three  
hundred men, caused the draw bridge to be helven  
downe into the Thames, made rampiers and for-  
tifications there, sending the same with great ordi-  
nance. What yet aduentured the breaking downe  
of a wall out of an house ioining to the gate at the  
bridge foot, whereby he might enter into the leads o-  
uer the gate, & came downe into the lodge about ele-  
uen of the clocke in the night, where he found the  
porter in a slumber, and his wife with other waking,  
and watching ouer a cole; but beholding What, they  
began suddenlie to start as greatlie amazed. What  
quoth What, as you loue your liues sit still, you shall  
haue no hurt. Glad were they of that warrant, and  
so were quiet, and made no noise. What and a few  
with him went forth as farre as the draw bridge: on  
the other side whereof he saw the lord admerall, the  
lord maior, sir Andrew Jud, and one or two others  
in consultation for ordering of the bridge, where  
to be gaue diligent heed and care a good while, and  
was not sene.

This done, he returned and said to some of his  
companie; This place firs is too hot for vs. And here-  
vpon falling in counsell what was best to doe: some  
gaue aduise that it should be good to returne to  
Greenewich, and so to passe the water into Essex,  
whereby their companie (as they thought) should in-  
crease, and then assaie to enter into London by Ab-  
gate: and some were of opinion, that it were better  
to go to Kingston vpon Thames, and so further west.  
Other there were, among which sir Thomas What  
himselfe was chiefe, would haue returned into Kent  
to meet with the lord of Aburgauenie, the lord War-  
den, the Shriffe, sir Thomas Poile, sir Thomas  
Kempe, sir Thomas Finch, and others that were  
at Rochester, coming on Whats backe, with a  
great companie well appointed, persuaading himselfe  
(whether truelie or not I know not) that he should  
find among them more friends than enemies. But  
whether his desire to returne into Kent grew vpon  
hope he had to find aid there, or rather to shift him-  
selfe awaie, it was doubted of his owne companie;  
and some of them that knew him well (except they  
were much deceived) repo:ted not long before their  
execution, that his desire to returne into Kent, was  
onelie to shift himselfe ouer the sea.

The lord Warden being at Rochester (as ye  
haue heard) well furnished both with horse and men,  
perfectlie appointed to no small number, was wil-  
ling to haue followed after What, and to haue the-  
wed his god will against him in the queens quarrell:  
but yet vpon deliberation had, & aduise taken with o-  
thers that were there with him, he thought good first  
to vnderstand the queens pleasure how to proceed in  
his dealings; and he: vpon he rode post to the queene  
himselfe, leauing the lord of Aburgauenie and the  
rest of the gentlemen with his and their hands be-  
hind till his returne. On sundaye the fourth of Fe-  
b:uarie, the lord admerall caused a strong ward of  
three hundred men to be kept on the bridge till eight  
of the clocke at night, and then (for their release) en-  
tered the watch of other three hundred: so that the  
bridge was thus garded both daie and night with  
three hundred men in armor. It troubled What and  
all his companie verie sore, to see that London did  
so stiffelie stand and hold out against them: for in the  
assistance which they looked to haue had of that citie,  
all their hope of prosperous speed consisted. But  
now that they saw themselves greatlie disappointed  
therewith,

Sir Thomas  
waies deli-  
rat attempt.

What and his  
complexes  
into consi-  
tation.

The lord  
warden of the  
cinque ports  
verie willing  
to followe ad-  
ter what.

What at his  
wits end.

theret  
the fir  
of the  
South  
Stone  
the Al  
clocke  
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The stout  
courage of  
queene Ma-  
rie.

came in all hast to tell hir (though untrue) that hir  
battels were yielded to What. She nothing moved  
thereat, said it was their fond opinion that durst not  
come nere to see the triall, saying further, that she  
hir selfe would enter the field to trie the truth of hir  
quarrell; and to die with them that would serue hir,  
rather than to yield one foot into such a traitor as  
What was, and prepared hir selfe accordingly.

But by the apprehension of What that voyage  
toke none effect: for after his coming to the court  
he was immediately committed to the Tower. As  
soon as the taking of What was knowne, the ar-  
mie (whereof mention is made before that late in  
saint Jamts field) was discharged, and euery man  
licensed to depart to his home. And forthwith pro-  
clamations was made, as well in the citie of London  
as in the suburbs of the same, that none upon paine  
of death should keepe in his or their houses anie of  
Whats faction; but should bring them forth imme-  
diatlie before the lord Maior, and other the quenes  
iustices. By reason of which proclamation a great  
multitude of their said poore cattifs were brought  
forth, being so manie in number, that all the pylons  
in London sufficed not to receiue them: so that for  
lacke of place they were faine to bestow them in di-  
uerse churches of the said citie. And shortly after  
were set vp in London for a terrour to the common  
foyt (because the white cotes being sent out of the ci-  
tie, as before ye haue heard, reuolted from the quens  
part to the aid of What) twentie paire of gallows,  
on the which were hanged in seuerall places to the  
number of fiftie persons, which gallows remained  
standing there a great part of the summer following  
to the great griefe of good cittizens, and for example  
to the commotioners.

As for the principals of this faction, namelie Tho-  
mas What, William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham,  
two brethren named Spantels, and Alexander Bzet  
were brought by sir Henrie Jerningham by water to  
the tower prisoners, where sir Philip Denie receiued  
them at the bulworke, & as What passed by he said;  
Oo traitor, there was neuer such a traitor in Eng-  
land. To whom sir Thomas What turned, and said, I  
am no traitor: I would thou shouldst well know thou  
art more traitor than I, it is not the point of an ho-  
nest man to call me so, and so went forth. When he  
came to the tower gate, sir Thomas Bridges lieute-  
nant toke in through the wicket, first Spantell, and  
said: Ah thou traitor, what hast thou and thy compa-  
nie brought? But he holding downe his head said  
nothing. Then came Thomas Kneuet, whom maister  
chamberleine gentleman porter of the tower toke  
in. Then came Alexander Bzet, whom sir Thomas  
Pope toke by the bosome, saying: Oo traitor, how  
couldst thou find in thy heart to worke such a villa-  
nie, as to take wages, and being trusted ouer a band  
of men, to fall to hir enemies, returning against hir  
in battell. Bzet answered Pea; I haue offended in  
that case. Then came Thomas Cobham, whom sir  
Thomas Poyntes toke in, and said, Alas maister  
Cobham, what wind headed you to worke such trea-  
son: And he answered, Oo sir I was seduced. Then  
came in sir Thomas What, whom sir John Bridges  
toke by the collar and said, Oo thou villen & unhap-  
pie traitor, how couldst thou find in thy hart to  
worke such detestable treason to the quenes mai-  
estie, who gaue thee thy life and liuing once alreadie,  
although thou diddest before this time beare armes  
in the field against hir, and now to yield hir battell,  
ac. If it were not (saith he) but that the law must passe  
vpon thee, I would strike thee through with my dag-  
ger. To the which What holding his arms vnder his  
side, and looking grienouslie with a grim loke vpon  
the lieutenant, said: It is no maisterie now; and so

passed on. Thomas What had on a shirt of maille,  
with sleeves verie faire, theron a velvet caskette, and  
a yellow lace, with the windlace of his dag hanging  
thereon, and a paire of boots on his legs, and on his  
head a faire hat of velvet, with a broad bone-wole  
lace about it. William Kneuet, Thomas Cobham,  
and Bzet, were the like appareled.

On the morrow and the next daie following were  
brought into the tower prisoners, George Cobham,  
sir William Cobham, Anthony Kneuet, Hugh  
Booth, Thomas Wane, Robert Rudstone, sir George  
Harper, Edward What, Edward Fog, George  
Haze, and Cutbert Gaughan. The tenth of Fe-  
bruarie, the earle of Huntington and other gentle-  
men, and to the number of three hundred gentlemen,  
brought to the tower as prisoners the duke of Su-  
folke, and the lord John Greie his brother from Co-  
uentrie, where the duke had remained three daies af-  
ter his taking in the house and custodie of Christo-  
pher Warren alderman there. The eleventh daie  
sir Henrie Kneie who had fled, was brought into the  
tower in an old frese cote, an old paire of hosen, all  
his apparell not worth foure shillings. The same daie  
came in two of the Culpepers, one Cromar, & Tho-  
mas Rampton the duke of Suffolks secretaire.

The twelue of Februarie being mondaie, about  
ten of the clocke, there went out of the tower to the  
scaffold on the tower hill, the lord Gilford Dudley,  
sonne to the duke of Northumberland, husband to the  
ladie Jane Greie daughter to the duke of Suffolke;  
and without the bulworke gate, maister Thomas  
Dilleie one of the shiriffes of London receiued him  
and brought him to the scaffold, where after a small  
declaration he kneeled downe and said his praier.  
Then holding vp his eyes & hands to heauen with  
teares, at the last he desired the people to praie for  
him, & after he was beheaded. His bodie being laid  
in a cart, and his head in a cloth, was brought into  
the chappell within the tower, where the ladie Jane,  
whose lodging was in maister Patridges house, did  
see his dead carcase taken out of the cart, as well as  
she did see him before alius going to his death: a sight  
(as might be supposed) to hir worse than death. By  
this time was there a scaffold made vpon the greene  
ouer against the white tower, for the ladie Jane to  
die vpon, who being nothing at all abashed neither  
with feare of hir owne death, which then approached,  
neither with the sight of the dead carcase of hir hus-  
band when he was brought into the chappell, came  
forth, the lieutenant leading hir, with countenance  
nothing abashed, neither hir eyes anie thing moiste-  
ned with teares, with a booke in hir hand, wherein she  
prayed untill she came to the said scaffold. Whereon  
when she was mounted, this noble young ladie as  
she was indued with singular gifts both of learning  
and knowledge, so was she as patient and mild as a  
lamb at hir execution: and a little before hir  
death uttered these words.]

The words of the ladie Jane at hir  
death, on a scaffold vpon the greene  
ouer against the white tower.



Good people I am come hither to  
die, and by a law I am condem-  
ned to the same. My offense a-  
gainst the quenes highnes was  
onelie in consent to the deuice of other,  
which now is deemed treason, but it was  
neuer of my seeking, but by counsell of those  
who should seeme to haue further under-  
standing of things than I, which knew lit-  
tle of the law, and much lesse of the titles to

Proclamati-  
on that none  
should keepe  
in his house  
anie of whats  
faction.

Abt. Fl. ex I.S.  
pag. 1087, 1088  
1089.  
What sent to  
the tower.

Sir Thomas  
Bridges lieut-  
enant of the  
tower.

The zeale of  
the lieutenant  
therewith self  
by his hotian-  
guage.

The taking  
of Suffolke  
the lord Greie  
brought to  
the tower.

Sir Henrie  
Kneie.

The lord Gil-  
ford Dudley  
executed on  
the tower.

The execution-  
er asked the  
ladie Jane  
beginnesse.

Stow.

John Fox.

John Fox.

Abt. Fl. ex I.P.  
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to the crowne. But touching the procure-  
ment and desire thereof by me, or on my be-  
halfe, I do wash my hands in innocencie  
thereof before God, and the face of all you  
(good christian people) this daie. And ther-  
with the wronging hir hands wherein she had  
hir booke. Then (said she) I praeie you all  
good christian people, to beare me witnesse  
that I die a true christian woman, & that  
I looke to be saved by none other meanes;  
but onelie by the mercie of God, in the  
bloud of his onelie sonne Iesus Christ, & I  
confesse that when I did know the word of  
God, I neglected the same, & loved my selfe  
and the world, and therefore this plague  
and punishment is iustlie & worthilie hap-  
pened vnto me for my sins, & yet I thanke  
God of his goodnesse, that he hath giuen  
me a time and respite to repent. And now  
good people while I am aliue, I praeie you  
assiste me with your praiers.

When kneeling downe, she said the psalme of Mi-  
serere mei Deus, in English, and then stood vp and gaue  
hir maid (called mistresse Ellen) hir gloues and  
handkercher, and hir booke she also gaue to maister  
Widges then lieutenant of the tower, and so untied  
hir gowne; and the executioner pressed to helpe hir  
off with it, but she desired him to let hir alone, and  
turned hir toward hir two gentlewomen, who hel-  
ped hir off therewith, and with hir other attires, and  
they gaue hir a faire handkercher for about hir  
eyes. Then the executioner knelt downe and asked  
hir forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly.  
Then he willed hir to stand upon the straw, which  
downe, she saw the blocke, & when she said, I praeie you  
dispatch me quicklie. Then she knelt downe, say-  
ing; Will you take it off before I laie me downe  
thervnto the executioner answered, No madam.  
Then tied she the handkercher about hir eyes, and see-  
ling for the blocke, she said; Where is it, where is it?  
One of the standers by guided hir therevnto, and she  
laid downe hir head vpon the blocke, and then stret-  
ched forth hir bodie, and said; Lord into thy hands I  
commend my spirit, and so finished hir life. ¶ This  
was the end of the lord Gilsford and the ladie Jane,  
whose deaths were the more hastened by feare of  
further troubles and fears for hir title, like as hir fa-  
ther had attempted.]

Thus (as saith maister Fox) were beheaded two  
innocents, in comparison of them that sat vpon  
them: for they did but igno:antlie accept that which  
the others had willingly deused, and by open pro-  
clamation consented to take from others, and giue  
to them. And verelie how unwilling she was to take  
it vpon hir, there are yet living that can testifie.  
Judge Worgan now that gaue the sentence against  
hir, shortly after fell mad, and in his raving cried  
continualle to haue the ladie Jane taken awaie  
from him, and so ended his life. ¶ Touching this ladie  
Jane in the high commendation of hir godlie mind,  
I find this report in maister Foxes appendix to his  
Acts and Monuments, namelie that being on a time  
when she was verie young at Newhall in Essex at  
the ladie Sparies, was by one ladie Anne Wharton  
desired to walke, and they passing by the chapell, the  
ladie Wharton made low curtisie to the popish sacra-  
ment hanging on the altar. Which when the ladie  
Jane saw marvelled why she did so, and asked hir  
whether the ladie Marie were there or not? Vnto  
whome the ladie Wharton answered no, but she said  
that she made hir curtisie to him that made vs all.  
Wherquoth the ladie Jane, how can he be there that

made vs all, and the baker made him? This hir an-  
swer comming to the ladie Sparies eare, she did ne-  
uer loue hir after, as is crediblie reported, but este-  
emed hir as the rest of that christian profession. In  
further witnesse of which good ladies disposition (both  
to God and the world) besides the verses of certeine  
learned men vnto hir praeie, these following  
were found written by hir owne hand with a plin:

*Non aliena putes lumini, quae obtingere possunt,  
Sors habere mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.*  
Jane Dudley,  
*Deo iugante, nil nocet labor malus,  
Et non inuicente, nil inus labor grauis.*  
*Possit tenebras spero videre lucem.*

Vpon saturday being the seventeenth of Februa-  
rie the duke of Suffolke was arraigned at West-  
minster, and there condemned to die by his peers,  
the earle of Arundell being that daie chiefe iudge.  
Where some haue written that he should at his last  
going downe into the countie make proclamation  
in his daughters name, that is not so: for whereas  
he stood by in Leicester, when at his commandment  
the proclamation was there made against the  
quenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, &c. ma-  
ster Wampout then maior of that towne said to him  
My lord I trust your grace meaneth no hurt to the  
quenes maiestie. So saith he maister maior (laying  
his hand on his sword) he that would hir anie hurt, I  
would this sword were through his hart, for she is the  
mercifullest prince, as I haue trulie found hir, that  
euer reigned, in whose defense I am & will be ready  
to die at hir foot. ¶ On monday the nineteenth of Fe-  
bruary, the lord Cobhams three sonnes, and foure o-  
ther men were brought to Westminster, the yong-  
est of the Cobhams, to wit maister Thomas Cob-  
ham was condemned with the other foure men, but  
the other two Cobhams came not to the barre. ¶ On  
the wednesday the one and twentieth of Februa-  
rie the lord Thomas Greie that had bene taken (as be-  
fore ye haue heard) in Wales, was brought together  
with sir James Croft through London to the tower,  
by a number of horsemen.

Vpon the fridaye the thre and twentieth of Fe-  
bruary, about nine of the clocke, the duke of Suf-  
folke was brought forth of the tower vnto the scaf-  
fold on the tower hill. And in his comming thither,  
there accompanied him doctor Weston, as his ghost-  
lie father: notwithstanding (as it should seme) a-  
gainst the will of the said duke. For when the duke  
went vnto the scaffold, the said Weston being on his  
left hand, pressed to go vp with him. The duke with  
his hand put him downe againe off the staires, and  
Weston taking hold of the duke forced him downe  
likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the  
duke againe put him downe. Then Weston said,  
that it was the quenes pleasure he should so do;  
therewith the duke casting his hands abroad, ascen-  
ded vnto the scaffold, and paused a prettie while after,  
and then he said.

The duke of Suffolks words to the  
people at the time of his death.

**M**asters, I haue offended the  
quene and hir lawes, and there-  
by am iustlie condemned to die,  
and am willing to die, desiring all  
men to be obedient; and I praeie God that  
this my death maie be an example to all  
men: beseeching you all to beare mee wit-  
nesse that I die in the faith of Christ, tru-  
sting to be saved by his bloud onelie (and by  
none other trumperie) the which died for  
vs.

The duke of  
Suffolke and  
the lord Gils-  
ford were  
brought to  
the tower.

the Duke  
of Suffolke  
was  
beheaded.

The lord Gils-  
ford was  
beheaded on  
the tower.

The executioner  
willed the  
duke Jane  
to kneele.

The beheading  
of the ladie  
Jane lead to  
execution.

John Fox.

John Fox.

John Fox.

John Fox.

The duke of  
Suffolke.

John Fox.

The duke of  
Suffolke be-  
headed.

Doctor  
Weston.

me, and for all them that doe trulie repent,  
 & steadfastlie trust in him. And I doe repent,  
 desiring you all to pray to God for me, that  
 when ye see my breath depart from me, you  
 will praie to God that he maie receiue my  
 soule. And then he desired all men to for-  
 giue him, saying that the quene had for-  
 giuen him.

Then maister Telfson declared with a loud voice that the quene's maiestie had forgieue him. Then bickers of the standers by said with audible voice, Such forgiveness God send thee; meaning doctor Telfson. When the duke knelt vpon his knees, and said the psalme *Deus miserere mihi Domine*, vnto the end. Holding by his hands, and looking vp to heauen: And when he had ended the psalme; he said; *In multis delictis commisit spiritum meum Domine*: Then he arose and stood vp, and declared his cap and surtise to the executioner; and therewith the executioner knelted downe: and asked the duke forgiveness, and the duke said, God forgive thee; and I doe; and when thou dost thine office, I prate thee so: if quicklie; and God haue mercie to thee. Then said there a man; and said, O my lord, how shall I doe for the monie that yow ouer owe me? And the duke said, Alas good fellow, I prate thee trouble me not now; but go thy waie to my officers. Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled downe and said, Our father which art in heauen, &c: vnto the end: and then he said, Christ haue mercie vpon me, and said downe his head on the blocke: and the executioner toke the axe, and at the first chop stroke off his head, and held it vp to the people, according to the common custome of execution.

Such was the end of this duke of Suffolke, a man of high nobilitie by birth, and of nature to his friend gentle and courteous, more easie in deed to be led than was thought expedient, of stomack neuer the lesse stout and hardie, halfe and sone kindled, but pacified streight againe, and sozie if in his heat ought had passed him otherwise than reason might seeme to beare, byright and plaine in his priuat dealings, no dissembler, nor well able to beare injuries, but yet forgetting & forgetting the same, if the partie would seeme but to acknowledge his fault, and seake reconciliation. Bountifull he was and verie liberall, somewhat learned himselfe, and a great fauourer of those that were learned, so that to manie he shewed himselfe a verie *Athenian*: as free from couetousnesse, as void of pride and disdainfull haughtinesse of mind, more regarding plaine meaning men, than clauy backe flatterers. And this vertue he had, he could patientlie heare his faults told him, by those whome he had in credit for their wisdom and faithfull meaning toward him, although sometime he had the hap to reforme himselfe thereafter. Concerning his last offense for the which he died, it is to be supposed, he rather tooke in hand that unlawfull enterprise through others persuations, than of his owne motion for any malicious ambition in himselfe.

But now to let this duke rest with God, we will proceed with the storie. The same date (or as some have noted the day before) a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the citie with their halters about their necks. They were in number above two hundred. Upon the saturday, the eight and twentieth of februarie, sir William Scentlow was committed as prisoner to the maister of the horse to be kept. This sir William was at this time one of the ladies Elizabeths gentlemen. Upon the sundae being the nine and twentieth of februarie, sir John Rogers was committed to the tower. Upon the tuesday in the same weeke being the eleven and twentieth of februarie, certeine gentlemen of Kent were

sent into Lent to be executed there. Their names were these the two Quakers, two Quakers, and 15 per: many these manner Quakers, and certain other live in on a manner, and should have been executed, but they had the to pardon.

Sir George Illic knight, Thomas Illic his  
 brother, and Walter Mantell, suffered at Abbeidon,  
 where they first displayed his banner. Ambrose  
 Ancuet and his brother William Ancuet, with an-  
 other of the Mantells, were executed at Secring-  
 Port at Rochester was hanged in chains. On the  
 daie the third of March, Sir Camden Carew, and ma-  
 ster Gibe were brought through London to the  
 tower, with a companie of horsemen. The fifteenth  
 daie of March next following, the ladie Elizabeth the  
 quenees sister, and next heire to the crowne, was ap-  
 prehended at the manour of Albridge, for suspicion  
 of Williams conspiracie. And from thence (being that  
 time verie sick) with great rigour brought pri-  
 soner to London. On the sundaie after being the se-  
 vententh of March, he was committed to the tower,  
 where also the lord Courtneie earle of Devonshire  
 (of whose before is made mention) was for the like  
 suspicion committed prisoner.

¶ Touching the imprisonment of the foresaid ladic Elizabeth, & the lord Courtneie, thou shalt note here for thy learning (good reader) a politike point of practise in Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, not vnknowe to be considered. This Gardiner being alwaies a capitall enimie to ladic Elizabeth, & thinking now by the occasion of maister What to pick out some matter against the lord Courtneie, and so to in the end to intangle the ladic Elizabeth, deuised a pestilent practise of conuenance, as in the storie here following maie appaere. The storie is this. The same date that sir Thomas died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the lord Courtneie, who there before the lieutenant and the shiriffes, kneeling downe vpon his knees, besought the lord Courtneie to forgiue him, for that he had fallacie accused both the ladic Elizabeth and him: and so being brought from thence vnto the scaffold to suffer, there openlie in the hearing of all the people cleared the ladic Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. After which confession, doctor Weston there standing by, cried to the people, saying: Belæue him not (good people) for he confessed otherwise before vnto the counsell.

After the execution done of sir Thomas *Whit*, which was the eleventh daie of Aprill, word was brought immediatlie to the lord mai<sup>or</sup>: sir Thomas *White* a litle before dinner, how maister *Whit* had cleared the ladie *Elizabeth* and lord *Courtneie*, and the wordes also which doctor *Welfton* spake unto the people. Wherevnto the lord mai<sup>or</sup> answering; Is this true quoth he: Said *Welfton* so: In sooth I neuer toke him otherwise but for a knave. Upon this the lord mai<sup>or</sup> sitting downe to dinner (who dined the same daie at the *Bridgehouse*) commeth in sir *Partine Wolves* with the recorder, newlie come from the parliament house, who hearing of the mai<sup>or</sup> and *Whit*'s this report of *Whit*'s confession, both upon the scaffold and also in the tow<sup>er</sup>, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale contrarie to this, told the same daie in the parliament house, which was, that sir Thomas *Whit* should desire the lord *Courtneie* to confesse the truth, so as he had done before.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a teine prentise dwelling in saint Laurence lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plaisterer being one of quene Maries seruants, among other talke, made mention how sir Thomas

The Duke of  
Suffolke  
described.

Great pisse  
that so manie  
good gifts con-  
curring should  
suffer disgrace.

\* The number of them that thus had their pardon were 240.

Gentlemen  
sent into Kent  
to be executed.

### Example

Ladie Elizabeth and  
lord Courtenie prisoner  
in the tower.

ic Abr.Fl. ex  
e Ich.Fornm  
tyrologio.

A point of  
practice of  
Stephā Ser-  
diner against  
the ladies E-  
lizabeth.

Doctor: well  
against the  
die Elizabeth

The lord  
iors indigne  
of D. weith

The Lord  
Shandois  
false report  
in the Star-  
chamber, a-  
gainst the la-  
die Elizabeth  
and lord  
Courtneie.

with  
raci  
non  
on,

Execution.

Ladie Elizabeth and lord Courtneie prisoners in the tower.

Abt. Fl. ex Joh. Foxmartyrologio.

A point of praxe of Stephen Gardiner against the ladie Elizabeth.

Doctor well against the ladie Elizabeth.

The lord marquis of Winchester.

at

What had cleared the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, to be no consenters to his rising. Which words being brought to Gardiner (by what means I know not) incontinent upon the same, sir Andrew had was sent by the said bishop to the lord maior, commanding him to bring the said prentise to the Star chamber, which was accused of these words, that he should saie that What was constrained by the counteill to accuse the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie. Which fellow when he was come to the Star chamber, the aforesaid Gardiner letting passe other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculouse almightie God had brought the queens maiestie to the crowne, the whole realme in a manner being against him, and that he had brought this to passe for this singular intent & purpose, that this realme being overwhelmed with heresies, the might reduce the same againe to the true catholike faith. And where the ladie Elizabeth into his fauour, and loued him so tenderlie, and also the lord Courtneie, who of long time had bene detained in prison, and by him was set at libertie, and received great benefites at his hands; and notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most unnaturallie and traitorouslie against him with that heinous traitor What, as by the confession of What (said he) and the letters sent to and fro maie plainlie appeare: yet there was some in the citie of London, which reported that What was constrained by the counteill to accuse the ladie Elizabeth, and the lord Courtneie, & yet you my lord maior (quoth he) haue not seene the same punished.

The partie is here, said the lord maior. Take him with you (said Gardiner) and punish him according to his desert, and said further: My lord, take heed to your charge, the citie of London is a whirlepole and a sink of all euill rumors, there they be bred, and from thence spred into all parts of this realme. There stood by the same time the lord Shandols, who being then lieutenant of the tower, and now hearing the bishop thus speake, to wch his tale, came in with these words as followeth: My lords (quoth he) this is a truth that I shall tell you, I being lieutenant of the tower when What suffered, he desired me to bring him to the lord Courtneie; which when I had done, he fell downe upon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confesse the truth of himselfe, as he had done before, and to submit him selfe vnto the queens mercie. And thus much of this matter I thought to declare, to the intent that the reader perceiuing the proceedings of the bishop in the premises, & comparing the same with the true testimonie of What himselfe, and with the testimonie of the Shrifffes, the which were present the same time when sir Thomas What asked the lord Courtneie forgiuenesse, maie the better iudge of the whole case and matter for the which the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Courtneie were so long in trouble.]

On saturday next following being Easter euen, and the foure and twentieth of March, the lord marquis of Northampton, the lord Cobham, and sir William Cobham his sonne and heire, were deliuered out of the tower, where they had remained for a time, being committed thither upon some suspicion about Whats rebellion: as diuerse others were, wherof manie were put to death, as C.O. reporteth;

*Nunc illos laqueum illos quaestio torquet  
Atque istis, habet multos ens todia clausis  
Firma viros, atro pars pluvima deditur Oreo.*

Not long after, queene Marie partly offended with the Londoners, as fauourers of Whats conspiracy, and partly perceiuing the more part of them nothing inclined towards his proceedings in religion, which turned manie of them to losse, summoned

a parliament to be holden at Oxford, as it were to gratifie that citie, which with the vniuersitie, towne, and countrie, had shewed themselves verie forward in his seruice; but speciallie in restoring of the religion called catholike: for which appointed parliament there to be holden, great prouision was made, as well by the queens officers, as by the towne and inhabitants of the countrie round about. But the queens mind in short space changed, and the same parliament was holden at Westminster in Aprill next following, wherein the queene proponed two speciall matters, the one for the mariage to be had betwene him and the prince Philip of Spaine: the other, for the restoring againe of the popes power and iurisdiction in England. As touching his mariage, it was with no great difficultie agreed vpon; but the other request could not be easilie obtained.

Howbeit, it was to be wished, euen to the disappoynting of that mariage (if God in countell had so prouided) that the whole bodie of the parliament had bene semblable affected, as it is said, that all the nations of the world were, when the sunne would needs be married. Against which purpose of the sun the people of all regions assembling, humble besought Jupiter to cast in a blocke and impediment against that wedding. But Jupiter demanding of them why they would not haue the sun married; one stepping vp made answer for the rest, and said: Thou knowest well enough Jupiter that there is but one sun, and yet he burneth vs all: who, if he be married & haue childzen, as the number of fans must needs increase; so must their heat and feruentnesse be multiplied, whereby a generall destruction of all things in their kind will insue. Whereupon that match was ouerthrowne. But God aboue ruling by prouidence all things here beneath, had purposed this confusion; so that it was not in the power of man to withstand or interrupt it: howbeit it was his pleasure (to what end himselfe best knoweth) to curse it with barrennesse, as he did the queene hir selfe with a short and vnpeaceable reigne (full of sedition and bloudshed) as our English poet noteth:

*Quae post Eduardi mortem conuersio reuam,  
Transiit in varias alieno pectore partes  
Brutigenas, fauet hic externis, ille perusis  
Mystarum rabiem, tantis obstacula querit  
Opportuna malis: cum iam prob dedecus ingens,  
Seditio exoritur, regnorum pessima pestis.*

¶ On the eight of Aprill, then being sunday, a cat with his head thorne, and the likenesse of a vestment cast ouer him, with his fore feet tied together, and a round peece of paper like a singing cake betwixt them, was hanged on a gallows in Cheape, nere to the crosse, in the parish of saint Mathew: which cat being taken downe, was caried to the bishop of London, and he caused the same to be shewed at Pauls crosse by the preacher doctor Pendleton.]

On the tenth daie of Aprill following, Thomas Crammer archbishop of Cantuarburie, Nicholas Ridley bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer once bishop of Worcester, who had bene long prisoners in the tower, were now conueied from thence, and caried to Windsor, and afterward to the vniuersitie of Oxford, there to dispute with the diuines and learned men of the contrarie opinion. Two daies after their coming to Oxford, which was the twelue daie of the said moneth, diuerse learned men of both the vniuersities were sent in commission from the conuocation (which during this parliament was kept in Pauls church in London) to dispute with those prisoners in certaine articles of religion. The names of them that were in commission were these following. Of Oxford, doctor Weston prolocutor, Cole, Chadwicke, Pie, Harpelfield, Smith. Of Cambridge,

A parliament summoned at Oxford but not holden.

All nations in the world against the mariage of the sun, and why.

John Stow. A cat hanged in cheape.

The bishops Crammer, Latimer, and Ridley sent to Oxford.

Commissioners.

10. Fox in acts  
and monu-  
ments.

Sir Thomas  
What arreig-  
ned.

The effect of  
What's indict-  
ment.

What answer-  
eth not dis-  
reale to the  
question guilt-  
ie or bnguilt-  
ie.

A rebels re-  
port touching  
rebellion.

What's ex-  
hortation to  
fornie by his  
owne exam-  
ple.

What altereth  
his mind sou-

Cambidge, Pong, Seton, Watton, Atkison, Becknam, Sedgewike. The thirtieth daie of April these disputers assembled themselves in saint Maries church, to conuent the three persons aboue named vpon certeine articles of religion, who being brought out of prison before them, were severallie one after another examined of their opinions, vpon the articles proponed vnto them, whereof ye maie read in the booke of monuments of the church more at large, and there find the whole proceeding in that matter.

Sir Thomas What (of whome mention is made before) was about this time brought from the tower to Westminster, and there arreigned of high treason: the earle of Sufter, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, with others being his iudges. The effect of whose indictment among other things speciallie was; that he the fourteenth daie of Februarie last before, with force of armed multitude and ensignes displayed, had at Bzainsford raised open warres against our soueraine ladie the queene, traitorously pretending and practising to de- pteure hir of hir crowne and dignitie; and the question was demanded of him, whether he was guiltie or no? Whereat he staied, and besought the iudges that he might first aske a question, before he answered directly to the point, and he was licenced so to do. The question was, that if he should confesse himselfe guiltie, whether the same should not be prejudiciall vnto him, so as he by that confession should be barred from uttering such things as he had moze to say: Wherevnto it was answered by the court; Maister What (said they) ye shall haue both leaue and leasure to saie what you can.

Then my lordes (quoth he) I must confesse my selfe guiltie, and in the end the truth of my case must in- force me. I must acknowledge this to be a iust plague for my sins, which most greivouslie I there- fore haue committed against God, who suffered me thus brutishlie & beastlie to fall into this horrible of- fense of the law. Wherefore all you lordes & gentle- men, with other here present, note well my words, lo here & see in me the same end which all other com- monlie had, which haue attempted the like enter- prise from the beginning. For peruse the chronicles throughe, & you shall see that neuer rebellion attempt- ed by subiects against their prince and countrie, from the beginning did ever prosper, or had ever better successe, except the case of king Henrie the fourth: who although he became a prince, yet in his act was but a rebell, for so must I call him: & though he persuaded for a time, yet was it not long but that his heires were depriued, and those that had right a- gaine restored to the kingdome and crowne, and the vsurpation so sharplie reuenged afterward in his blood, as it well appeared, that the long delate of Gods vengeance was supplied with moze greivous plagues in the third and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you gentlemen that be here present, remember and be taught as well by examles past, as also by this my present infelicitie and most wret- ched case. Oh most miserable, mischievous, brutish & beastlie furious imaginations of mine! I was per- suaded that by the marriage of the prince of Spaine, the second person of this realme, and next heire to the crowne, should haue bene in danger; and that I being a free borne man, should with my countrie haue bene brought into the bondage and seruitude of aliens and strangers. Which brutish beastlie opi- nion then seemed to me reason, and wrought in me such effects, that it led me headlong into the practice of this detestable crime of treason.

But now being better persuaded, and vnderstand- ing the great commoditie & honoy which the realme

should receiue by this marriage: I stand firme and fast in this opinion, that if it should please the queene to be mercifull vnto me, there is no subiect in this land that should moze trulie and faithfullie serue hir highnes than I shall; nor no sooner die at hir graces feet in defense of hir quarrell. I serued hir highnes against the duke of Northumberland, as my lord of Arundell can witness. My grandfather serued most truelie hir graces grandfather, and for his sake was set vpon the racke in the tower. My father also serued king Henrie the eight to his god conten- tation, and I also serued him, and king Edward his son. And in witness of my blood spent in his ser- uice, I carrie a name. I alledge not all this to set forth my seruice by waie of merit, which I confesse but dutie: but to declare to the whole world, that by abusing my wits, in pursuing my misadvised opi- on, I haue not onelie ouerthrowne my house, and defaced all the well doings of me and my ancestors (if euer there were anie) but also haue bene the cause of mine owne death and destruction. Neither do I alledge this to iustifie my selfe in anie point, neither for an excuse of mine offense: but most humble sub- mit my selfe to the queenes maiesties mercie and pi- tie, desiring you my lord of Sufter, and you maister Hastings, with all the rest of this honorable bench, to be meanes to the queenes highnes for hir mercie, which is the greatest treasure that maie be giuen to anie prince from God, such a vertue as God hath ap- propriate to himselfe. Which if hir highnes vouch- safe to extend vnto me, she shall bestow it on him, who shall be most glad to serue truelie, and not re- fuse to die in hir quarrell. For I protest before the iudge of all iudges, I neuer meant hurt against hir highnes person.

Then said the queenes attorneie; Maister What you haue great cause to be sorie, and repent for your fault, whereby you haue not onelie vndone your selfe and your house, but also a number of other gen- tlemen, who being true men might haue serued the prince and countrie: yet if you had gone no further, it might haue bene borne withall the better. But being not so contented to staie your selfe, you haue so procured the duke of Suffolke (a man some trat- ned to your purpose) and his two brethren also: by meanes wherof without the queenes greater mer- cie, you haue ouerthrowne that noble house. And yet not so staied, your attempt hath reached as far as in you laie to the second person of the realme, in whom next to the queenes highnes resteth all our hope and comfort, wherby hir honoy is brought in question, and what danger will folow, and to what end it will come God knoweth: of all this you are the author. What answered; As I will not in anie thing iustifie my selfe, so I beseech you, I being in this wretched estate, not to ouercharge me, nor to make me seeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touch anie person by name; but that I haue written I haue written. Then said the iudge; Maister What, maister attor- nie hath well moned you to repent your offenses, and we for our parts wish you the same.

Then said sir Edward Hastings maister of the queens house; Maister What, doe ye remember when I and maister Cornwallis were sent vnto you from the queenes highnes to demand the cause of your enterprise, and what you required? Where not these your demands, that the queenes grace should go to the tower, and there remaine; and you to haue the rule of the tower and hir person, with the treasure in keeping, and such of hir counsell as you would re- quire to be deliuered into your hands, saing that you would be trusted and not trust? Which words when What had confessed, then said the queenes sol- citor; Your presumption was ouer great, & your at- tempt

ching the  
queenes mar-  
riage.

William  
Thomas  
maister  
of the  
queene  
spare.

The fruits of  
rebellion by  
What's conde-  
mned.

What's confes-  
sion.

What's sorie  
that he refus-  
ed the queenes  
pardon when  
it was offered.

The queenes  
attorneie spee-  
ch to What.

What's answe-  
re to the queenes  
attorneie.

The execution  
of sir Tho-  
mas What.

The iudge  
speaks.

Sir Edward  
Hastings  
speech to  
What.

Maister Cor-  
wall later mar-  
rier of the  
queene speak-  
eth.

William  
Thomas  
maister  
of the  
queene  
spare.

What's sorie  
that he refus-  
ed the queenes  
pardon when  
it was offered.

The execution  
of sir Tho-  
mas What.



tempt in this case hath purchased you perperuall in-  
fame, and shall be called **What rebellion**, as **What**  
**Tilers** was called **What Tilers rebellion**. Then  
said the attorneye; **Paister What**, were you not p-  
tise to a deuise whereby the queene should haue bene  
murdered in a place where she should walke? I do  
not burthen you to confesse this, for thus much I  
must saie on your behalfe, that you misliked that de-  
uise: **That deuise** (said **What**) was the deuise of  
**William Thomas**, whome euer after I abhorred for  
that cause.

Then was a letter shewed, which **What** being  
in Southwiche had witten to the duke of Suff-  
olke, that he should meet him at Kingstone bidge,  
and from thence to accompanie him to London, al-  
though he came with the fewer number. **What** at  
the first did not seeme to remember anie such letter;  
but when it was shewed him, he confessed his hand.  
Then was it demanded of him among other things,  
why he refused the queenes pardon when it was offer-  
red him. My lords (quoth he) I confesse my fault and  
offense to be most vile and heinous, for the which first  
I aske God mercie, without the which I cannot cha-  
lenge anie thing, such is my offense alreadye com-  
mitted. And therefore I beseech you to trouble me  
with no more questions, for I haue deliuered all  
things vnto hir grace in witting. And finallye here  
I must confesse, that of all the voyages wherein I  
haue serued, this was the most desperat and painfull  
iourney that euer I made. And where you asked why  
I receiued not the queenes pardon when it was offer-  
red vnto me; Oh unhappie man! What shall I saie?  
When I was entred into this diuellish & desperat ad-  
uenture, there was no waie but waie through with  
that I had taken in hand: for I had thought that o-  
ther had bene as farre forward as my selfe, which I  
found farre otherwise. So that being bent to keepe  
promise with all my confederats, none kept promise  
with me; for I like a moule went through thicke and  
thin with this determination, that if I should come  
to anie treatie, I should seeme to belouate all my  
friends.

But whereto should I spend anie more words?  
I yeld my selfe wholie vnto the queenes mercie,  
knowing well that it is onelie in hir power to make  
me (as I haue deserued) an open exsample to the  
world with **What Tiler**; or else to make me partici-  
pant of that pittie which she hath extended in as great  
crimes as mine; most humbly beseeching you all to  
be means for me to hir highnesse for mercie, which is  
my last and onelie refuge. The will of God be done  
on me. Upon this confession without further trial,  
he receiued the iudgement accustomed in cases of  
treason, which was to be hanged, drawne and quarter-  
red. And the eleuenth of Aprill next folowing he was  
brought to the Tower hill, and there was pardoned  
of his drawing and hanging, but had his head stric-  
ken off, and his bodie cut in foure quarters, and set  
vp in diuerse places about the citie, but his head was  
set vpon the gallowes at Waie hill beside Hyde  
parke.

Now here by the waie is to be noted, that he being  
on the scaffold readie to suffer, declared that the la-  
die Elizabeth and sir Edward Courtenie earle of  
Denonshire, whome he had accused before (as it se-  
med) were neuer priue to his doings, as farre as he  
knew, or was able to charge them. And when doctor  
**Weston**, being then his confessor told him that he  
had confessed the contrarie vnto the counsell, he an-  
swered thus; That I said then, I said, but that which  
I saie now is true. This was the end of **What** and  
his conspiracie; as also the like hath bene of others  
attempting anie rebellion. For as their enterprise  
being, according to the proper qualitie thereof, con-

sidered, is flat against Gods ordinance, who hath or-  
deined magistracie to be reuerenced of inferiours: so  
it is vnlikelie to bring other than infortunatnesse,  
and shamefull ouerthrowes vnto the attempters; in  
whome although will want not to compasse anie  
worke; yet force failing, they misse the marke, & all  
because rashnesse giueth them a false aime. Where-  
fore to conclude this tragicall discourse of **What**, it  
were to be wished that the sage and safe counsell of  
**Cato** were put in common practise of all men, which  
is, to undertake & do nothing aboue their strength:

*Quod potes, id tentes, operis ne pondere pressus,  
succumbat labor, & frustra tentata relinquis.*

The seuenth daie of Aprill next folowing, sir **Ni-  
cholas Throckmorton** knight was brought from the  
tower to Guildhall in London, and there arreigned  
of high treason, as adherent and principall counsell-  
lor to the said **What** and the duke of Suffolke, and  
the rest in the fore remembred conspiracie against  
the queene. But he so stoutlie, and therewithall so cur-  
ninglie answered for himselfe, as well in clearing of  
his cause, as also in defending & auoiding such points  
of the lawes of the realme, as were there alleaged a-  
gainst him, that the quest which passed vpon his life  
& death found him not guiltie. With which verdict the  
iudges and counsellors there present were so much  
offended, that they bound the iurie in the summe of  
five hundred pounds a peece, to appeare before the  
counsell in the Star chamber, at a daie appointed.  
And according to their bond, they appeared there be-  
fore the said counsell vpon Wednesdaye, being the  
one and twentieth of Aprill, and saint Marks daie;  
from whence after certeine questioning, they were  
committed to prison, **Emanuel Lucar** and master  
**Whetston** to the tower, and the other to the Fleet.

But now forsomuch as a copie of the order of sir  
**Nicholas Throckmortons** arreignment hath come  
to my hands, and that the same maie giue some light  
to the historie of that dangerous rebellion, I haue  
thought it not impertinent to insert the same: not  
wishing that it should be offensive to anie, sith it is  
in enerie mans libertie to weie his words bittered  
in his owne defense, and likewise the doings of the  
quest in acquitting him, as maie seme god to their  
discretions, sith I haue deliuered the same as I haue  
found it, without preiudicing anie mans opinion, to  
thinke thereof otherwise than as the cause maie  
moue him.

The order of the arreignment of sir  
**Nicholas Throckmorton knight**, in the Guildhall  
of London the seuenteenth daie of Aprill 1554.  
*expressed in a dialog for the better vnderstan-  
ding of euerie mans part.*

**S**ir Thomas White knight lord maior of  
London, the earle of Shrewesburie, the  
earle of Derby, sir Thomas Bromleie  
knight lord chiefe iustice of England, sir  
**Nicholas Hare** knight master of the colles, sir  
**Francis Englefield** knight master of the court of  
wards and liberties, sir Richard Southwell knight  
one of the priue counsell, sir Edward Malgraue  
knight one of the priue counsell, sir Roger Cholme-  
leie knight, sir William Portman knight one of  
the iustices of the Kings bench, sir Edward San-  
ders knight one of the iustices of the common pleas;  
master Stanford & master Dier sergeants, master  
Edward Griffin attourne generall, master Sen-  
dall and Peter Tichbourne clerks of the exchequer.  
First, after proclamation made, and the commission  
read, the lieutenant of the tower, master Thomas  
Bridges, brought the prisoner to the barre: then si-  
lence was commanded, and Sendall said to the pris-  
oner

Sir Nicholas  
Throck-  
morton ar-  
reigned of  
high treason  
clearly him-  
selfe.

The names  
of the com-  
missioners.

The queenes  
learned coun-  
sell gave con-  
science against  
the prison: &

The friends of  
rebellion by  
vnto consen-  
tion.

was confes-  
sed.

was hope-  
d that refu-  
sion of the  
queens  
pardon which  
was offered.

The queenes  
refusall to  
relye to wist.

was refused  
to the queenes  
attorneyes.

The execution  
of sir Tho-  
mas what.

The iudges  
preacheth.

Sir Edward  
Courtenie  
preacheth to  
what.

Sendall.

ner as followeth.

Nicholas Throckmorton knight hold vp thy hand, thou art before this time indicted of high treason, &c: that thou then and there didst falslie and traitorouslie, &c: conspire and imagine the death of the quenes maiestie, &c: and falslie and traitorouslie diddest leuie warre against the quene within hir realme, &c: and also thou wast adherent to the quenes enemies within hir realme, giuing to them aid and comfort, &c: and also falslie and traitorouslie diddest conspire and intend to depose and depriue the quene of hir roiall estate, and so finally destroye hir, &c: and also thou diddest falslie and traitorouslie deuiſe and conclude to take violentlie the tower of London, &c. Whiche treasons and euerie of them in maner & forme, &c: art thou guiltie or not guiltie?

Throckmorton.

Maie it please you my lordes and maisters, which be authorized by the quenes commission to be iudges this daie, to giue me leaue to speake a few wordes, which doth both concerne you and me, before I answer to the indictment, and not altogether impertinent to the matter, and then plead to the indictment.

Whomeleie.

No, the order is not so, you must first plead whether you be guiltie or no.

Throckmorton.

If that be your order and law, iudge accordingly to it.

Harc.

You must first answer to the matter therewith you are charged, and then you maie talke at your pleasure.

Throckmorton.

But things spoken out of place, were as good not spoken.

Whomeleie.

These be but delates to spend time, therefore answer as the law willethe you.

Throckmorton.

My lordes I praye you make not too much hast with me, neither thinke not long for your dinner, for my case requireth leasure, and you haue well dined when you haue done iustice trulie. Christ said, Blessed are they that hunger and thirst for righteousnesse.

Whomeleie.

I can forbeare my dinner as well as you, and care as little as you peraduenture.

Shrewsbury.

Come you hither to cheeke vs Throckmorton: We will not be so bled, no no, I for mine owne part haue forborne my breakefast, dinner, and supper to serue the quene.

Throckmorton.

Dea my good lord I know it right well, I meant not to touch your lordship, for your seruite and pains is euidentlie knowne to all men.

Southwell.

Passer Throckmorton, this talke needeth not, we know what we haue to do, and you would teach vs our duties, you hurt your matter: go to, go to.

Throckmorton.

Passer Southwell, you mislike me, I meant not to teach you, nor none of you, but to remember you of that I trust you all be well instructed in; and so I satisfie my selfe, sith I shall not speake, thinking you all know what you haue to do, or ought to know: so I will answer to the indictment, and doe plead not guiltie to the whole, and to euerie part thereof.

Sendall.

How wilt thou be tried?

Throckmorton.

Shall I be tried as I would, or as I should?

Whomeleie.

You shall be tried as the law will, and therefore you must saie by God and by the countrie.

Throckmorton.

Is that your law for me? It is not as I would, but sith you will haue it so, I am pleased with it, and doe desire to be tried by faithfull iust men, which more feare God than the world.

The names of the iurors.

Lucar.	Loto.
Poing.	Whetston.
Martin.	Painter.
Westrike.	Banks.
Barckfeld.	Calthrop.
Rightlie.	Cater.

Then the iurie was called.

What time the attornie went for: Wholly to master Cholmeleie, and shewed him the shrikes returne, who being acquainted with the citizens, knowing the corruptions and devertities of them in such cases, noted certeine to be challenged for the quene (a rare case) and the same men being knowne to be sufficient and indifferent, that no exceptions were to be taken to them, but onlie for their vpright honesties: notwithstanding, the attornie prompting sergeant Dyer, the said sergeant challenged one Bacon, and an other citizen peremptorie for the quene. When the prisoner demanded the cause of the chalenge: The sergeant answered; We need not to shew you the cause of the chalenge for the quene. When the inquest was furnished with other honest men, that is to saie, Whetston & Lucar, to the prisoner bled these wordes,

I trust you haue not prouided for me this daie, as in times past I knew an other gentleman occupying this toofull place was prouided for. It chanced one of the iustices vpon gelousie of the prisoners acquittall, for the goodnesse of his cause, said to an other of his companions a iustice, when the iurie did appeare: I like not this iurie for our purpose, they seeme to be too pitifull and too charitable to condemne the prisoner. No no, said the other iudge (to wit Cholmeleie) I warrant you, they be picked fellows for the nonce, he shall drinke of the same cup his fellows haue done. I was then a looker on of the pageant as others be now here: but now I am me, I am a plaier in that toofull tragedie. Well, for these and such other like the blacke ore hath of late troden on some of their feet: but my trust is, I shall not be so bled. Whilist this talke was, Cholmeleie consulted with the attornie about the iurie, which the prisoner espied, and then said as here insureth; Ah ah master Cholmeleie, will this soule packing neuer be left?

Whie what do I, I praye you D. Throckmorton: I did nothing I am sure, you doe picke quarrels to me.

Well master Cholmeleie if you doe well, it is better for you, God helpe you.

[The iurie then was sworn, and proclamation made, that whosoever would giue evidence against sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, should come in and be heard, for the prisoner stood vpon his defence, where vpon sergeant Stanford presented himselfe to speake.]

And it may please you master sergeant and the others my masters of the quenes learned counsell, like as I was minded to haue said a few wordes to the commissioners, if I might haue had leaue for their better remembrance of their duties in this place of iustice, and concerning direct indifference to be bled towards me this daie: so by your patience I doe thinke good to saie some what to you, and to the rest of the quenes learned counsell, appointed to giue evidence against me. And albeit you and the rest by order be appointed to giue evidence against me, and interteined to set forth the depositions and matter against me; yet I praye you remember I am not alienate from you, but that I am your christian brother; neither you so charged, but you ought to consider equitie; nor yet so priuileged, but that you haue a dutie of God appointed you how you shall do your office; which if you exceed, will be grauouly required at your hands. It is lawfull for you to vse your gifts which I know God hath largelie giuen you, as your learning, art, and eloquence, so as the rebey you doe not seduce the minds of the simple and vblearned iurie, to credit matters otherwise than they be. For master sergeant, I know how by periuasions, inforcements, presumptions, applying, implicing, inferring, confecturing, deducting of arguments, working and exceeding

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exceeding the law, the circumstances, the depositions and confessions that vnllearned men may be inclined to thinke and iudge those that be things indifferent, or at the worst but ouersights to be great treasons; such power orators haue, & such ignorance the vnllearned haue. Almighty God by the mouth of his prophet doth conclude such aduocates be cursed, speaking these words: Cursed be he that doth his office craftlie, corruptlie, and malicioulie. And consider also, that my blood shall be required at your hands, and punished in you and yours, to the third and fourth generation. Notwithstanding, you and the iustices excuse alwaies such erroneous doings, when they be after called in question by the verdict of the twelue men: but I assure you, the purgation serued you as it did Pilat, and you wash your hands of the bloodshed, as Pilat did of Christs. And now to your matter.

And it please you my lordes, I doubt not to proue euidentlie and manifestlie, that Throckmorton is worthilie and rightlie indicted and arraigned of these treasons, and that he was a principall deuiler, procurer, and contriuer of the late rebellion; and that what was but his minister. How saie you Throckmorton, did not you send Winter to what into Kent, and did denie that the tower of London should be taken, with other instructions concerning whats stirre and rebellion?

Haie it please you that I shall answer particularly to the matters objected against me, inasmuch as my memorie is not good, and the same much decayed since my greivous imprisonment, with want of sleepe, and other disquietnesse: I confesse I did saie to Winter that what was desirous to speake with him, as I vnderstood.

Pea sir, and you deuised together of the taking of the tower of London, and of the other great treasons.

No, I did not so, proue it.

Des sir, you met with Winter sundrie times as shall appere, and in sundrie places.

What granted, proueth no such matter as is supposed in the indictment.

Stanford read Winters confession, which was of this effect, that Throckmorton met with Winter one daie in tower street, and told him, that sir Thomas what was desirous to speake with him, and Winter demanded where what was, Throckmorton answered at his house in Kent, not farre from Gillingham, as I heard saie, where the ships lie. Then they parted at that time, and shortly after, Throckmorton met with Winter, vnto whome Winter said; Master what doth much mislike the coming of the Spaniards into this realme, and feareth their short arrivall here, in as much as daile he heareth thereof, doth see daile diuerse of them arrive here, scattered like fouldiers; and therefore he thinketh god the tower of London should be taken by a sleight, before the prince came, least that peece be delivered to the Spaniards. How saie you Throckmorton to it: Throckmorton answered; I mislike it for diuerse respects. Euen so do I said Winter. At another time Throckmorton met me the said Winter in Paules, when he had sent one to my house, to take me before, and he said to me; You are admirall of the fleet that now goeth into Spaine. I answered Pea. Throckmorton said, When will your ships be ready? I said within ten daies. Throckmorton said, I vnderstand you are appointed to conduct and carrie the lord priuie seale into Spaine, and considering the danger of the Frenchmen, which you saie arme them to the sea apace, me thinke it well done, you put my said lord and his traine on land in the west countrie to avoid all dangers. Throckmorton said also, that

what changed his purpose for taking the tower of London. I said I was glad of it, as for the Frenchmen, I care not much for them, I will so handle the matter, that the quenes ships shall be (I warrant you) in safegard. Another time I met with master Throckmorton, when I came from the emperours ambassadoes, vnto whome I declared, that the emperor had sent me a faire chaine, and shewed it vnto Throckmorton, who said; For this chaine you haue sold your countrie. I said it is neither French king nor emperor that can make me sell my countrie, but I will be a true Englishman. Then they parted. This is the summe of the talke betwixt Throckmorton and Winter.

How my masters of the iurie, you haue heard my sayings confirmed with Winters confession. How saie you Throckmorton, can you denie this, if you will, you shall haue Winter iustifie it to your face.

My lordes, shall it please you that I shall answer. Pea, saie your mind.

I may trulie denie some part of this confession, but because there is nothing materiall greatlie, I suppose the whole be true, and what is herein depofed, sufficient to bring me within the compasse of the indictment.

It appeareth that you were of counsell with what at, in as much as you sent Winter downe to him, who uttered vnto him diuerse traitorous denials.

This is but coniecturall, yet sith you will construe it so malicioulie, I will recompt how I sent Winter to what, and then I prae you of the iurie iudge better than master sergeant doth. I met by chance a seruant of master what, who demanded of me for Winter, and shewed me, that his master would gladlie speake with him: and so without aint further declaration, desired me if I met Winter to tell him master what's mind, and where he was. Thus much for the sending downe of Winter.

Pea sir, but how saie you to the taking of the tower of London, which is treason?

I answer, though what thought met to attempt so dangerous an enterprize, and that Winter informed me of it, you cannot extend what's deuises to be mine, and to bring me within the compasse of treason. For what manner of reasoning or proue is this, what would haue taken the tower, Ergo Throckmorton is a traitor: Winter doth make my purgation in his owne confession, euen now red as it was by master sergeant, though I saie nothing: for Winter doth avow there, that I did much mislike it. And because you shall the better vnderstand that I did alwaies not allow these master what's deuises, I had these words to Winter, when he informed me of it; I thinke master what would no Englishman hurt and this enterprize cannot be done without the hurt and slaughter of both parties. For I know him that hath the charge of the peece, & his brother, both men of good seruice, the one had in charge a peece of great importance, Bullongne I meane, which was stoutlie assailed, & notwithstanding he made a good account of it for his time: the like I am sure he will do by this his charge. Moreover, to accompt the taking of the tower, is verie dangerous by the law. These were my words to Winter. And besides, it is verie unlike that I of all men would confederate in such a matter against the lieutenant of the tower, whose daughter my brother hath married, and his house and mine alied together by marriage sundrie times within these few yeares.

But how saie you to this, that what and you had conference together sundrie times at Warkers house, and in other places?

This is a verie generall charge to haue conference, but whie was it not as lawfull for me to confer with what

Stanford.

Throckmorton.  
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Hare.

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what

What as with you, or anie other man? I then knew no more by What, than by anie other. And to proue to talke with What was lawfull and indifferent, the last daie that I did talke with What, I saw my lord of Arundell, with other noble men and gentlemen, talke with him familiarlie in the chamber of presence.

Hare.

But they did not conspire nor talke of anie surre against the Spaniards as you did pretend, & meant it against the quene, for you, Cross, Rogers, and Warner did oftentimes deuisse in Warners house about your traitorous purposes, or else what did you so often there?

Throckmorton.

I confesse I did mislike the quenes marriage with Spaine, and also the comming of the Spaniards hither, and then me thought I had reason to do so: for I did learne the reasons of my misliking of you master Hare, master Southwell, and others in the parliament house, there I did see the whole consent of the realme against it; and I a hearer, but no speaker, did learne my misliking of those matters, confirmed by manie sundrie reasons amongst you; but as concerning anie surre or bypore against the Spaniards, I neuer made anie, neither procured anie to be made; and for my much refozt to master Warners house, it was not to conferre with master What, but to shew my frendship to my verie good lord the marquisse of Portsmouth, who was lodged there when he was enlarged.

Stanford.

Did not you Throckmorton tell Winter that What had changed his mind for the taking of the tower, wherby it appeared euidentlie that you knew of his doings?

Throckmorton.

Cruellie I did not tell him so, but I care not greatly to giue you that wepon to plaie you withall, now let vs see what you can make of it.

Stanford.

Pea sir, that proueth that you were pruiue to What, at his mind in all his deuises and treasons, & that there was sending betwixt you and What from time to time.

Throckmorton.

What master sergeant? Doth this proue against me, that I knew What did repent him of an euill deuised enterpryse? Is it to know Whats repentance sinne? No, it is but a ventall sinne, if it be ante it is not deadlie. But there is the messenger or message that What sent to me touching his alteration, and yet it was lawfull inough for me to heare from What at that time, as from anie other man, for anie act that I knew he had done.

Dier.

And it may please you my lord, and you my masters of the turie, to proue that Throckmorton is a principall dower in this rebellion, there is yet manie other things to be declared: among other, there is Crosss confession, who saith, that he and you, and your complices, did manie times deuisse about the whole matters, and he made you pruiue to all his determinations, and you shewed him that you would go into the west countrie with the earle of Deuon, to sir Peter Caroe, accompanied with others.

Throckmorton.

Passer Cross is yet lining, and is here this daie, how happeneth it he is not brought face to face to iustifie this matter, neither hath bene of all this time? Will you know the truth? Either he said no so, or he will not abide by it, but honestlie hath refozted himselfe. And as for knowing his deuises, I was so well acquainted with them, that I can name none of them, nor you neither as matter knowne to me.

Attourneie.

But whie did you abuisse Winter to land my lord pruiue seale in the west countrie?

Throckmorton.

He that told you that my mind was to land him there, doth partlie tell you a reason whie I said so, if you would remember as well the one as the other: but bicause you are so forgetfull, I will recite where

fore. In communication betwixt Winter and me, as he declared to me that the Spaniards prouided to bring their prince hither, so the Frenchmen prepared to interrupt his arrivall: for they began to arme to the sea, and had already certeine ships on the west coast (as he hard.) Unto whom I said, that peradventure not onelie the quenes ships vnder his charge might be in ieopardie, but also my lord pruiue seale, and all his traine; the Frenchmen being well prepared to meet with them, and therefore for all cuments it were good you should put my said lord in the west countrie in case you espie anie ieopardie. But what doth this proue to the treasons, if I were not able to giue conuenient reasons to my talke?

Marie sir now comeneth the proofes of your treasons, you shall heare what Cutbert Vaughan saith against you.

Stanford.

Then sergeant Stanford did read Vaughans confession, tending to this effect. That Vaughan comming out of Kent, met with Throckmorton at master Warners house, who after he had done commendations from What to him, desired to know where Cross was. Throckmorton answered, either at Arundell house where he lodgeth, or in Paules. Then Vaughan desired to know how things went at London, saing; Passer What & we of Kent do much mislike the marriage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spaniards for diuerse respects: howbeit, if other countreies mislike them as Kent doth, they shall be but hardlie welcome, and so they parted. Shortly after Throckmorton met with Vaughan in Paules, vnto whome Throckmorton declared with sundrie circumstances, that the Welshmen were in a readinesse to come forwards, and that sir Peter Caroe had sent vnto him euen now, and that he had in order a good band of horsemen, and an other of footmen. Then Vaughan demanded what the earle of Denonshire would doe. Throckmorton answered he will mar all, for he will not go hence, and yet sir Peter Caroe would meet him with a band, both of horsemen and footmen, by the waie at Andeuer for his safeguard, and also he should haue bene well accompanied from hence with other gentlemen, yet all this will not moue him to depart hence. Moreover, the said earle hath (as is said) discovered all the whole matter to the chancelor, or else it is come out by his talloz, about the trimming of a shirt of male, and the making of a cloke. At another time, Vaughan saith, Throckmorton shewed him that he had sent a post to sir Peter Caroe, to come forward with as much speed as might be, and to bring his force with him. And also Throckmorton abuisse Vaughan to will master What to come forward with his power: for now was the time, in as much as the Londoners would take his part if the matter were presented to them. Vaughan said also, that Throckmorton & Warner should haue ridden with the said earle westward. Moreover the said Vaughan depose, that Throckmorton shewed him in talke of the earle of Penbroke, that the said earle would not fight against them, though he would not take their parts. Also Vaughan said, that Throckmorton shewed him that he would ride downe into Barkeshire to sir Francis Englefields house, there to meet his eldest brother, to moue him to take his part. And this was the sum of Cutbert Vaughans confession.

How saie you? Doth not here appeare euident matter to proue you a principall, who not onelie gaue order to sir Peter Caroe and his adherents, for their rebellious acts in the west countrie, but also procured What to make his rebellion, appointing him and the others also, when they should attempt their enterpryse, and how they should order their doings

Stanford.

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Throckmorton.

Stanford.

ings from time to time. Besides all this evident matter, you were speciallie appointed to go abwaie with the carle of Devon as one that would direct all things, and give order to all men. And therefore Throckmorton sith this matter is so manifest, and the evidence so apparant, I would advise you to confesse your fault, & submit your selfe to the queenes mercie. How saie you, will you confesse the matter, and it will be best for you?

No, I will neuer accuse my selfe vniustlie, but in as much as I am come hither to be tried, I praie ye let me haue the law fauourable.

It is apparant that you laie at London as a factor, to giue intelligence as well to them in the west, as to what in Kent.

How praie you that, o: who doth accuse me but this condemned man?

Whie will you denie this matter? You shall haue Claughan iustifie his whole confession here before your face.

It shall not need, I know his vnthamfastnesse, he hath aduowed some of this vnturc talke before this time to my face, and it is not otherwisse like, considering the price, but he will do the same againe.

O: lord and masters, you shall haue Claughan to iustifie this here before you all, and confirme it with a booke oth.

He that hath said and lied, will not bring in this case like to sweare and lie.

Then was Cutbert Claughan brought into the open court.]

How saie you Cutbert Claughan, is this your owne confession, and will you abide by all that is here written?

Let me see it and I will tell you.

Then his confession was shewed him.]

Bicause you of the iurie the better may credit him, I praie you my lords let Claughan be sworn.

Then was Claughan sworn on a booke to saie nothing but the truth.]

It may please you my lords and masters, I could haue bene well content to haue those seauen years imprisonment, though I had bene a free man in the law, rather than I would this daie haue giuen evidence against sir Nicholas Throckmorton; against whome I beare no displeasure: but sith I must needs confesse my knowledge, I must confesse all that is there written is true. How saie you master Throckmorton, was there anie displeasure betwene you and me, to moue me to saie aught against you?

None that I know. How saie you Claughan, what acquaintance was there betwene you and me, and what letters of credit o: token did you bring me from what, o: anie other, to moue me to trust you?

As for acquaintance, I knew you as I did other gentlemen: and as for letters, I brought you none other but commendations from master what, as I did to diuerse other of his acquaintance at London.

You might as well forge the commendations as the rest: but if you haue done with Claughan my lords, I praie you giue me leaue to answer.

Speake and be short.

I speake generally to all that be here present, but speciallie to you of my iurie, touching the credit of Claughans depositions against me, a condemned man, and after to the matter: and note I praie you the circumstances, as somewhat materiall to induce the better. First I praie you remember the small familiarity betwixt Claughan and me, as he hath aduowed before you, and moreover, to procure credit at my hand, brought neither letter nor token from what, nor from anie other to me, which he also hath confessed here: and I will suppose Claughan to be in as good condition as anie other man here, that is to

saie, an vncondemned man: yet I referre it to your good iudgement, whether it were like that I, knowing onelie Claughans person from an other man, and having none other acquaintance with him, would so frankelie discover my mind to him in so dangerous a matter. How like (I saie) is this, when diuerse of these gentlemen now in captiuitie, being my herie familiars, could not depose anie such matter against me, and neuer thelesse vpon their examinations haue said what they could: And though I be no wise man, I am not so rash as to vtter to an vnknown man (so) so I may call him in comparison: a matter so dangerous for me to speake, and him to heare. But bicause my truth and his falshood shall the better appeare vnto you, I will declare his inconsistency in vttering this his evidence. And for my better credit, it may please you master Southwell, I take you to witnesse, when Claughan first iustified this his vniust accusation against me before the lord Paget, the lord Chamberleine, you master Southwell, and others, he referred the confirmation of this his furnished matter, to a letter sent from him to sir Thomas what, which letter doth neither appeare, nor anie testimonie of the said master what against me touching the matter: for I doubt not sir Thomas what hath ben examined of me, and hath said what he could directlie o: indirectlie. Also Claughan saith, that young Edward what could confirme this matter, as one that knew this pretended discourse betwixt Claughan and me, and there vpon I made saie that Edward what might either be brought face to face to me, o: otherwisse be examined.

After Throckmorton you misseke your matter, Southwell for Claughan said, that Edward what did know some part of the matter, and also was partie of the letter that Claughan sent sir Thomas what.

Pea sir, that was Claughans last shift, when I charged him before the master of the hofse and you, with his former allegations touching his witnesse, whome when he spied would not do so lewdlie as he thought, then he vsed this alteration. But where be Edward whats depositions of anie thing against me? How it appeareth neither his first nor his last saie to be true. For you know master Bridges, and so doth my lord your brother, that I desired twice o: thrice Edward what should be examined, and I am sure, and most assured he hath bene willed to saie what he could, and here is nothing depose by him against me, either touching anie letter o: other conference. O: where is Claughans letter sent by sir Thomas what concerning my talke?

But now I will speake of Claughans present estate in that he is a condemned man, whose testimonie is nothing worth by anie law. And bicause falsse witnesse is mentioned in the gospell, treating of accusation, hearke I praie you what S. Jerome saith, expounding that place. It is demanded whie Christs accusers be called falsse witnesses, which did report Christs words not as he spake them. They be falsse witnesses saith S. Jerome, which do as, alter, wrest, double, o: do speake for hope to auoid death, o: for malice to procure another mans death: for all men make easilie gather he cannot speake truelie of me, o: in the case of another mans life, where he hath hope of his owne by accusation. Thus much speaketh S. Jerome of falsse witnesse. By the ciuill law there be manie exceptions to be taken against such testimonies: but bicause we be not gouerned by that law, neither haue I my triall by it, it shall be superfluous to trouble you therewith, & therefore you shall heare what your owne law doth saie. There was a statute made in my late souereigne lord: master his time, touching accusation, and these be the words.

Be it enacted, that no person nor persons, shall be

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Stanford,

Claughans  
confession  
was read by  
Stanford,

Stanford



indicted, arreigned, condemned, or convicted for anie offense of treason, petit treason, misprision of treason, for which the same offendor shall suffer anie pains of death, imprisonment, losse or forfeiture of his goods, lands, &c: unless the same offendor be accused by two sufficient & lawfull witnesses, or shall willingly without violence confesse the same. And also in the first yeare of his reigne, it is thus ratified as insueth.

That no person nor persons shall be indicted, arreigned, condemned, convicted or attainted of the treasons or offenses aforesaid, or for anie other treasons that now be, or hereafter shall be; unless the same offendor or offendors be therof accused by two lawfull and sufficient accusers, which at the time of the arreignment of the parties so accused (if they be then living) shall be brought in person before the said partie accused, and avow and mainteine that they haue to saie against the said partie, to proue him guilty of the treasons or offense contained in the bill of indictment laid against the partie arreigned, unless the said partie arreigned shall be willing without violence to confesse the same. Here note I praye you that our law doth require two lawfull and sufficient accusers to be brought face to face, and Claughan is but one, and the same most unlawfull and insufficient. For who can be more unlawfull and insufficient, than a condemned man, and such one as knoweth to accuse me is the meane to saue his owne life: Remember I praye you how long & how manie times Claughans execution hath bene respited, and how often he hath bene contured to accuse (which by Gods grace he withstood untill the last houre) what time perceiving there was no waie to live, but to speake against me or some other (his former grace being taken awaie) did rebaine his life most unskillie and shamefullie, as you see.

Why should we accuse you more than anie other, seeing there was no displeasure betwixt you, if the matter had not bene true?

Because he must either speake of some man, or suffer death, and then he did rather chuse to hurt him whom he least knew, & so loved least, than anie other well knownen to him, whome he loved most. But to you of my iurie I speake speciallie, and therefore I praye you note what I saie. In a matter of lesse weight than triall of life and land, a man maie by the law take exceptions to such as be impaneled, to trie the controuersies betwixt the parties: as for example. A man maie challenge that the shiriffe is his enemy, and therefore hath made a parciall returne; or because one of the iurie is the shiriffe my aduersaries seruant: and also in case my aduersaries billen or bondman be impaneled, I may lawfullie challenge him, because the aduersarie part hath power over his billens lands and goods, and hath the vse of his bodie for seculie office: much more I may of right take exception to Claughans testimonie, my life and all that I haue depending thereupon, and the same Claughan being more bound to the queenes highnesse my aduersarie (that two is me therefore) but so the law doth here so terme his maiestie, than anie villen is to his lord: for his highnesse hath not onlie power over his bodie, lands, and goods, but over his life also.

Yea, the exception are to be taken against the iurie in that case, but not against the witnesse or accuser, & therefore your argument serueth litle for you.

That is not so, for the vse of the iurie, and the witnesse and the effect of their doings doth serue me to my purpose, as the law shall discusse. And thus I make my comparison. By the ciuill law the iudge doth giue sentence vpon the depositions of the witnesse, & by your law the iudge doth giue judgement vpon the verdict of the iurie: so as the effect is both one to finish the matter, triall in law, as well by the

depositions of the witnesse, as by the iuries verdict, though they varie in forme and circumstance: and so Claughans testimonie being credited, may be the materall cause of my condemnation, as the iurie to be induced by his depositions to speake their verdict, and so finallye thereupon the iudge to giue sentence. Therefore I may vse the same exceptions against the iurie, or anie of them, as the principall meane that shall occasion my condemnation.

Why do you denie, that euerie part of Claughans tale is vnttrue?

You may see he will denie all, and saie there was no such communication betwixt them.

I confesse some part of Claughans confession to be true, as the name, the places, the time, and some part of the matter.

So you of the iurie may perceiue the prisoner doth confesse some thing to be true.

As touching my sending to sir Peter Caroe, or his sending to me, or concerning my aduise to master What to stir: or to repaire hither, or touching the earle of Denbshire parting hence, and my going with him, and also concerning the matter of the erle of Denbroke, I do aduow and saie that Claughan hath said vnttrue.

As for my lord of Denbroke, you need not excuse the matter, for he hath shewed himselfe cleere in these matters like a noble man, and that we all know.

Why what was the talke betwixt Claughan and you so long in Paules, if these were not so, and what meant your oft meetings?

As for our often meetings, they were of no set purpose, but by chance, & yet no oftener than twice. But since you would know what communication passed betwixt vs in Paules church, I will declare. We talked of the incommodities of the marriage of the queene with the prince of Spaine, and how grievous the Spaniards would be to vs here. Claughan said, that it should be verie dangerous for anie man, that trulie professed the gospell to live here, such was the Spaniards crueltie, and especiallie against christian men. Whereunto I answered it was the plague of God inslie come vpon vs; and now almightie God dealt with vs as he did with the Israelites, taking from them for their vntthankfulness their godlie kings, & did send tyrants to reigne ouer them. Euen so he handled vs Englishmen, which had a most godlie & vertuous prince to reigne ouer vs, my late soueraigne lord and master king Edward, vnder whome we might both safelie and lawfullie professe Gods word, which with our lewd doings, demeanors, and living, we handled so irreuerentlie, that to whip vs for our faults he would send vs strangers, yea such verie tyrants to exercise great tyrannie ouer vs, and did take awaie the vertuous and faithfull king from amongst vs: for euerie man of enerie estate did colour his naughtie affections with a pretense of religion, and made the gospell a stalking horse to bring their euill desires to effect. This was the summe of our talke in Paules somewhat more dilated.

That it may appere yet more evidentlye how Throckmorton was a principall dower and counsellor in this matter, you shall heare his owne confession of his owne hand writing. The cleark began to read, Throckmorton desired master Stanfords to read it, and the iurie well to marke it. Then master Stanfords did read the prisoners owne confession to this effect: that Throckmorton had conference with What, Caroe, Croftes, Rogers, and Warner, as well of the queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, as also of religion, and did particularlie confer with euerie the forenamed, of the matters aforesaid. Approuer, with sir Thomas, What the p:soner

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ner talked of the hute that the Wellesherne men shuld much mislike the coming of the Spaniards into this realme, being reported also that they intended to interrupt their arrivall here. And also that it was said, that they were in consultation about the same at Grecester. What also did saie, that sir Peter Caroe could not bring the same matter to good effect, nor that there was any man so meet to bring it to good effect, as the erle of Denonshire, & speciallie in the west parts, insomuch as the p. drew not all by one line.

Then Throckmorton asked how the Kentishmen were affected to the Spaniards? What said; The people like them euill enough, and that appeared now at the coming of the countie of Cymount, for they were ready to stir against him and his traine, supposing it had bin the pince. But what said; Sir Robert Southwell, maister Baker, and maister Poile, and their assintie, which be in good credit in some places of the shire, will for other malicious respects hinder the libertie of their countie. Then Throckmorton should saie; Though I know there hath bene an unkindnesse betwixt maister Southwell and you for a monie matter, wherein I travelled to make you friends, I doubt not, but in so honest a matter as this is, he will for the safeguard of his countie soine with you, and so you may be sure of the lord Aburgaunnie & his force. Then what said; It is for another matter than for monie that we disagree, wherein he hath handled me and others herie double & vneighly; howbeit, he can do no other, neither to me, nor to anie other man, & therefore I forgive him. Item, with sir Peter Caroe, Throckmorton had conference touching the impeachment of the landing of the said pince, and touching promise of armour and munition as insuech, that is to saie, that sir Peter Caroe told Throckmorton that he trusted his countreimen would be true Englishmen, and would not agree to let the Spaniards to governe them. Item, the said sir Peter Caroe said, the matter importing the French king, as it did, he thought the French king would worke to hinder the Spaniards coming hither, with whom the said sir Peter did thinke good to practise for armour, munition, and monie.

Then Throckmorton did aduise him to beware that he brought anie Frenchmen into the realme forceable, insomuch as he could as euill abide the Frenchmen after that sort as the Spaniards. And also Throckmorton thought the French king unable to glue aid to us, by meanes of the great consumption in their owne warres. Maister Caroe said; As touching the bringing in of the Frenchmen, he meant it not, for he loved neither partie, but to serue his owne countie, and to helpe his countie from bondage: declaring further to Throckmorton, that he had a small barke of his owne to worke his practise by, & so he said, that shortly he intended to depart to his owne countie, to understand the deuotion of his countreimen. Item Throckmorton did saie, he would for his part hinder the coming in of the Spaniards as much as he could by persuation. Item to sir Edward Warner, he had and did becomen his owne estate, and the tyrannie of the time extended vpon diuerse honest persons for religion, and wished it were lawfull for all of eche religion to liue safely according to their conscience; for the law (*Ex officio*) will be intolerable, & the clergies discipline now made rather be resembled to the Turkes tyrannie, than to the teaching of christian religion. This was the summe of the matter which was read in the foresaid confession, as matters most greivous against the prisoner. When Throckmorton said; Withence maister sergeant you haue read and gathered the place (as you thinke) that maketh most against me, I praye you take the pains, and read further, that hereafter what soeuer become

of me, my words be not peruerted and abused to the hurt of some others, and especiallie against the great personages, of whom I haue bene sundrie times (as appeareth by my answers) examined, for I perceiue the net was not cast onelie for little fishes, but for the great ones, *Iuxta adagium*.

It shall be but losse of time, and we haue other things to charge you withall, and this that you desire doth make nothing for you.

And for the better confirmation of all the treasons obiected against the prisoner, and therein to proue him guiltie, you of the iurie shall heare the duke of Suffolks depositions against him, who was a principall, and hath suffered accordingly. When the said sergeant read the dukes confession touching the prisoner, amounting to this effect, that the lord Thomas Greie did informe the said duke, that sir Nicholas Throckmorton was priue to the whole deuises against the Spaniards, & was one that should go in to the west countie with the erle of Denonshire.]

But what doth the principall authour of this matter saie against me, I meane the lord Thomas Greie who is yet liuing? Why be not his depositions brought against me, for so it ought to be, if he can saie anie thing? Will you know the truth? Neither the lord Thomas Greie hath said, can saie, or will saie anie thing against me, notwithstanding the duke his brothers confession and accusation, who hath affirmed manie other things besides the truth. I speake not without certeine knowledge: for the lord Thomas Greie being my prison-fellow for a small time, informed me, that the duke his brother had misreported him in manie things, amongst others in matters touching me, which he had declared to you maister Southwell, and other the examiners not long ago. I am sure if the lord Thomas could, or would haue said anie thing, it should haue bene here now. And as to the dukes confession, it is not materiall: for he doth referre the matter to the lord Thomas report, who hath made my purgation.

And it please you my lords, and you my masters of the iurie, besides these matters touching what rebellion, sir Peter Caroes treasons and confederating with the duke of Suffolke, and besides the prisoners conspiracie with the erle of Denonshire, with Crofts, Rogers, Warner, and sundrie others in sundrie places, it shall manifestlie appeare vnto you, that Throckmorton did conspire the queenes maiesties death, with William Thomas, sir Nicholas Arnold, and other traitors intending the same, which is the greatest matter of all others, and most to be abhorred. And for profe hereof, you shall heare what Arnold saith. When was sir Nicholas Arnolds confession read, saing that Throckmorton shewed to him, riding betwixt Wyndam and Crosse laund in Gloucestershire, that John Fitz Williams was verie much displeased with William Thomas.

William Thomas deified, that John Fitz Williams should kill the queene, and Throckmorton knew of it, as appeareth by Arnolds confession.

First I denie that I said anie such thing to maister Arnold, and though he be an honest man, he may either forget himselfe, or deuise meanes how to vnburthen himselfe of so weightie a matter as this is; for he is charged with the matter as principall. Which I did perceiue when he charged me with his tale, and therefore I do blame him the lesse, that he seeketh how to discharge himselfe, vnto me as a witnesse, if he could so transference the deuise to William Thomas. But trulie I neuer spake anie such words vnto him. And for my better declaration, I did see John Fitz Williams here euen now, who can testifie, that he neuer shewed me of any displeasure betwixt them,

and as I know nothing of the displeasure betwixt them, so I know nothing of the cause: I pray you my lords let him be called to depose in this matter what he can. Then John Fitzwilliams drew to the barre, and presented himselfe to depose his knowledge in the matter in open court.

The attorne.

I praye you my lords suffer him not to be sworn, neither to speake, we haue nothing to doe with him.

Chockmorton.

Why should he not be suffered to tell truth? And why be ye not so well contented to heare truth for me as vnto truth against me?

Dare.

Who called you hither Fitzwilliams, or commanded you to speake? You are a vertie busie officer.

Chockmorton.

I called him, and doe humble desire that he maie speake, and be heard as well as Cloughan; or else I am not indifferentlie vsed, especiallie seeing maister at tourneie doth so presse this matter against me.

Southwell.

Go your waies Fitzwilliams, the court hath nothing to doe with you: peraduenture you would not be so readie in a good cause. Then John Fitzwilliams departed the court, and was not suffered to speake.

Chockmorton.

Whence this gentlemans declaration may not be admitted, I trust you of the iurie can perceiue, it was not for anie thing he had to saie against me, but contrariwise that it was feared he would speake for me. And now to maister Arnolds depositions against me, I saie I did not tell him anie such words, so as if it were materiall, there is but his yea and my naie. But because the words be not soe strained against me, I praye you maister attorneie why might not I haue told maister Arnold, that John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas, and yet know no cause of the anger? It might be vnderstand, to disgrace oftentimes. Who doth confesse that I know anie thing of William Thomas deusse touching the quenes death? I will answer, No man. For maister Arnold doth mention no word of that matter, but of the displeasures betwixt them. And to speake that, doth neither proue treason, nor knowledge of treason. Is here all the euidence against me that you haue to bring me within the compasse of the indictment?

Stanford.

We thinke the matters confessed by others against you, together with your owne confession, will weie therwolie. But how saie you to the rising in Kent, and to Wiliams attempt against the quens roiall person at hir palace?

Bromlic.

Why do you not read Wiliams accusation to him, which doth make him partener to his treasons?

Southwell.

Wiliam hath greuouslie accused you, and in manie things that others haue confirmed.

Chockmorton.

Whatsoeuer Wiliam hath said of me in hope of his life, he vnfaid it at his death. For since I came into this hall, I heard one saie (but I know him not) that Wiliam vpon the scaffold did not onelie purge my lady Elizabeth hir grace, and the erle of Denonshire, but also all the gentlemen in the tower, saing they were all ignorant of the turre and commotion. In which number I take my selfe.

Dare.

Notwithstanding he said, all that he had writtten and confessed to the counsell, was true.

Chockmorton.

Saie sir, by your patience, maister Wiliam said not so, that was maister doctors addition.

Southwell.

It appeareth you haue had good intelligence.

Chockmorton.

Almightie God prouided that reuelation for me this daie since I came hither: for I haue bin in close prison these eight and fiftie daies, where I heard nothing but what the birds told me, which did lye ouer my head. And now to you of my iurie I speake speciallie, whome I desire to marke attentiuely what shall be said. I haue bene indicted, as it appeareth, and now am arreigned of compassing the quenes maiesties death, of leuening war against the quene,

of taking the towre of London, of deposing and depriming the quene of hir roiall estate, and finally to deuoie hir, and of adherence to the quenes enemies. Of all which treasons, to proue me guiltie, the quens learned counsell hath giuen in euidence these points materiall; that is to saie: for the compassing or imagining the quenes death, and the destruction of hir roiall person, sir Nicholas Arnolds depositions, which is, that I should saie to the said sir Nicholas in Glocestershire, that maister John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas.

Wherevnto I haue answered, as you haue heard, both denieng the matter: and for the proue on my side, doe take exceptions, because there is no witnesse but one. And neuerthelesse, though it were granted, the depositions proue nothing concerning the quenes death. For leuening of warre against the quene, there is alleged my conference with sir Thomas Wiliam, sir James Cross, sir Edward Rogers, sir Edward Warner. Against the marriage with Spaine, and the coming of the Spaniards hither, which talke I doe not denie in fort as I saie it, and ment it: and notwithstanding the malicious gathering this daie of my conference, proueth yet no leuening of warre. There is also alleged for proue of the same article, sir James Crosss confession, which (as you remember) implicth no such thing, but general talke against the marriage with Spaine. And of my departing westward with the earle of Devon, which the said James doth not auow, & therefore I praye you consider it as not spoken. There is also for proue of the said article, the duke of Suffolks confession, with whome I neuer had conference; and therefore he auouched the tale of his brothers mouth, who hath made my purgation in those matters; and yet if the matter were proued, they be not greatlie materiall in law. There is also alleged for the further proue of the same article, and for deposing and depriming the quene of hir roiall estate, and for my adhering to the quenes enemies, Culbert Cloughans confession, whose testimonie I haue sufficientlie disproued by sundrie authorities and circumstances, and principallie by your owne law, which doth require two lawfull and sufficient witness to be brought face to face. Also for the taking of the towre of London, there is alleged Wiliams depositions, which vttereth my misliking, when he vttered vnto me sir Thomas Wiliams resolution and deusse for attempting of the said pace. And last of all, to inforce these matters, mine owne confession is ingreued against me, wherein there doth appeare neither treason, neither concelement of treason, neither whispering of treason, nor procurement of treason.

And forsomuch as I am come hither to be tried by the law, though my innocencie of all these points materiall objected, be apparant to acquit me, where to I doe principallie cleaue: yet I will for your better credit and satisfactions, shew you euidentlie, that if you would beleue all the depositions laid against me, which I trust you will not doe, I ought not to be atainted of the treason compassed within my indictment, considering the statute of repeale the last parlement, of all treasons, other than such as be declared in the five and twentieth yere of king Edward the third, both which statutes, I pray you my lords, maie be read here to the inquest.

So sir, there shall be no booke brought at your desire, we doe all know the law sufficientlie without booke.

Do you bring me hither to trie me by the law, & will not shew me the law? What is your knowledge of the law to these mens satisfactions, which haue my trial in hand? I praye you my lords, and my lords all,

Stanford.

Chockmorton.

Dare.

Chockmorton.

Bromlic.

Dare.

Cholmole.

The attorne.

Bromlic.

Chockmorton.

Bromlic.

Chockmorton.

all, let the statutes be read, as well for the queene, as for me.

My lord chiefe iustice can shew the law, and will, if the iurie do doubt of anie point.

You know it were indifferent that I should know and heare the law whereby I am adiudged, and for asmuch as the statute is in English, men of meaner learning than the iustices can understand it, or els how should we know when we offend?

You know not what belongeth to your case, and therefore we must teach you: it apperteineth not to vs to prouide bookes for you, neither sit we here to be taught of you, you should haue taken better heed to the law before you had come hither.

Because I am ignorant, I would learne, and therefore I haue more need to see the law, and partlie as well for the instructions of the iurie, as for my own satisfaction, which mee thinke were for the honor of this presence. And now if it please you my lord chiefe iustice, I do direct my speech speciallie to you. What time it pleased the queenes maiestie, to call you to this honorable office, I did learne of a great personage of hir highnesse priuie counsell, that amongst other good instructions, hir maiestie charged and inioined you to minister the law and iustice indifferently without respect of persons. And notwithstanding the old error amongst you, which did not admit anie witness to speake, or anie other matter to be heard in the favor of the aduersarie, hir maiestie being partie; hir highnesse pleasure was, that whatsoever could be brought in the favor of the subject, should be admitted to be heard. And moreover, that you speciallie, & likewise all other iustices, should not perswade themselves to sit in iudgement otherwise for hir highnesse, than for hir subject. Therefore this manner of indifferent proceeding being principally inioined by Gods commandement, which I had thought partlie to haue remembred you & others here in commission, in the beginning, if I might haue had leaue; and the same also being commanded you by the queens owne mouth: me thinke you ought of right to suffer me to haue the statutes read openly, and also to reiect nothing that could be spoken in my defense; and in thus doing, you shall shew your feloes whosie ministers, and sit for so worthie a mistresse.

You mistake the matter, the queene spake those words to maister Hogan chiefe iustice of the common ples: but you haue no cause to complaine, for you haue bene suffered to talke at your pleasure.

What would you do with the statute booke? The iurie doth not require it, they haue heard the evidence, and they must upon their conscience trie whether you be guiltie or no, so as the booke needeth not; if they will not credit the evidence so apparant, then they know not what they haue to do.

You ought not to haue anie books read here at your appointment, for where doth arise anie doubt in the law, the iudges sit here to informe the court, and now you do but spend time.

I pray you my lord chiefe iustice repeat the evidence for the queene, and giue the iurie their charge, for the prisoner will keepe you here all daie.

How saie you? Haue you anie more to saie for your selfe?

You seeme to giue and offer me the law, but in verie deed I haue onelie the forme and image of the law: neuertheless, sith I cannot be suffered to haue the statutes red openly in the booke, I will by your patience gesse at them as I maie, and I praise you to helpe me if I mistake, for it is long since I did see them. The statute of repeale made the last parliament, hath these words: Be it enacted by the queene, that from henceforth none act, deed, or offense, be-

ing by act of parliament or statute made treason, petit treason, or misprision of treason, by words, writing, printing, ciphering, deeds, or other wise whatsoeuer, shall be taken, had, deemed, or adiudged treason, petit treason: but onelie such as be declared or expessed to be treason, in or by an act of parliament made in the five and twentieth yeare of Edward the third, touching and concerning treasons, and the declaration of treasons, and none other. Here may you see, this statute doth referre all the offenses aforesaid, to the statute of the five and twentieth yeare of Edward the third, which statute hath these words touching and concerning the treasons that I am indicted and arraigned of, that is to saie: Whosoeuer doth compasse or imagine the death of the king, or leuie warre against the king in his realme, or being adherent to the kings enemies within this realme, or elswhere, and be thereof probable attainted by open deed by people of their condition; shall be adiudged a traitor. Now I praise you of my iurie which haue my life in triall, note well what things at this daie be treasons, and how these treasons must be tried and decerned; that is to say, by open deed, which the lawes doth at some time terme (Ouert act). And now I aske notwithstanding my indictment, which is but matter alleged, where doth appeare the open deed of anie compassing or imagining the queens death: Where doth appeare anie open deed of being adherent to the queens enemies, giuing to them aid and comfort? Where doth appeare anie open deed of taking the tower of London?

Why do not you of the queenes learned council answer him? He thinke, Whoschmorton, you need not haue the statutes, for you haue them metelie perfectlie.

You are deceiued to conclude all treasons in the statute of the five and twentieth yeare of Edward the third; for that statute is but a declaration of certein treasons, which were treasons before at the common law. Euen so there doth remaine diuerse other treasons at this daie at the common law, which be expessed by that statute, as the iudges can declare. Neuertheless, there is matter sufficient alleged and proued against you, to bring you within the compasse of the same statute.

I praise you expresse those matters that bring me within the compasse of the statute of Edward the third. For the words be these: And be thereof attainted by open deed: By people of like condition.

Whoschmorton you deceiue your selfe, and mistake these words: By people of their condition. For thereby the law doth vnderstand the discovering of your treasons. As for example: What and the other rebels, attainted for their great treasons, already declare you to be his and their adherent, in as much as diuerse & sundrie times you had conference with him and them about the treason, so as What is now one of your condition, who (as all the world knoweth) hath committed an open traitorous fact.

By your leaue my lord, this is a verie strange and singular vnderstanding. For I suppose the meaning of the law-makers did vnderstand these words: By people of their condition; of the state and condition of those persons which should be on the inquest to trie the partie arraigned, guiltie or not guiltie, and nothing to the betwixt of the offense by another mans act, as you saie. For what haue I to do with Whats acts, that was not nigh him by one hundred miles?

Will you take upon you to skill better of the law than the iudges? I doubt not but you of the iurie will credit as it becommeth you.

Concerning the true vnderstanding of these words:

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words: By people of their condition, my lord chiefe iustice here hath declared the truth, for What was one of your condition, that is to saie, of your conspircie.

Hare.

You do not denie, Throckmorton, but that there hath bene conference and sending betwene What and you: and he and Winter doth confesse the same, with others, so as it is plaine; What may be called one of your condition.

Throckmorton.

Well, seeing you my iudges rule the vnderstanding of these words in the statute, by people of your condition, thus stranglie against me: I will not stand longer vpon them. But there doth appere in me an open deed whereunto the treason is speciallie referred:

Somers.

If thre or foure do talke, deuise, and conspire together of a traitorous act to be done, and afterwards one of them doth commit treason, as What did, then the law doth repute them, and euerie of them as their acts, so as Whats acts do implice and argue of your open deed: and so the law doth terme it and take it.

Throckmorton.

These be marvellous expositions and wonderful implications, that another mans act whereof I was not partie, should be accounted mine: for What did purge me that I knew nothing of his sinne.

Hare.

Yea sir, but you were a principall procurer and contriuer of Whats rebellion, though you were not with him when he made the sinne. And as my lord here hath said, the law alwaies doth adudge him a traitor, which was partie, and doth procure treason, or anie other man to commit treason, or a traitorous act, as you did What and others: for so the *Overt act* of those which did it by your procurement, shall in this case be accounted your open deed. We haue a common case in the law, if one by procurement should disseize you of your land, the law holdeth vs both wrong doers, & giueth remedie as well against the one as the other.

Throckmorton.

For Gods sake applie not such constructions against me, and though my present estate doth not moue you, yet it were well you should consider your office, and thinke what measure you giue to others, you your selues I saie shall assuredlie receiue the same againe. The state of mortall life is such, that men know full little what hangeth ouer them. I put on within these xij. moneths such a mind, that I most wooll wight was as vnlike to stand here, as some of you that sit there. As to your case last recited, whereby you would conclude; I haue remembred and learned of you maister Hare, and you maister Stanfords in the parlement house, where you did sit to make lawes, to expound and explaine the ambiguities and doubts of law sincerelie, and that without affectations. Here I saie I learned of you, and others my maisters of the law, this difference betwixt such cases as you remembred one euen now, and the statute whereby I am to be tried. There is a maxime or principle in the law, which ought not to be violated, that no penall statute maie, ought, or should be construed, expounded, extended, or wrested, otherwise than the simple words and naked letter of the same statute doth warrant and signifie. And amongst diuerse good and notable reasons by you there in the parlement house debated (maister sergeant Stanfords) I noted this one, whie the said maxime ought to be inuolable. You said, considering the private affectations manie times both of princes and ministers within this realme, for that they were men, and would and could erre, it should be no security, but verie dangerous to the subiect, to refer the construction and extending of penall statutes to anie iudges equitie (as you termed it) which might either by feare of the higher powers be seduced, or by

ignorance and follie abused: and that is an answer by procurement.

Notwithstanding the principall (as you alledge it) and the presentence of your sticking to the bare words of the statute, it doth appere and remaine of record in our learning, that diuerse cases haue bene adjudged treason, without the expresse words of the statute, as the queenes learned counsell there can declare.

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It doth appere the prisoner did not onelie intise or procure What, Caro, Rogers, and others, to commit their traitorous act, and there doth his open facts appere, which Claughans confession doth witnesse, but also he did mind thortlie after to allocate himselfe with those traitors; for he minded to haue departed with the earle of Devonshire westward.

By innocencie concerning these matters I trust sufficientlie appereth by my former answers, notwithstanding the condemned mans vniust accusation. But because the true vnderstanding of the statute is in question, I saie procurement, and speciallie by words onelie, is without the compasse of it, and that I do learne and proue by the principle which I learned of maister Stanfords.

Passer Throckmorton, You and I maie not agree this date in the vnderstanding of the law, for I am for the queene, and you are for your selfe; the iudges must determine the matter.

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Ye that doth procure another man to commit a felonie or a murther, I am sure you know well enough the law doth adudge the procurer there a felon or a murtherer; and in case of treason it hath bene alwaies so taken and reputed.

40

I do and must cleaue to my innocencie, for I procured no man to commit trespas: but yet for my learning I desire to heare some case so ruled when the law was as it is now. I do confesse it, that at such time there were statutes prouided for the procurer, counsellor, aider, abetter, and such like, as there were in king Henrie the eighths time; you might lawfully make this cruell construction, and bying the procurer within the compasse of the law. But these statutes being repealed, you ought not now so to do: and as to the principall procurer in felonie and murther, it is not like as in treason; for the principall and accessories in felonie and murther be triable and punishable by the common law: and so in those cases the iudges maie vse their equitie, extending the determination of the fault as they thinke good: but in treason it is otherwise, the same being limited by statute, which I saie and aduow is restrained from anie iudges construction, by the maxime that I recited.

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Your lordships do know a case in Richard the thirde time, where the procurer, to counterfeit false monie, was iudged a traitor, and the law was as it is now.

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Passer sergeant doth remember you Throckmorton of an experience before our time, that the law hath bene so taken: and yet the procurer was not expresse in the statute, but the law hath bene alwaies so taken.

I neuer studied the law, whereof I do much repent me: yet I remember, whilest penall statutes were talked of in the parlement house, you the learned men of the house remembred some cases contrary to this last spoken of. And if I misreport them, I praie you helpe me. In the like case you speake of concerning the procurer to counterfeit false monie; at one time the procurer was iudged a felon, and at another time neither felon nor traitor: so as some of your predecessours adjudged the procurer no traitor in the same case, but leane to their principall, though some other extend their constructions to large. And here is two cases with me, for one against me.

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Because you replie vpon the principall, I will remember where one taking the great seale of England from one writing, and putting it to another, was aduinged a traitor in Henrie the fourths time, and yet his act was not within the expresse words of the statute of Edward the third. There be diuerse other such like cases that maie be alledged and need were.

I praise you my lord chiefe iustice call to your god remembrance, that in the selfe same case of the seale, iustice Spilman, a graue & well learned man, since that time, would not condemne the offendor, but did reprocue that former iudgement by you last remembred, as erroneous.

If I had thought you had bene so well furnished in booke cases, I would haue bene better prouided for you.

I haue nothing but I learned of you speciallie maister sergeant, and of others my maisters of the law in the parlement house, & therefore I maie saie with the prophet (*Salutem ex inimicis nostris.*)

You haue a verie good memorie.

If the prisoner maie auoid his treasons after this maner, the quenes suretie shall be in great reopar- die. For Iacke Cade the blacke smith, and diuerse other traitors, sometime alledging the law for them, sometime they meant no harme to the king, but against his counsell, as What, the duke of Suffolke, and these did against the Spaniards, when there was no Spaniards within the realme. The duke and his brethren did misake the law, as you do: yet at length did confesse their ignorance, and submitted themselves: and so were you best to do.

As to Cade and the blacke smith, I am not so well acquainted with their treasons as you be: but I haue read in the chronicle, they were in the field with a force against the prince, whereby a manifest act did appere. As to the duke of Suffolkes doings, they apperteyne not to me. And though you would compare my speeche and talke against the Spaniards to the dukes acts, who assembled a force in armes, it is euident they differ much. I am lozie to ingreue anie other mans doings, but it seruethe me for a peece of my defense, and therefore I wish that no man should gather euill of it; God forbid that words and acts be thus confounded.

Sir William Stanleie bled this thist that the prisoner veth now; he said he did not leue warre against king Henrie the seauenth, but said to the duke of Buckingham, that in a good quarrell he would aid him with five hundred men; and neuertheless Stanleie was for those words atteinted, who (as all the world knoweth) had before that time serued the king verie faithfullie and trulie.

I praise you maister attorneie do not conclude against me by blind contraries. Whether you alledge Stanleies case trulie or no, I know not. But admit it be as you saie, what doth this proue against me? I promised no aid to maister What nor to anie other. The duke of Buckingham leuied warre against the king, with whome Stanleie was confederat so to do as you saie.

I praise you my lords that be the quenes commis- sioners, suffer not the prisoner to vse the quenes learned counsell thus, I was neuer interrupted thus in my life, nor I neuer knew anie thus suffer- ed to talke, as this prisoner is suffered; some of vs will come no more at the barre & we be thus handled.

Chockmorton you must suffer the quenes lear- ned counsell to speake, or else we must take order with you, you haue had leaue to talke at your plea- sure.

It is proued that you did talke with What, a- gainst the comming of the Spaniards, and deuised

to interrupt their arrivall: and you promised to do what you could against them: wherevpon What be- ing incogaged by you, did leue a force, and attempt- ed warre against the quenes roiall person.

It was no treason nor no procurement of trea- son, to talke against the comming hither of the Spa- niards, neither was it treason for me to saie I would hinder their comming hither as much as I could (vnderstanding me rightlie as I meane it) yea though you would extend it to the worst, it was but words, it was not treason at this daie as the law standeth. And as for Whats doing, they touch me nothing; for at his death when, it was no time to re- port vntreulie, he purged me.

By sundrie cases remembred here by the quenes learned counsell (as you haue heard) that procure- ment which did appeare none otherwise but by words and those you would make nothing, hath bene of long time, and by sundrie well learned men in the lawes aduinged treason. And therefore, your pro- curement being so euident as it is, we maie lawfullie saie it was treason, because What performed a traitorous act.

As to the said alledged forepresidents against me, I haue recited as manie for me, and I would you my lord chiefe iustice should incline your iudgments rather after the example of your honourable prede- cessors, iustice Sparham, and others, which did eschue corrupt iudgements, iudging directlie and sincerelie, after the law & the principles in the same, than after such men as swaruing from the truth, the maritime, and the law, did iudge corruptlie, malicionlie, and affectionatlie.

Iustice Sparham had reason to warrant his do- ings: for it did appeare, a merchant of London was arraigned and slanderouslie accused of treason for compassing and imagining the kings death, he did saie he would make his sonne heire of the crowne, and the merchant meant it of a house in Cheapside at the signe of the crowne, but your case is not so.

My case doth differ I grant, but speciallie because I haue not such a iudge: yet there is an other cause to restreine these your strange and extraordinarie constructions: that is to saie, a prouiso in the latter end of the statute of Edward the third, hauing these words: Prouided alwaies, if anie other case of sup- posed treason shall chance hereafter to come in ques- tion or triall before anie iustice, other than is in the said statute expessed, that then the iustice shall for- beare to aduudge the said case, vntill it be shewed to the parlement to trie whether it should be treason or felonie. Here you are restreined by expresse words to aduudge anie case, that is not manifestlie mentio- ned before, and vntill it be shewed to the parlement.

That prouiso is vnderstood of cases that maie come in triall which hath bene in vze, but the law hath al- waies taken the procurer to be a principall offend- do.

The law alwaies in cases of treason doth account all principals and no accessaries as in other offenses, and therefore a man offending in treason, either by conuert act or procurement, wherevpon an open deed hath ensued, as in this case, is aduinged by the law a principall traitor.

You aduudge (me thinke) procurement verie hard- lie, besides the principall, and besides the god prou- so, and besides the god example of your best and most godlie learned predecessors, the iudges of the realme, as I haue partlie declared, and notwithstanding this grieuous racking & extending of this word procure- ment, I am not in the danger of it, for it doth ap- peare by no deposition that I procured neither one or other to attempt anie act.

The iurie haue to trie whether it be so or no, let it

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weie as it will.

I knowe no meane so apparant to trie procurement as by words, & that meane is probable inough against you, as well by your owne confession, as by other mens depositions.

Throckmorton.

To talke of the queenes marriage with the prince of Spaine, and also the comming hither of the Spaniards, is not to procure treason to be done: for then the whole parlement house, I meane the common house did procure treason. But sith you will make no difference betwixt words and acts, I praye you remember a statute made in my late soueraigne lord and masters time, king Edward the first, which apparantlie expresse the difference. These be the words: Whosoever doth compass or imagine to depose the king of his roiall estate by open preaching, expresse words or sayings, shall for the first offense lose and forfeit to the king all his and their goods and cattels, and also shall suffer imprisonment of their bodies at the kings will and pleasure. Whosoever, &c: for the second offense shall lose & forfeit to the king the whole issues and profits of all his or their lands, tenements and other hereditaments, benefices, prebends, and other spirituall promotions. Whosoever, &c: for the third offense, shall for tearme of life or liues of such offenders or offenders, &c: and shall also forfeit to the kings maiestie, all his or their goods and cattels, and suffer during his or their liues perpetuall imprisonment of his or their bodies. But whosoever, &c: by writing, ciphering, or act, &c: shall for the first offense be adjudged a traitor, and suffer the paines of death. Here you maie perceiue how the whole realme and all your iudgements hath before this understood words and acts diuerselie and apparantlie. And therefore the iudgements of the parlement did assigne diuersitie of punishments, because they would not confound the true understanding of words & deeds, appointing for compassing and imagining by word, imprisonment: and for compassing and imagining by open deed, paines of death.

Bromley.

It is agreed by the whole bench, that the procurer and the adherent be deemed alwaies traitors, when as a traitorous act was committed by anie one of the same conspiracie: and there is apparant proofe of your adhering to What, both by your owne confession and other waies.

Throckmorton.

Adhering and procuring be not all one, for the statute of Edward the third doth speake of adhering, but not of procuring; & yet adhering ought not to be further extended, than to the queenes enemies within his realme, for so the statute doth limit the understanding. And What was not the queenes enemy, for he was not so reputed when I talked with him last, and our speech implied no enemy, neither tended to anie treason, or procuring of treason: and therefore I praye you of the iurie note, though I argue the law, I alleage mine innocencie, as the best part of my defense.

Here.

Your adhering to the queenes enemies within the realme, is euidentlie proued: for What was the queenes enemy within the realme, as the whole realme knoweth it, and he hath confessed it both at his arraignment and at his death.

Throckmorton.

By your leaue, neither What at his arraignment nor at his death, did confesse that he was the queenes enemy when I talked last with him; neither was he reputed nor taken in fouretene daies after, vntill he assembled a force in armes, what time I was at your house master Englefield, where I learned the first intelligence of Whats stirre. And I aske you who doth depose that there passed anie manner of advertisement betwixt What and me, after he had discovered his doings, and shewed himselfe an enemy? If I had bene so disposed, who did let me that I did

not repaire to What, or to send to him, or to the duke of Suffolke either, who was in mine owne countrie, and thither I might haue gone and conuied my selfe with him, unsuspected for my departing home words.

It is true that you were there at my house, accompanied with others your brethren, and to my knowledge, ignorant of these matters.

Throckmorton, you confessed you talked with What and others against the comming of the Spaniards, and of the taking of the tower of London, whereupon What leuied a force of men against the Spaniards he said, and so you saie all: but in deed it was against the queene, which he confessed at length: therefore Whats acts doe proue you counsellor and procurer, howsoever you would auoid the matter.

Why thinke you would conclude against me with a mishapen argument in logike, and you will giue me leaue, I will make an other.

The iudges sit not here to make disputations, but to declare the law, which hath bene sufficientlie done, if you would consider it.

You haue heard reason and the law, if you will conceiue it.

O mercifull God, oh eternall father, which seest all things, what maner of proceedings are these? To what purpose serueth the statute of repeale the last parlement, where I heard some of you here present, and diuerse other of the queenes learned counsell,

griuenouslie inuete against the cruell & bloudie lawes of king Henrie the eight, and against some lawes made in my late soueraigne lord and masters time, king Edward the first. Some termed the murtherous lawes, which were written in blood: some said they were more intollerable than anie lawes that Dionysius or anie other tyrant made. In conclusion, as manie men, so manie bitter tearmes and names those lawes had. And moreover, the preface of the same statute doth recite, that for words onelie, manie great personages, and others of good behaviour, haue bene most cruellie cast awoie by these former sanguinolent thirstie lawes, with manie other suggestions for the repeale of the same. And now let vs put on indifferent eies, and thoughtlie consider with our selues, as you the iudges handle the constructions of the statute of Edward the third, with your equitie and extentions, whether we be not in much worse case now than we were when those cruell lawes

poked vs. These lawes albeit they were grievous and captious, yet they had the verie propertie of a law after saint Pauls description. For those lawes did admonish vs, and discover our finnes plainelie vnto vs, & when a man is warned, he is halfe armed. These lawes, as they be handled, be verie baits to catch vs, & onlie prepared for the same, and no lawes: for at the first sight they asceraine vs we be deliuered from our old bondage, and by the late repeale the last parlement, we liue in more securitie. But when it pleaseth the higher powers to call anie mans life

and sayings in question, then there be constructions, interpretations, and extentions referred to the iudges and iudges equitie, that the partie triable, as I am now, shall find himselfe in much worse case than before when those cruell lawes stood in force. Thus our amendment is from Gods blessing into the warme sunne. But I require you honest men which are to trie my life, consider these opinions of my life, iudges be rather agreeable to the time, than to the truth: for their iudgements be repugnant to their owne principle, repugnant to their godlie and best learned predecessors opinions, repugnant I saie to the prouiso in the statute of repeale made in the last parlement.

After Throckmorton quiet your selfe, and if

shall be the better for you.

Spaſter attorneie, I am not ſo inquiſet as you be, and yet our caſes are not alike: but bicauſe I am ſo tedious to you, and haue long troubled this preſence, it maie pleaſe my lord chiefe iuſtice to repeat the euidence wherewith I am charged, and my anſwers to all the obiections, if there be no other matter to laie againſt me.

¶ Then the chiefe iuſtice remembred particularlie all the depoſitions and euidences giuen againſt the priſoner, and either for want of good memorie, or good will, the priſoners anſwers were in part not recited: wherupon the priſoner craued indifferencie, and did helpe the iudges old memorie with his owne recitall.]

¶ My maſters of the iurie, you haue to inquiſte whether ſir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, here priſoner at the barre, be giltye of theſe treaſons, or anie of them, wherof he hath bene indicted and this daie arraigned, yea or no. And if you find him giltye, you ſhall inquire what lands, tenements, goods, and catels he had at the daie of his treaſons committed, or at anie time ſince: and whether he fled for the treaſons or no, if you find him not giltye.

¶ Haue you ſaid what is to be ſaid?

¶ Yea for this time.

¶ Then I praie you giue me leaue to ſpeake a few words to the iurie. The weight and grauitie of my cauſe hath greatlie occaſioned me to trouble you here long, and therefore I mind not to intertaine you here long, with anie prolix oration: you perceiue notwithstanding this daie great contention betwixt the iudges and the quenes learned counsell on the one partie, and me the poore and wofull priſoner on the other partie. The trial of our whole controuerſie, the trial of my innocencie, the trial of my life, lands, and goods, and the deſtruction of my poſteritie for euer, doth reſt in your good iudgements. And albe it manie this daie haue greatlie inuaded againſt me, the finall determination thereof is transferred onely to you. How grieuous & horrible the ſhedding of innocents blood is in the ſight of almighty God, I truſt you do remember. Therefore take heed (I ſaie) for Chriſts ſake, do not deſile your conſciences with ſuch heinous & notable crimes. They be grieuouslie and terrible puniſhed, as in this world and bale of miſerie vpon the childrens children to the third and fourth generation, and in the world to come with euerlaſting fire and damnation. Liſt by your minds to God, and care not too much for the world, loke not backe to the ſheepſots of Egypt, which will allure you from heauenlie reſpects, to worldlie ſecuritie, and can thereof neither make you anie ſuertie. Well ſaie I praie you, the quene and hir magiſtrats be more delighted with ſauourable equitie, than with rath crueltie. And in that you be all citizens, I will take my leaue of you with S. Paules farewell to the Cyphians, citizens alſo you be, whom he toke to record that he was pure from ſhedding anie blood, a ſpeciall token & doctrine leſt for your inſtruction, that currie of you maie waſh his hands of innocents blood ſhed, when you ſhall take your leaue of this wretched world. The holie ghoſt be amongeſt you.

¶ Come hither ſergeant, take the iurie with you, and ſuffer no man to come at them, but to be ordered as the law appointeth, untill they be agreed vpon their verdict.

¶ It may pleaſe you my lords and maſters which be commiſſioners, to giue order that no perſon haue acceſſe or conference with the iurie, neither that any of the quenes learned counsell be ſuffered to reſpauſe to them, or to talke with anie of them, untill they preſent themſelues here in open court, to pub-

liſh their verdict.

¶ Upon the priſoners ſute on this behalfe, the bench gaue order that two ſeargants were ſworne to ſuffer no man to reſpauſe to the iurie, untill they were agreed according vnto order. Wherupon then the priſoner was by commandement of the bench withdraue from the barre, and the court adiourned untill three of the clocke at afternone, at which houre the commiſſioners returned to the Guildhall, and there did tarie untill the iurie were agreed vpon the verdict. And about five of the clocke, their agreement being aduertised to the commiſſioners, the ſaid priſoner, ſir Nicholas Throckmorton was againe brought to the barre, where alſo the iurie did ſtand; and being demanded whether they were agreed vpon their verdict, answered vniuerſallie with one voice, Yea. Then it was asked who ſhould ſpeake for them: they answered, Whetſon the foreman.]

¶ Nicholas Throckmorton knight, hold vp thy hand. Then the priſoner did ſo vpon the ſummons.

¶ You that be of the iurie, loke vpon the priſoner.

¶ The iurie did as they were intained.

¶ How ſaie you, is maſter Throckmorton knight here priſoner at the bar, giltye of the treaſons wherof he hath bene indicted and arraigned in maner and forme, yea or no?

¶ No.

¶ How ſaie you, did he ſie vpon them?

¶ No, we find no ſuch thing.

¶ I had forgotten to anſwer that queſtion before, but you haue found according to truſth: and for the better warrantie of your doings, vnderſtand that I came to London, and ſo to the quenes counsell brought, when I vnderſtood they demanded for me: & yet I was almoſt an hundred miles hence, where if I had not preſumed vpon my truſth, I could haue withdraue my ſelfe from catching.

¶ How ſaie you the reſt of you, is Whetſons verdict all your verdicts?

¶ The whole inqueſt answered Yea.

¶ Remember your ſelues better, haue you conſidered ſubſtancially the whole euidence in ſort as it was declared & recited; the matter doth touch the quenes highneſſe, and your ſelues alſo, take good heed what you do.

¶ My lord, we haue thoroughlie conſidered the euidence laide againſt the priſoner, and his anſwers to all theſe matters, and accordinglie we haue found him not giltye agreeable to all our conſciences.

¶ If you haue done well, it is the better for you.

¶ It is better to be tried, than to liue ſuſpected. Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael, for he hath viſited and redeemed his people, and hath raiſed vp a mightie ſaluation for vs in the houſe of his ſeruant Dauid. And it may pleaſe you my lord chiefe iuſtice, forſo much as I haue bene indicted and arraigned of ſundry treaſons, and haue according to the law put my trial to God and my countrie, that is to ſaie, to theſe honeſt men which haue found me not giltye, I humbly beſeech you to giue me ſuch benefit, acquittal and iudgement, as the law in this caſe doth appoint.

¶ When the priſoner had ſaid theſe words the commiſſioners conſulted together.]

¶ Gaie it pleaſe you my lord chiefe iuſtice to pronounce ſentence for my diſcharge?

¶ Whereas you do aſke the benefit that the law in ſuch caſe doth appoint, I will giue it you; to wit, that there you haue bene indicted of ſundry high treaſons, & haue bene here this daie before the quenes commiſſioners and iuſtices arraigned of the ſaid treaſons, wherunto you haue pleaded not giltye, and haue for trial therein put your ſelfe on God & your countrie, and they haue found you not giltye, the court doth aſward that you be clarkie diſcharged, pat-

Senball.  
Throckmorton.  
Senball.  
Jurie.  
Senball.

Whetſon.  
Senball.  
Whetſon.  
Throckmorton.

Bromlicie.  
Jurie.  
Bromlicie.

Whetſon.

Bromlicie.  
Throckmorton.

Throckmorton.

Bromlicie.

Engleſhid.

Bromlicie.

Throckmorton.

Stanford.

Hare.

Throckmorton.

The attorneie.

eng your fees. Notwithstanding master lieutenant take him with you againe, for there are other matters to charge him withall.

The hockmorton.

It maie please you my lords & masters of the highnesse priuie counsell, to be on my behalfe humble suitors to hir maiestie, that like as the law this daie (God be praised) hath purged me of the treasons wherewith I was most dangerouslie charged: so it might please hir excellent maiestie to purge me in hir priuie iudgement, and both forgive & forget my ouerrash boldnesse, that I vsed in talke of hir highnes marriage with the prince of Spaine, matters so far above my capacitie, and I verie unable to consider the grauitie thereof, a matter impertinent for me a priuie person to talk of, which did appertine to hir highnesse priuie counsell to haue in deliberation. And if it shall please hir highnesse of hir bountifull liberallitie, to remit my former oversights, I shall thinke my selfe happie for triall of the danger that I haue this daie escaped, and maie thereby admonish me to eschue things about my reach, and also to instruct me to deale with matters agreeable to my vocation. And God saue the queens maiestie, and grant the same long to reigne ouer vs. And the same Lord be praised for you the magistrats, before whom I haue had my triall this daie indifferentlie by the law, and you haue proceeded with me accordinglie; & the grace of God be amongst you now and euer. There was no answer made by anie of the bench to the prisoners sute, but the attornie did speake these words.

The attornie.

And it please you my lords, forsomuch as it seemeth these men of the iurie, which haue strangelie acquited the prisoner of his treasons wherof he was indicted, will forthwith depart the court, I praie you for the queene, that they, and euerie of them maie be bound in a recognisance of five hundred pounds a peece, to answer to such matters as they shall be charged with in the queenes behalfe, whensoever they shall be charged or called.

Whetston.

I praie you my lords be good to vs, and let vs not be molested for discharging our consciences trulie. We be poore merchantmen, and haue great charge vpon our hands, & our liuings do depend vpon our trauels, therefore it maie please you to appoint vs a certeine day for our appearance, for perhaps some of vs maie be in foren parties about our businesse.

Thus much for sir Nicholas Hockmorton's arraignment, wherein is to be considered, that the repealing of certeine statutes in the last parlement, was the chiefe matter he had to alledge for his advantage: whereas the repealing of the same statutes was meant notwithstanding for an other purpose (as before you haue partly heard) which statutes, or the effect of the chiefe branches of them haue bene since that time againe reuiued, as by the booke of the statutes it maie better appeare, to the which I referre the reader. The eight and twentieth of Aprill, the lord Thomas Greie, brother to the duke of Suffolke, was beheaded at the tower hill, a proper gentleman, and one that had serued right valiantlie both in France and Scotland, in the daies of the late kings Henrie and Edward.

The lord Tho. Greie beheaded.

Vpon saturdaye the eight and twentieth of Aprill, sir James Cross and maister William Winter were brought from the tower to the Guildhall in London, where sir James Cross was arraigned: but because the daie was farre spent, maister Winter was not arraigned, but caried backe againe to the tower with the said sir James Cross. William Thomas, of whose mention is made before in the historie of sir Thomas Wyatt, with certeine other, were arraigned and condemned for the conspiring of the murder and killing of the queene vpon the sub-

William Thomas was arraigned & condemned.

den: and for that offense, the said William Thomas was the eighteenth daie of Maie, drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburne. The nineteenth daie of Maie next following, the ladie Elizabeth sister to queene Marie, was deliuered out of the tower, and committed to the custodie of sir John Williams knight, afterward lord Williams of Tame, by whome hir grace was more courteously intreated than some would haue wished. Therefore shortly after she was committed to the manour of Woodstocke, vnder the custodie of sir Henrie Weningfield of Wrenborough in the countie of Northfolke, knight, at whose hands she found not the like courtesie, who (as it is well knowne) vsed his office more like a gailor than a gentleman, and with such rigour as was not meet to be vsed to such an estate, which extremitie of crueltie to a person of great dignitie notwithstanding hir innocencie, is verie well noted by C. O. in Eirenarchia sive Elisabetha, where he saith:

odio quoque tenditur acris  
suspicio vehemens in te clarissima princeps  
Elisabetha, capitis tuum: quod vixeres insons,  
Quodq; animi candor culpa noxiaq; remotus  
Hactenus inuide remittens hebetavit ocellos,  
Ab limore tumens sacer obliuiscitur ordo.  
Implacata cohors spumante exasuat ira  
Furoris eiusdem, donec custodibus agna  
(Arcebat Dem ipse huius) committitur arctis  
Asservanda locus, vi libertatis adempta.

Elisabetha.

But here is to be noted, not so much the vnciuill nature of the man, as the singular lenitie, and gracious clemencie of that gentle and vertuous princeesse, who afterward (as shall appeare) committing to the possession of the crowne as hir rightfull inheritance, was at that time so farre from reuenge of injuries receiued, that whereas diuerse princes haue requited much lesse offenses with losse of life, or losse of lands or goods, nor neuer proceeded further than to discharge him of the court: which manie thought was the thing that pleased him best. At whose departing from hir presence, she vsed onelie these words, or the like in sense: God forgive you that is past, and we doe: and if we haue anie prisoner whome we would haue hardlie handled and straitlie kept, then we will send for you.

Rich. Grafton.

The nine and twentieth of Maie, the erle of Denonshire was brought out of the tower at thre of the clocke in the morning, sir Thomas Tresham knight, and maister Chamberlaine of Suffolke, with certeine of the gard, being appointed to attend on him to Fordingham castell in Northamptonshire, where he was assigned to remaine vnder custodie of the said sir Thomas Tresham and others. On the tenth of June, the foresaid doctor Pendleton preached at Poules crosse, at whome a gun was shot, the pellet wherof went verie nere him, and light on the church wall: but the shoter could not be found. The eleuenth of June the lord John Greie, brother to the late duke of Suffolke, was arraigned at Westminster in the Kings bench, and there condemned: but yet through the painfull trauell and diligent sute of the ladie Greie his wife, his pardon was obtained, and so he escaped with life, and was at length set at libertie, as after it shall appeare.

Queene Elizabeth words to the king field her butcher in the time of hir daunt.

The arrivall the prince Spaine in Southampton.

The two and twentieth of June was proclamation made, for bidding the shooting in handguns, and bearing of weapons. The fifteenth of Iulie, Elizabeth Cross, a wench about eightene yeares old, was vpon a scaffold at Pauls crosse all the sermon time, where she confessed, that she being moued by diuerse lewd persons thereunto, had vpon the fourteenth of March last before passed, counterfeited certeine speeches in an house without Aldersgate of London, through

A gun shot at the preacher: See before pag. 1102.

Anno Reg. 1. The lord John Greie arraigned, pardoned, and released.

Abt. Fl. cc. l. Snow. 1051. A spirit in a wall without Aldersgate: See before at Pauls crosse for rebelling the people, &c.

The cometh toucheth her were the one was merit of people to in- name him.

The ladie Elizabeth deliuered out of the tower.

Sir Henrie Weningfield knight.

The prince Spaine preparation to come into England.

The Eng- landballis- ing met him Sh. James's Capotilla.

m. 1554.

li. Reg. 2.

The table of  
Isabell's re-  
uered out of  
the tower.

Sir Henrie  
Wentworth  
knight.

"Elisabetha.

Rich. Grafton

Queene Eli-  
zabeth's  
wordes to Sir  
Wentworth  
butcherie  
her in the time  
of hir durance

A gun shot at  
the preacher  
Shew before  
page 1102.

Anno Reg. 2.  
The lord  
John Greie  
arrested,  
pardoned, and  
released.

Abr. Fl. ex  
1. Scow. 1091.  
A spirit in a  
wall without  
doubtgate  
both penance  
and daunt  
for abusing  
the people, &c.

Exposition of  
the prince  
of Spaine  
to  
England.

Exposition  
of the prince  
of Spaine  
to  
England.

Exposition  
of the prince  
of Spaine  
to  
England.

Exposition  
of the prince  
of Spaine  
to  
England.

Exposition  
of the prince  
of Spaine  
to  
England.

through the which the people of the whole citie were  
wonderfullie molested, for that all men might heare  
the voice, but not see his person. Some said it was  
an angell, some a voice from heauen, some the Holie  
ghost, &c. This was called the spirit in the wall: the  
had laine whistling in a strange whistle made for that  
purpose, which was giuen him by one Drakes: then  
were there diuerse companions confederat with him,  
which putting themselves amongst the prease, toke  
vpon them to interpret what the spirit said, expres-  
sing certeine seditious words against the queene, the  
prince of Spaine, the masse, and confession, &c.]

But now in this meane while that these things  
thus passed here in England, the prince of Spaine  
prepared for his hither comming, vnto whome had  
bene sent the earle of Bedford lord priuie seale, and  
the lord Fitzwaters, accompanied with diuerse no-  
ble men and gentlemen, who arriuing at the Cozone  
in Galisia, were receiued verie honorablie. And for-  
somuch as the prince was then at vale Solido, dis-  
tant from thence nere hand an hundred leagues,  
they were desired to stae there for their better ease,  
till he might haue convenient oportunitie to repaire  
thither: which neuerthelesse he could not do so sone  
as he pretended to haue desire thereto, as well by  
reason of the sickenesse of his sister, the princes Do-  
wager of Portugall, as by other weightie affaires.  
But being at length rid of such incumbers, & come  
into Galisia, the English ambassadors met him at  
saint James de Compostella. And after he had in  
presence of a great number of noble men and gen-  
tlemen there ratified the contract, and sware to ob-  
serue the covenant, he departed towards Cozone,  
where within a few daies after he imbarked, and ac-  
companied with the number of an hundred and fiftie  
saile, directed his course toward England.

The lord admerall hauing continuallie bene a-  
broad on the seas for the space of thre moneths or  
more, with a nauie of eight and twentie ships and o-  
ther vessels, accompanied also with the viceadme-  
rall of the low countreies, that had vnder his gouer-  
nance fourtene ships of the emperours, met with  
the said prince the nineteenth of Iulie, about the  
Fledles, and from thence accompanied him vnto  
Southampton, where he arriued the next morn-  
ing the twentieth of Iulie, the earle of Arundell lord tre-  
surer of the queens house being sent from him to pre-  
sent to him the George and the garter of the order (of  
the which fellowship he was at the last chapter hol-  
den by the confessors chosen one of the companie) met  
him vpon the water, and at his comming to land,  
presented the said George and garter vnto him. At  
his landing he was receiued by the lord treasurer,  
the bishop of Lincolne, the lord Saint-John, and o-  
thers, by whom he was first conueled to the church,  
and from thence to his lodging.

After his landing, the lord chancellor accompa-  
nied with diuerse gentlemen, was sent from the  
queene to bid him welcome on his behalfe; & so was  
he visited by diuerse noble personages whilst he re-  
mained at Southampton, sent thither for that pur-  
pose. And he on the other part sent diuerse on his  
noble men to visit his maiestie on his behalfe. Upon  
daie the thre & twentieth of Iulie, he departed from  
Southampton towards Winchester, whither the  
was the saturday before remoued from Bishops  
Waltham. On the waie he was accompanied, be-  
side the noblemen & gentlemen of his owne traine,  
with the marques of Winchester, the earles of Ar-  
rundell, Darbie, Worcester, Bedford, Rutland, Den-  
broke, Surrie: the lords Clinton, Cobham, Wil-  
loughbie, Darcie, Pattrauers, Talbot, Strange,  
Fitzwarren, and Poorth, with manie other noblemen  
and gentlemen, and their traines, to the number of

two thousand horses. At his comming to the church  
in Winchester, the lord chancellor accompanied  
with the bishops of Durham, Ely, London, Lin-  
colne, Chichester, and diuerse other prelates, were re-  
adie to receiue him. After he had made his prayers, he  
was conueled to his lodging prepared for him in the  
deans house.

The queene his selfe was lodged in the bishops pa-  
lace, whither his highnesse the next daie came, and  
was receiued by him in the hall, in most courteous  
& louing maner. And after such salutations & talke  
ended, as was thought conuenient for the time, he  
returned to his lodging, where he continued all that  
night: and the next daie being the five and twentieth  
of Iulie, the mariage was openlie solemnized. At  
the which were present, the ambassadors of the em-  
perour, the king of Romans, the king of Bohem,  
of Venice, Florence, Ferrare, and Sauoie, with cer-  
teine agents of other states in Italie. As for the  
shot of ordinance, the diuerse kinds of musicke, the  
sumptuous and costlie apparell, trappers, and other  
furniture, readie prouided against the receiuing of  
him, with other ceremonies vsed alwell about the  
mariage, as in other places where he was to be  
receiued, were suerlie such, and euerie thing done  
in such good order, as better for such a purpose might  
not lightlie be deuised. Nobles of Spaine were,  
the duke of Alua, the duke of Medina celi, the  
admerall of Castilla, the marques of Bergues, the  
marques of Pescara, the marques of Saria, the mar-  
ques of Walli, the marques of Aguillar, the earle of  
Cgmond, the earle of Horne, the earle of Fficia,  
the earle of Chinchon, the earle of Aluarez, the  
earle of Saldana, the earle of Rodica, the earle of  
Ffuentelida, the earle of Landisano, the earle of  
Castellar, Don Rui Gomes, the bishop of Cuenca,  
Don John de Benauides; and diuerse others.

The queens  
lodging in the  
bishops pa-  
lace.

The mariage  
solemnized  
and what  
states of Ita-  
lie & Spaine  
were present  
at it.

The names of  
the noble men  
that came ouer  
from Spaine  
with the  
prince.

# An abstract of the conditions of this mariage betweene both the princes.

**B**ut now forsomuch as some would hap-  
pilie be desirous to know the conditions  
of this memorabile mariage betwixt the  
two high princes, the consequence wher-  
of might haue proued of so great importance, al-  
though by the queens decaie the effect was made  
void, I haue thought good to recite in briefe the chiefe  
articles thereof.

1 It was covenanted that he should enioy the  
title and name of king, during the matrimonie, and  
should ad his highnesse (being his wife) in the admi-  
nistration of his realmes and dominions: but yet he  
should permit and suffer him to haue the whole dispo-  
sition of all benefices, offices, lands, reuenues, and  
fruits of the said realmes and dominions, and that  
the same should be bestowed vpon such as were his  
naturall borne subjects, and that all matters of the  
said realmes and dominions should be treated and  
handled in the same towngs, wherein of old they haue  
bene wont to be treated.

He to be intit-  
uled king du-  
ring the ma-  
trimonie, &c.

2 That the queene by vertue of the said mariage  
should be admitted into the societie of the realmes  
and dominions of the said prince of Spaine, as well  
such as he now presentlie hath, as such other also as  
during the matrimonie may come to him.

She to be in-  
tituled to his  
dominions  
during the  
mariage.

3 And for his dowrie, in case she ouerliued him, she  
was appointed to receiue yerlie thre score thousand  
pounds, after the value of fortie groats sterling  
monie the pound, to be allotted vpon all the realmes,  
lands, and patrimoniall dominions of his father the  
emperour, that is to saie, fortie thousand pounds to be  
assigned vpon the realms of Spaine, Castile, and  
Aragon,

His dowrie  
if she suruiued  
him.



Aragon, according to the custome of those realmes. The other twentie thousand pounds were appointed vpon the dukedoms, earledoms, and dominions of Brabant, Flanders, Henalt, Holland, and other patrimoniall lands and inheritances of the said emperor; in the low countries of Germanie; in like manner as the ladie Margaret of England, sometime wife and widow of the lord Charles, sometime duke of Burgogne, had and receiued of the same. And if anie parcell or parcels thereof be alienated, then in lieu thereof, other lands should be in due forme assigned forth for hir to enjoy, lieng nere to the residue of hir dower.

Touching the issue of his bodie male or female,

4 The issue that should chance to come of this marriage, touching the right of the mothers inheritance in the realme of England, and the other realmes and dominions depending of the same, aswell the males as females should succeed in them, according to the lawes, statutes, and customs of the same.

Touching the prince of Spaines disposing of his lands after his decease.

5 And as touching the lands that the said prince of Spaine shall leave behind him, first there should be reserved vnto his eldest sonne the lord Charles of Austria, infant of Spaine, and to the children and heires of him descending, as well females as males all and singular their rights, which to the said prince do either then, or thereafter should belong, or should at anie time be deuolued to him in the realmes of Spaine, of both the Sicils, in the dukedome of Milaine, and other lands and dominions in Lombardie and Italie, which neuertheless shall be burdened and charged with the foresaid dower of fortie thousand pounds. And if it fortuned the said lord Charles to die, and the issue of his bodie to faile, then the eldest son of this matrimonie should succeed, and be admitted vnto the said right, according to the nature, lawes, and customs of those realmes and dominions. The same eldest son should also succeed in all the dukedoms, earledoms, dominions, and patrimoniall lands belonging vnto the said emperor father to the said prince of Spaine, as well in Burgogne, as in the low countries, in the dukedoms of Brabant, Lurenburgh, Gelderland, Zutphane, Burgogne, Friesland, in the countries of Flanders, Arthois, Holland, Zelant, Namure, and the land beyond the Rhes, and all other whatsoever therein to belonging.

Touching the lord Charles and his descendants if heire male came by this marriage,

6 But if the said lord Charles, or they that should come of him, remaine in life; and that there be anie male child by this matrimonie: the said lord Charles and his descendants should then be excluded from the said lands and patrimoniall dominions of the low countries, and of Burgogne, and the same should descend vnto the said eldest son borne of this matrimonie. And to the other children borne thereof, as well males as females, a convenient portion and dower should be allotted in the realme of England, and dominions depending of the same, and in the said lands & patrimoniall dominions of the low countries: and neither the eldest sonne of this matrimonie, nor the sons begotten in the same, should pretend anie right in the realme of Spaine, or in the dominions of the same, and reserved to the said lord Charles the infant, otherwise than by their fathers and grandfathers disposition.

What is to be done if heire male faile, and there be none but issue female,

7 Whereof, if it fortune no issue male to be borne of this matrimonie, but onelie females, in that case the eldest female should with full right succeed in the said lands and dominions of the low countries, so as neuertheless she being minded to chuse to husband anie noble man not borne in England, or in the low countries, without the consent of the said lord Charles the infant, in that case the right of the succession should remaine to the said lord Charles, in the said dominions of the low countries, Burgogne,

and their appurtenances. And yet neuertheless in that case, both he and the other daughters also depending of this matrimonie, shall be indowed of their fathers lands & possessions aswell in Spaine, as in the low countries.

8 And for want of the said lord Charles, and issue of him, and none but daughters remaining of this marriage, the eldest daughter in that case should succeed, not onelie in the lands of the low countries; but also in the realmes of Spaine, England, and the rest, after the nature, the lawes, and customs of the same.

9 Herewith was a promise accorded, that whatsoever he or she should be that should succeed in them, they should leaue to euerye of the said realmes, lands, and dominions, whole and entire their privileges, rites and customs, and gouerne the same by the naturall bozne of the same realmes, dominions, and lands, &c.

10 Finally, that betwene the said emperor, the prince and his successors, their realmes, and the said queene, it was concluded, that from thenceforth there should be an entire & sincere fraternitie, trinitie, and most strict confederacie for euer, &c: so as they should mutuallie aid each other in all things, according to the strength, forme, & effect of the latter trefte of a strict amitie, bearing date at Westminster in the yere 1542: the declaration of which treatie beareth date at Witeright, the sixteenth of Januarie, in the yere 1546.

In another treatise were these articles following comprised.



First, that the prince of Spaine should not promote, admit, or receiue vnto anie office, administration, or benefice in the realme of England, or dominions to the same belonging, anie stranger, or persons not borne vnder the subiection of the said queene.

2 That he should receiue into his household and court, gentlemen and yeomen of the said realme of England in a conuenient number, esteeming, intertaining, and nourishing them as his proper subiects, & bring none with him in his retinue that will do anie wrong to the subiects of the said realme; & if they do, he to correct them with condigne punishment, and to see them expelled his court.

3 That he shall do nothing whereby anie thing be innouated in the state and right either publike or priuat, or in the lawes and customs of the said realme of England, or the dominions thereunto belonging; but shall keepe to all estates and orders their rights and privileges.

4 That he shall not leade auaile the queene out of the borders of his graces realme, unless she hir selfe desire it; or carrie the children that may be borne of this matrimonie out of the same realme, unless it be otherwise thought good by the consent and agreement of the nobilitie of England.

5 And in case no children being left, the said queene do die before him, he shall not challenge anie right at all in the said kingdome, but without impediment shall permit the succession thereof to come vnto them to whom it shall belong, by the right and lawes of the realme.

6 Item that he shall not beare nor carrie ouer out of the said realme, the iewels and precious things of estimation. Neither shall he alienate or do auaile anie whitt of the appurtenances of the said realme of England, or suffer anie part of them to be usurped by his subiects, or anie other. But shall see that all and singular places of the realme, and speciallie the foris and frontiers of the same be faithfully kept and preferred

What for want of issue by the lord Charles.

What touching the prince of Spaine's disposal of his lands after his decease.

Touching the prince of Spaine's disposal of his lands after his decease.

The emperor's gift to the prince.

What for want of issue by the lord Charles.

Touching the prince of Spaine's disposal of his lands after his decease.

The state of the realme.

The queene's right to the crown.

The prince's right to the crown.

The succession of the crown.

What for want of issue by the lord Charles.

What touching the prince of Spaine's disposal of his lands after his decease.

Touching the prince of Spaine's disposal of his lands after his decease.

The emperor's gift to the prince.

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Touching the prince of Spaine's disposal of his lands after his decease.

The state of the realme.

The queene's right to the crown.

The prince's right to the crown.

The succession of the crown.

preferred to the use and profit of the said realme,  
and by the naturall bozne of the same.

7 We shall not suffer anie ship, guns, ordinance  
whatsoever of warre or defense, to be removed or  
conueied out of the same realme: but shall contrari-  
wise cause them diligentlie to be kept and viewed  
when need requireth; and shall so prouide that the  
same maie be alwaies readie in their strength and  
force for defense of the realme.

8 Item the realme of England by occasion of  
this matrimonie, shall not directlie nor indirectlie  
be intangled with the warre that is betwene the  
emperor father to the said prince of Spaine, and  
Henrie the French king; but he the said prince (as  
much as in him maie lie) on the behalfe of the said  
realme of England, shall see the peace betwene the  
said realmes of France and England obserued, and  
shall giue no cause of anie breach, by which covenant  
the latter treatise of a strict amitie should not be in a  
nie point derogated, but the same still to remaine in  
the former force, &c.

But now to returne where we left. At the time  
of the solemnization of the foresaid marriage holden  
at Winchester (as before ye haue heard) the empe-  
rors ambassadoys being present, openlie pronoun-  
ced, that in consideration of that marriage, the em-  
peror had giuen and granted to the said prince his  
sonne the kingdomes of Naples and Ierusalem, with  
diuerse other seats and regnities. The solemnitie  
of that marriage ended, the king of heralds called  
Carter, openlie in the church in the presence of the  
king, the queene, & the lords as well of England as  
Spaine, all the people being present, solemnlie  
proclaimed the title and stile of those two princes, as  
followeth: Philip and Marie by the grace of God  
king and queene of England, France, Naples, Je-  
rusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, princes  
of Spaine and Sicilie, archdukes of Austria, dukes  
of Millaine, Burgundie, and Brabant, counties of  
Walpurge, Flanders, and Tiroll. The proclamati-  
on being ended, the trumpets blew, and the king  
with the queene came forth of the church hand in hand  
and two swords bozne before them, and so returned  
to their palace.

By this time report had sufficientlie sounded a-  
broad all that happened, speciallie the solemnities ex-  
ecuted about this roiall marriage; whereby some  
supposed that this land would haue become a golden  
world, and that such amitie would haue ensued be-  
twene both nations, as nothing should dissolue. But  
others were of a contrarie opinion, supposing (as it  
came to passe indeed) that the peoples minds would  
be alienated and estranged from the disposition  
whereto they were addicted in king Edwards daies,  
and that manie would become heauie hearted vpon  
heare saie of this coniunction; much more penlike &  
griened at the meditation of the miseries which were  
like immediatlie to follow; as C. O. noteth in dis-  
coursing on this matter, saieing as here follo weth:

*Succedit regi defuncto, scepra capeiens  
Femina, cui nomen Maria est, soror una duarum  
Ex stirpe Henrici: qua paucis nupta diebus  
Post homini externo consanguineoque Philippo,  
Coniugio tali subtristes reddidit Anglos,  
Namque duas gentes raro coalescere cernas  
Patrias patria plerumque & amore diemptas*

Of this marriage (saith maister Fox) as the  
poets chieflie seemed to be verie glad, so diuerse  
of them after diuerse studies, did thew forth their in-  
ward affections: some made interludes and page-  
ants, and some wrote forth genealogies, deriving his  
pedegree from Edward the third, and John of  
Gaunt; some made verses. Amongst all other ma-  
-

ster White then bishop of Lincolne in his poeticall  
vetne, being drunken with iote of the marriage,  
spued out certaine verses, the copie whereof we haue  
here inserted, to impart vnto common knowlege.

Philippi & Mariæ genealogia, qua am-  
bo principes ex Iohanne de Gandauo Eduardi ter-  
tij, Angliæ, Franciæque regis filio descendisse  
ostenduntur, White Lincolniense authore.

*Ille parens regum Gandaua ex urbe Iohannes  
Somersetensem comitem profert Iohannem.  
Somersetensis venit hoc patre dux Iohannes,  
Qui Margaretam Richemundi habuit comitissam.  
Hec dedit Henricum, qui regni septimus huius  
Henrico octauo solium regale reliquit.  
Hoc patre propitio, & fausto quasi scdere natâ  
Iure tenes sacram, teneisque Maria coronam.*

20 Verses of maister White bishop of Lin-  
colne, concerning the marriage of Phi-  
lip and Marie.

*Nubât ut Angla Anglo, regina Maria Philippo,  
Inque suum fontem regia stirps redeat,  
Noluit humani generis demon vetus hostis,  
Sed Deus Anglorum prouida spes voluit.  
Nollet Scotus inops, timidusque ad prælia Gallus,  
Cæsar, & Italia, & Flandria tota volet.  
Noluit Hæreticus (stirps Capibæ) pontificum grex  
Pontificum sed grex Catholicus voluit.  
Ostio uxorati Patres in demone nolent:  
Quinque Cathenati præ pietate volent.  
Noluit Iohannes Dudley Northumbrius vsus,  
Sed fidum regni Concilium voluit.  
Noluit atatis nostra Catilina Piatum,  
Sed proceres & plebs & pia turba volet.  
Nollet Graius dux, & Cantia terra rebellans:  
Nos quoniam Dominus sic voluit, volumus.  
Clavus effectus repetat sua limina sanguis,  
Cum sit Philippo iuncta Maria viro.*

But to proceed. As soon as the feasting & solem-  
nity of the said marriage was ended, the king and  
queene departed from Winchester, and by easie four-  
nies came to Windsor castell, where the sist of Au-  
gust being sundae, he was stailed according to the  
order of the garter, and there kept S. Georges feast  
himselfe in his roiall estate, and the earle of Suffr  
was also the same time stailed in the order. At which  
time an herald toke downe the armes of England  
at Windsor, and in the place of them would haue  
set the armes of Spaine, but he was commanded to  
set them vp againe by certaine lords. The seuenth of  
August was made a generall hunting with a toile  
raised of foure or fve miles in length, so that manie  
a deere that day was brought to the quarrie. The  
eleuenth of August they removed to Richmond, and  
from thence the 27 of the same moneth they came by  
water to London, landing at the bishop of Winches-  
ters house, through which they passed both to South-  
wiche parke, and so to Suffolke place, where they  
lodged that night: and the next daie being saturday  
and the nineteenth of August, they being accompa-  
nied with a great number of nobles and gentlemen,  
rode from thence ouer the brydge, and passed through  
London vnto Westminster.

Now as the king came to London brydge, & as he  
entered at the drawbrydge, was a vaine great specta-  
cle set vp, two images representing two giants, one  
named Corineus, and the other Gogmagog holding  
betwene them certaine Latine verses, which for the  
vaine ostentation of Battorie Iouerpasse. And as  
they passed ouer the brydge, there was a number of  
ordinance

These  
verses are  
answe-  
red in  
maister  
Fox by  
the let-  
tered.

King Philip  
stailed at  
Windsor.

Iohn Fox,

A generall  
hunting.

The king and  
queene come  
through Lon-  
don to West-  
minster.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Ioh. Foxi  
martyrologio.  
Hanc page-  
antam of Lon-  
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Winchester  
cannot abide  
the booke cal-  
led Verbum  
Dei.

The painter  
sent for to the  
bishop of Win-  
chester.

The painters  
answer.

Five Philips

The erecting  
up of the rood  
at Pauls.

Bishop Bon-  
ners god the  
rood of Pauls  
set up with  
Te Deum.

Salutation to  
the rood of  
Pauls.

ordinance shot at the tower, such as by old mens re-  
port the like hath not bene heard or sene these hun-  
dred yeres. From London bridge they passed to  
the conduit in Stratous street, which was finelie  
painted, and among other things, the nine worthies,  
whereof king Henrie the eight was one. He was  
painted in harnesse hauing in one hand a sword, and  
in the other hand a booke, whereupon was written  
*Verbum Dei*, deliuering the same booke (as it were) to  
his sonne king Edward, who was painted in a cor-  
ner by him. But hereupon was no small matter  
made, for the bishop of Winchester lord chancellor,  
sent for the painter, and not onelie called him knaue  
for painting a booke in king Henries hand, and spe-  
ciallie for writing thereupon *Verbum Dei*: but also  
ranke traitor & villen, saing to him that he should  
rather haue put the booke into the queenes hand (who  
was also painted there) for that she had reformed the  
church and religion, with other things according to  
the pure and sincere word of God indeed. The painter  
answered and said, that if he had knowne that that  
had bene the matter wherefore his lordship sent for  
him, he could haue remedied it, and not haue trou-  
bled his lordship.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the  
queenes maiesties will and commandement, that he  
should send for him; and so commanding him to wipe  
out the booke and *Verbum Dei* too: he sent him home.  
So the painter departed, but fearing least he should  
leauie some part either of the booke, or of *Verbum Dei*,  
in king Henries hand: he wiped a waie a peece of his  
fingers withall. Here I passe ouer and cut off other  
gauds and pageants of pastime shewed vnto him in  
passing through London, with the flattering verses  
set vp in Latine, wherein were blazed out in one place  
the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world,  
Philip of Macedonia, Philip the emperor, Philippus  
Audax, Philippus Bonus, Philip prince of Spaine  
and king of England. In another poetrie king Phi-  
lip was resembled by an image representing Olym-  
pus, and all English people resembled to brute and  
sauage beasts following after Olympeus harpe, and  
dancing after king Philips pipe. Not that I repre-  
hend the art of the Latine verses, which was fine  
and cunning; but that I passe ouer the matter, ha-  
uing other grauer things in hand, and therefore passe  
ouer also the sight at Pauls church side, of him that  
came downe vpon a rope tied to the battlements with  
his head before, neither staing himselfe with hand or  
foot: which horrible after cost him his life.

But one thing by the waie I cannot let passe, tou-  
ching the yong flourishing rood newlie set vp against  
this present time, to welcome king Philip into  
Pauls church. The setting vp of which rood was this,  
and may make as good a pageant as the best. Anno  
2. Marie Boner in his rosaltie, and all his prebenda-  
ries about him in Pauls quere, the rood laid along  
vpon the pauement, and also all the doores of Pauls  
being shut, the bishop with other said and long di-  
uers praiers by the rood: that being done they ap-  
pointed the rood with oile in diuers places, and after  
the anointing crept vnto it and kissed it. After that  
they toke the said rood and weted him vp and set him  
in his old accustomed place, and all the while they  
were doing thereof, the whole quere sang *Te Deum*,  
and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not on-  
lie for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they  
had done therein.

Not long after this, a merrie fellow came into  
Pauls, and spied the rood with Marie and John new-  
lie set vp, wher to (among a great sort of people) he made  
loud curtise & said: Sir, your maister ship is welcome  
to towne, I had thought to haue talked further with  
your maister ship, but that ye be here clothed in the

queenes colours. I hope ye be but a summers bird,  
for that ye be dyed in white & graine. The prince  
thus being in the church of Pauls, after deuo-  
tion Harpesheld had finished his oration in Latine, set  
forward through Fleetstreet, & so came to White hall,  
where he with the queene remained foure daies af-  
ter, and from thence remoued vnto Richmond. Af-  
ter this, all the lords had leaue to depart into their  
countrie, with strict commandement to bring all  
their harnesse and artillerie into the tower of Lon-  
don with all speed. Now remained there no English  
lord at the court but the bishop of Winchester.

From Richmond they remoued to Hampton  
court, where the hall doze within the court was con-  
tinuallie shut, so that no man might enter, vnlesse  
his errand were first knowne: which seemed strange  
to Englishmen that had not bene used thereto. The  
seuententh daie of September, was a proclamati-  
on in London, that all bagabonds and masterlesse  
men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should de-  
part the cite within five daies: and stricte charging  
all inhoblers, vittelers, tawerners, and alchouseke-  
pers, with all other that sold vittels, that they (after  
the said five daies) should not sell anye meat, drinke,  
or anye kind of vittels or relashe to anye seruiceman  
whatsoeuer, vnlesse he brought a testimoniall from  
his master to declare whose seruant he was, & were  
in continuall household with his said master, vpon  
paine to runne in danger of the law if they offend  
herein.]

In September, the duke of Norfolk departed  
this life at Ffremingham castell in Norfolk, and  
there was honozable buried among his ancedors.  
The 26 of October, a Spaniard was hangd at Cha-  
ringcrosse for killing an Englishman, there was of-  
fered for his life by other strangers 500 crownes, but  
all that would not saie iustice. On fridaie the same  
26 of October, those honest men that had bene of  
Elizabeths quest, being in number eight (for the  
other foure were deliuered out of prison, for that  
they submitted themselves, and said they had offen-  
ded like weakelings, not considering truth to be  
truth, but of force for feare said so) these eight men I  
saie (whereof maister Emanuel Lucar and maister  
Whetston were chiefe) were called before the coun-  
cell in the Starre chamber, where they affirmed that  
they had done all things in that matter according to  
their knowledge, and with good consciences, euen  
as they should answer before God at the daie of  
iudgement. Where maister Lucar said openlie be-  
fore all the lords that they had done in the matter  
like honest men, and true and faithfull subiects: and  
therefore they humbly besought my lord chan-  
cellor and the other lords, to be meanes to the king and  
queenes maiesties, that they might be discharged  
and set at libertie: and said that they were all con-  
tented to submit themselves to their maiesties, sa-  
uing and reseruing their truth, consciences, and ho-  
nesties.

The lords taking their words in marvellous cum-  
part, iudged them worthe to paie excellent fines.  
Some said they were worthe to paie 1000 pounds  
a peece. Other said that Lucar and Whetston were  
worthe to paie a thousand marks a peece, and the rest  
five hundred pounds a peece. In conclusion, sentence  
was giuen by the lord chancellor that they should  
paie a thousand marks a peece, he that paid least; and  
that they should go to prison againe, and there re-  
main till further order were taken for their punish-  
ment. The thirtieth of October being tuesday, the lord  
John Greie was deliuered out of the tower, and set  
at libertie. Upon saturday the tenth of Nouember,  
the shiriffes of London had commandement to take  
an inventarie of each one of their goods, which were

The proclamati-  
on for the ex-  
tending of  
maisterlesse  
men out of the  
cite of Lon-  
don.

Death of the  
Duke of Nor-  
folk  
A Spaniard  
hangd.  
John Snow.

Eight of the  
last of Octo-  
ber  
Eight of the  
last of Octo-  
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The words of  
the bishop of  
Winchester  
to the lords  
chancellor.

The her-  
itage of  
the lords  
to be  
paid

The L. J.  
Greie  
The L. J.  
Greie  
The L. J.  
Greie

John Fox.

The parliament  
whereat the  
king & queene  
were present.

The cardinal  
of Aragon  
at Doncar

He that for the  
petition in  
the card-  
inal house.

The cardinal  
of Aragon  
at Doncar

The words of  
the bishop of  
Winchester  
to the lords  
chancellor.

The words of  
the bishop of  
Winchester  
to the lords  
chancellor.

The her-  
itage of  
the lords  
to be  
paid

The effect of  
the cardinals  
petition in the  
house of  
parliament.

The L. J.  
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A proclama  
on for the a  
voiding of  
matters  
men out of  
the city of Lon  
don.

Death of the  
Duke of  
Spartan  
hanged,  
John Stow.

Sight of ma  
ster Throck  
morton's  
apere in the  
archchamber

The hard  
judgement  
the lords  
gainst the  
eight hous  
men.

The L. 3  
lord Gre  
liberte.  
Further  
mire again  
Throckm  
tons quest

parlement  
before the  
king & queene  
in parliament.

cardinal  
gale  
in the Douer

last for the  
restitution in  
law of card  
inal Pale.

cardinal  
gale  
in the Douer

the words of  
the bishop of  
Winchester  
then lord  
chancellor.

the words of  
the bishop of  
Winchester  
then lord  
chancellor.

the words of  
the bishop of  
Winchester  
then lord  
chancellor.

of maister Throckmorton's quest, & to seale by their  
doyes, which was done the same date.

Maister Whetston, and maister Lucar, and ma  
ster Kightlie, were adjudged to paie two thousand  
pounds a peece, and the rest a thousand marks  
a peece, to be paid within one fortnight after. From  
this painment were exempted those foure which con  
fessed a fault, & thereupon had submitted themselves,  
whose names are these: maister Loe, maister Point  
ter, maister Bewswicke, and maister Cater. The 12  
of November being mondate, the parlement began  
at Westmynster, to the beginning whereof both the  
king and queene rode in their parlement robes, ha  
ving two swordes boine before them. The earle of  
Penbroke bare his sword, and the earle of West  
merland bare the queenes. They had two caps of  
maintenance likewise boine before them: whereof  
the earle of Arundell bare the one, and the earle of  
Shrewesburie the other. During this parlement,  
cardinal Pale landed at Douer upon wednesdaie,  
being the 21 of November, who being receiued with  
much honoz in all other countries through which he  
had passed, was receiued here at the first, with no  
great shew, for the causes aboue mentioned. The  
same daie on the which he arrived, an act passed in  
the parlement house, for his restitution in blood, ut  
terlie repealing (as false and most slanderous) that  
act made against him in L. Henrie the eighths time.  
And on the next daie being thursdaie and the 22 of  
November, the king and queene both came to the  
parlement house to giue their roiall assent, and to es  
tablish this act against his coming. On saturdaye  
the foure and twentieth of November, he came to the  
court, and after went to Lambeth where his lodging  
was prepared.

On wednesdaie following in the after none, he  
came into the parlement house, being at that pre  
sent kept in the great chamber of the court of the  
White hall, for that the queene by reason of sicknesse  
was not able to go abrode (where the king and queene  
sitting under the cloth of estate, and the cardinal sit  
ting on the right hand, with all the other estates of  
the realme being present) and the knights and bur  
geses of the common house being also called thither,  
the bishop of Winchester being lord chancellor, spake  
in this maner. My lords of the upper house, and you  
my maisters of the nether house, here is present the  
right reuerend father in God, my lord cardinall  
Pale, legat A Latere, come from the apostolike see of  
Rome, as ambassadoz to the king and queenes mai  
esties, upon one of the weightiest causes that e  
uer happened in this realme, and which apperteineth  
to the glorie of God, and your vniuersall benefit; the  
which ambassage, their maiesties pleasure is to be  
signified vnto you all by his owne mouth, trusting  
that you will receiue and accept it in as beneuolent  
and thankfull wise, as their highnesse haue done,  
and that you will giue attentive and inclinable care  
vnto his grace, who is now readie to declare the  
same. So toone as the lord chancellor had ended his  
tale, the cardinall began and made a long & solempne  
oration, the which for shortnesse sake I haue collect  
ed into these few articles, remitting the reader to mai  
ster Foxes Actes and Monuments, where they shall  
find the same whole and entierlie as by him it was  
uttered.

1 First, he yielded most heartie thanks to the  
king and queene, and next vnto the whole parlement;  
that of a man exiled & banished from this common  
weale, they had restored him againe to be a member  
of the same, and to the honour of his house and fami  
lie, and of a man having no place, neither here nor  
elsewhere within the realme, to haue admitted him  
into a place where to speake, and to be heard.

2 Secondlie, that his especiall comming was for  
the restitution of this realme to the ancient estate,  
and to declare that the see apostolike hath a speciall  
care of this realme aboue all other: and chieflie for  
that this Island first of all other prouinces of Eu  
rope, receiued the light of Christs religion from the  
see of Rome.

3 Thridlie, he exhorted that though the realme had  
swarued from the catholike vnitie, that yet being  
better informed, we ought to returne into the bo  
some of the church, most open to receiue all pen  
tents. For the perswasion wherof he brought a num  
ber of old examples, what perill and hurt hath hap  
ened vnto them that haue swarued and gone from the  
church of Rome, namelie Grece and Germanie.

4 Fourthlie, how much we are bound to God for  
the king and queenes maiesties, and how miraculou  
lie God had saued and defended our queene from her  
enemies in most dangerous times: and also that he  
hath prouided to soine with hir in marriage, such a  
noble prince as king Philip was, & one of hir owne  
religion.

5 Fiftlie, he exhorted them all to obedience of  
these two princes, and to call vpon God for issue to  
be had betwene them, adding that king Phillips fa  
ther the emperour, had amongst other princes tra  
uelled most for the restitution of the peace and vnitie  
of the church. But as almighty God said vnto Da  
uid, though he had a mind and will to build his tem  
ple: yet bicause he had shed blood, he should not  
build it. And so bicause the emperour hath had so ma  
nie warres, and shed so much blood: therefore he  
could not attaine to bring perfect peace to the church.  
But trulie (said he) this gracious prince king Philip  
his sonne, as I conceiue, is appointed of God to it,  
considering now the calling of him to be soined with  
so catholike a prince, as is the queene of this  
realme, one without all doubt sent likewise of God,  
for the restoring of the said realme to the vnitie of the  
church, from whence it hath erred and gone astrae,  
as it doth and maie manifestlie appeare.

6 Sixtlie, he protested that his commission was  
not to presubice anie person, for he came not to de  
stroe, but to build; he came to reconcile, and not to  
condemne; he came not to compell, but to call a  
gaine; he came not to call anie thing in question al  
readie done: but his commission was of grace and  
clemencie to all such as would receiue it. For tou  
ching all matters past, and done, they should be cast  
into the sea of forgetfulnesse, and neuer moze to be  
thought vpon.

7 Finallie (said he) the meane whereby to receiue  
this high benefit, is first to reuoke and repeale all  
such lawes as are impediments, blocks and barres  
to this most gracious reconciliation. For like as he  
himselfe had no place to speake there, before such  
lawes were abrogated and remoued as stood in his  
waie: euen so they could not receiue the grace offer  
red from the see apostolike, vntill these like impe  
diments of lawes made against the see of Rome, were  
biterlie abolished and repealed. And so in conclusion  
aduertised them, first for the glorie of God, and next  
for the conseruation and suertie of the wealth and  
quietnesse of the whole realme, that they should ear  
nestlie trauell therein, and that then he would make  
them participants of the benefit of his commission.

The next daie the whole court of parlement dre  
w out the forme of a supplication, and the next daie fol  
lowing, when the king, the queene, and the cardinall,  
with all the nobles and commons were assembled a  
gaine in the great chamber of the White hall afore  
said, the bishop of Winchester there shewed that the  
parlement had determined concerning the card  
inals request, and then offered to the king and queene

He sheweth  
the speciall  
cause of his  
comming into  
England.

He exhorted  
to a generall  
returne into  
the bosome of  
the church.

He declareth  
how wonder  
fullie god had  
preserued Q.  
Marie.

He exhorted  
to obedience  
and reuerence  
of restoring this  
realme to the  
vinitie of the  
church.

He protested  
that he ment  
the presubice  
of no man, &c.

He sheweth  
the meane of  
procuring the  
foreaid recon  
ciliation.

the said supplication, to be by them presented to the cardinall. Wherein would be noted the readinesse of the assemble to submit themselves to antichristian slavery: but omitting to give judgement, make their supplication, the copie whereof followeth.

### A supplication exhibited to cardinall

*Poole by the parlement.*

**W**hereas the lords spirituall and temporall, and commons in this present parlement assembled, representing the whole bodie of the realme of England and dominions of the same, in the name of our selues particularlie, and also of the said bodie vniuersallie, offer this our most humble supplication to your maiesties, to this end and effect; that the same by your gracions intercession and meane maie be exhibited to the most reuerend father in God the lord cardinall Poole legat, sent spectallie hither from our most holie father pope Julie the third, and the see apostolike of Rome. Wherein we doe declare our selues verie soile and repentant of the long schisme and disobedience happening in this realme, and the dominions of the same, against the see apostolike, either by making, agreeing, or executing of auncient lawes, ordinances or commandments against the primacie of the same see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn or prejudice the same. Offering our selues, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be and shall be ever ready, vnder and with the authorities of your maiesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that shall lie in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of all the said lawes and ordinances, made and enacted to the prejudice of the see apostolike, as well for our selues as for the whole bodie whome we represent. Whereupon we humbly beseech your maiesties, as persons vnderfild in offense of his bodie towards the said see, which neuertheless God by his providence hath made subiect to you, so to set forth this our humble sute, as we the rather by your intercession maie obtaine from the see apostolike, by the said most reuerend father, as well particularlie as generalie, absolution, release, and discharge from all dangers of such censures and sentences as by the lawes of the church we be fallen into. And that we maie as children repentant, be receiued into the bosome and vnitie of Christs church: so as this noble realme, with all the members thereof, maie in this vnitie & perfect obedience to the see apostolike, and popes for the time being, serue God and your maiesties to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glorie, Amen.

This supplication being first openly read, the same was by the chancelor delivered to the king and queene, with petition to them, to exhibit the same to the lord cardinall. And the king and queene rising out of their seats, and doing reuerence to the cardinall, did deliver the same vnto him. The cardinall perceiving the effect thereof to answer to his expectation, did receiue it most gladly at their maiesties hands. And then, after that he had in few words given thanks vnto God, and declared what great cause he had to reioyce above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken such most happy successe; then he caused his commission to be read (wherby it might appeare he had authoritie from the pope to absolve them) which commission was verie long and large. And that being done, and all the parlement on their knees, this cardinall, by the popes authoritie, gaue them absolution in manner following.

An absolution pronounced by cardinall Poole to the parlement house.

**O**ur lord Iesus Christ, which with his most pretious blood hath redeemed and washed vs from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase vnto himselfe a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the father hath appointed head ouer all his church; he by his mercie absolve you. And we by the apostolike authoritie given vnto vs by the most holie lord pope Julius the third (his vicegerent in earth) do absolve and deliuer you, and euerie of you, with the whole realme, and the dominions thereof, from all heresie and schisme, and from all and euerie iudgements, censures and paines for that cause incurred. And also we do restore you againe to the vnitie of our mother the holie church, as in our letters of commission more plainelie shall appeare.

After this generall absolution receiued, the king and the queene, and all the lords with the rest, went into the kings chappell, and there sang *Te Deum* with great ioy and gladnesse, for this new reconciliation. The report whereof with great speed flew to Rome, as well by the French kings letters, as also by the cardinals. Whereupon the pope caused solemne processions to be made in Rome, namelie one, wherein he himselfe with all his cardinals were present, passing with as great solemnitie and pompe as might be, giving thanks to God with great ioy, for the conuersion of England to his church. At what time also he not a little commended the diligence of cardinall Poole, and the deuotion of the king and queene. And on Christmas euen next following, he set forth by his bulls a generall pardon to all such as did reioyce in the same reconciliation.

The eight and twentieth of Nouember next following, it was commonlie reported, that the queene was quicke with child, & therefore commandement was given by Edmund Bonner then bishop of London (and as it was said not without the commandement of the counsell) that there should be made in most solemne manner one generall procession in London, wherein the maior, and all the companies of the citie were in their liveryes, at whose returne to the church of Pauls, there was sung verie solemne *Te Deum* for ioy thereof. The same daie at this procession was present ten bishops with all the prebendaries of Pauls. The copie of the counsels letter implieng the aforesaid commandement touching the generall procession here followeth, *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

A copie of a letter sent from the counsell vnto Edmund Bonner bishop of London, concerning queene Marie conceived with child.

**A**fter our hartie commendations vnto your god lordship. Where as it hath pleased almightie God amongst other his infinit benefits of late most gracionlie powred vpon vs and this whole realme, to extend his benediction vpon the queens maiestie in such sort, as she is conceived & quicke of child; wherby (his maiestie being our naturall liege ladie, queene and vndoubted inheritor of this imperfall crowne) good hope

This supplication was exhibited to the king and queene.

Promise in signe of repentance to make full amends by being reconciled to the catholic church

The king and queene exhibit the supplication to Poole the proud prelat.

Pope Julius the third gave cardinall Poole his apostolic authority.

Solemn processions at Rome for the new reconciliation of England to the catholic church.

It reported that the queene was with child.

The words of Sir Richard Shoutwell in the parlement house for his young master.

be l ma



pl. Queene  
Marie were  
cousin with  
the king on the  
part of the mo-  
ther of Hen-  
ry and  
Edward did  
marry in the  
parish of  
St. Dun-  
stons then  
were the al-  
tars taken  
down  
quene with  
child.

Dope Julie  
be third ga-  
rdinal  
dole his no-  
torious ap-  
ostie.

Doleme p-  
cession at  
Rome for the  
ex-reconcil-  
ment of Hen-  
ry and to the  
quene  
church.

I report that  
the quene  
was with  
child.

The words of  
the king  
Southwell in  
the parliament  
would say his  
young maister.

The counsell  
ter to bishop  
anner of the  
reine's con-  
sisting of  
old.

hope of certeine succession in the crowne is given unto vs, and consequentlie, the great calamities, which for want of such succession might otherwile haue fallen vpon vs & our posteritie shall by Gods grace be well avoided, if we thankfullie acknow- ledge this benefit of almighty God, in deuoting our selues with earnest repentance to thanke, honor, & serue him as we be most bounden. These be not one- lie to aduertise you of these good newes, to be by you published in all places within your dioces; but also to praie and requite you, that both your selfe do giue God thanks with vs for this his especiall grace, and also giue order that thanks maie be openlie giuen by singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said dioces; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiasticall ministers, in their masses and other diuine seruices, may continuallie praie to almighty God, so to extend his holie hand ouer his maiestie, the kings highnesse and this whole realme, as this thing being by his omnipotent power gracioulie thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glorie of his name. Wherevnto albeit we doubt not ye would of your selfe haue had speciall regard without these our let- ters: yet for the earnest desire we haue to haue this thing done out of hand, & diligentlie continued, we haue also written these our letters, to put you in re- membrance: & so bid your lordship most hartlie well to fare. From Westminster the 27 of Nouember. 1554.

Your assured and louing friends

{ S. Winton. Chancel. Arundell. F. Shrewesburie. Edward Darbie, Henrie Suffex.	{ John Bathon, R. Rich. Thomas Warthom. John Huddilstone. R. Southwell.
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Upon this letter of the counsels sent to bishop Bonner (signifying the good newes of quene Marie to be not onelie conceived, but also quicke with child, which was in the moneth of Nouember, the eight and twentieth daie) it is out of count what great talke began at this time to rise in euerie mans mouth, with busie preparation and much adoe, especiallie among such as seemed in England to car- rie Spanish hearts in English bodies. In num- ber of whome here is not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condisigne commendation for his worthie affection toward his prince and his issue, one sir Ri- chard Southwell, who being the same time in the parliament house, when as the lords were occupied in other affaires and matters of importance, sudden- lie starting vp for fulnesse of top, burst out in these words following: Tush my maisters (quoth he) what talke ye of these matters? I would haue you take some order for our young maister that is now comming into the world apace, least he find vs vn- prouided, &c. By the which words both of him, and also by the foresaid letters of the counsell, and the common talke abroad, it may appeare what an as- sur- ed opinion was then conceived in mens heads of quene Marie, to be conceived and quicke with child. In somuch that at the same time, and in the same parliament, there was enacted a bill exhibited, and an act made vpon the same, the words whereof for the more euidence, I thought here to exemplificat.

The words of the act.

**A**lbeit we the lords spirituall & temporall, & the commons in this present parliament assembled, haue firme hope & confidence in the goodnes of almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculoulie preserved the quenes maiestie from manie great imminent perills and

dangers; such so he will of his infinit goodnesse giue hir highnesse strength, the rather by our conti- nuall praies to passe well the danger of delinea- rance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to blesse hir: yet for so much as all things of this world be uncerteine, and hauing before our eyes the dolorous experience of this in- constant gouernment during the time of the reigne of the late king Edward the first, do plainlie see the manifold inconueniences, great dangers and perills that maie insue to this whole realme, if foresight be not vsed to preuent all euill chances, if they should happen. For the eschewing hercof, we the lords spiri- tuall and temporall, & the commons in this present parlement assembled; for and in consideration of a most speciall trust and confidence that we haue and repose in the kings maiestie, for and concerning the politike gouernment, order, and administration of this realme in the time of the young yeeres of the is- sue or issues of hir maiesties bodie to be bozne, if it should please God to call the quenes highnesse out of this present life, during the tender yeeres of such issue or issues (which God forbid) according to such or- der & maner as hereafter in this present act his high- nesse most gracions pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, haue made our humble sute by the as- sent of the quens highnesse, that his maiestie would bouchsafe to accept & take vpon him the rule, order, education & gouernment of the said issue or issues to be bozne as is aforesaid, vpon which our sute being of his said maiestie most gracioulie accepted, it hath pleased his highnesse, not onlie to declare, that like as for the most part his maiestie verely trusteth that al- mighty God (who hath hitherto preserved the quens maiestie) to giue this realme so good an hope of cer- teine succession in the blood roiall of the same realm, will assist hir highnesse with his graces and benedi- ctions to see the fruit of hir bodie well brought forth, liue and able to gouerne (whereof neither all this realme, ne all the world besides, should or could receiue more comfort than his maiestie should & would) yet if such chance should happen, his maiestie at our humble de- sires is pleased & contented not onlie to accept & take vpon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and gouernment of such issues, as of this most happie marriage shall be bozne betwene the quenes highnesse and him: but also during the time of such go- uernment, would by all waies & meanes studie, tra- uell and imploie himselfe to aduance the weale, both publike & priuat, of this realme & dominions there- to belonging, according to the said trust in his maie- stie reposed, with no lesse good will & affection than if his highnesse had bene naturallie bozne among vs. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king & the quens most excellent maiesties, by assent of the lords spirituall and temporall, & the commons in this present parlement assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, &c: as it is to be seene in the act more at large ratified and confirmed at the same parlement, to the same intent and purpose.

Thus much out of the act and statute I thought to rehearse, to the intent the reader maie vnderstand, not so much how parlements maie sometimes be de- ceived (as by this child of quene Marie may appere) as rather what cause we Englishmen haue to ren- der most earnest thanks vnto almighty God, who so mercifullie against the opinion, expectation, and wo- king of our aduersaries, hath helped and deliuered vs in this case: which otherwise might haue opened such a window to the Spaniards, to haue entred and replenished this land, that peradventure by this time Englishmen should haue inioied no great quiet in their owne countrie. The Lord therefore make vs p p p p p. ig. perpetu

Order taken  
by parliament  
for quene  
Maries child.

Trust displa-  
pointed.

Parlements  
maie be de-  
ceived.

perpetuallie mindfull of his benefitts, Amen.

Thus we see then how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labor, piousness, and order taken in the parlement house for their yong maister long looked for, comming so surely into the world; in the end appeared neither yong maister nor yong maistresse that anie man yet to this date can heare of. Furthermore as the labor of the late lost was herein deluded, so no lesse ridiculous it was to behold what little effect the praierers of the popes churchmen had with almighty God, who trauelled no lesse with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happie deliuerance of this yong maister to come, as here followeth to be sene.

A praier made by doctor Weston  
deane of Westminster, daile to be  
said for the queenes  
deliuerance.

The praierers  
of the papists  
of what little  
effect they are  
with God.

A praier for  
queene Marie  
and hir child,  
turned out of  
Latine into  
English.

**O** most righteous Lord God, which for the offense of the first woman, hast threatned vnto all women a common, sharpe, and inescapable malediction, and hast inioined them that they should conceiue in sinne; and being conceiued, should be subiect to manie and grauious torments, and finally be deliuered with the danger and ieopardie of their life: we beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodnesse and bottomlesse mercie, to mitigate the strictnes of that law. Alswage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosome of thy fauor and mercie our most gracious queene Marie, being now at the point of hir deliuerance. So helpe hir, that without danger of hir life, she maie overcome the sorow, and in due season bring forth a child, in bodie beautifull and comelie, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward she forgetting the trouble, maie with ioye, laud and praise the bountifullnesse of thy mercie; and together with vs, praise and blesse both thee and thy holie name world without end. This (O Lord) we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most hartlie craue of thee. Heare vs (O Lord) and grant vs our petition. Let not the enemies of thy faith and of thy church saie; Where is their God?

A solemne praier made for king Philip  
and queene Maries child, that it maie be  
a male child, well fauored  
and witty, &c.

A deuout praier  
made by the  
catholikes  
for queene  
Marie being  
great and  
quicke with  
child.

**O** most mightie Lord God, which regardest the praier of the humble, and despitest not their request, how downe from thine high habitation of the heauens, the eyes of thy mercie vnto vs wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with manie and deepe sighs beualling our sinnes and offences humble with eyes intent, and hands displyed, prayeng and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Marie thy seruante and our queene, who hath none other helper but thee, and whome through thy grace thou hast willed to be conceiued with child; and at the time of hir trauell graciouslie with the helpe of thy right hand deliuer hir, and from all danger with the child in hir conceiued, mercifullie preserve. It hath seemed good in thy sight (mercifull father) by thy seruante Marie to worke these wonders, that is to saie; in hir hands to vanquish and ouerthrow the stout enimie, and to deliuer vs thy people out of the hands of heretikes, infidels, enemies to thee, and to the crosse of thy beloued sonne Iesus Christ, that of thy seruante thou mightest speake in farre countries. Therefore for these wonderfull workes which thou doest to thy seruants, thou art magnified Lord

The papists  
call the pro-  
testants here-  
tikes and eni-  
mies to the  
crosse of  
Christ, euen  
as Achab cal-  
led Elias the  
disturber of  
Israell, when  
he was onelie  
the disturber  
himselfe.

God for euer, & we thy people blesse thee the God of heauen, which hast wrought vpon vs this great mercie, and hast excluded from vs the heretike, the enimie of truth, and the persecutor of thy church. We know, we know that we haue grieuouselie (Lord) sinned, that we haue bene deceived by banitie, and that we haue forsaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sinnes be increased vnto heauen, and we our selues haue offended, and our princes and our priests: for these our sinnes haue deserued an hypocrite to our prince, our sinnes haue deserued a tyrant to our gouernor that should bring our life vnto bitterness. We be not worthy to haue so gentle and mercifull a queene, so goodlie a ruler, and finally so vertuous a prince. At the verie beginning of whose reigne, a new light, as it were of Gods religion, seemed to vs for to spring and arise. The Iewes did blesse the widow Iudith with one voice, saying: Thou art the glorie of Ierusalem, thou art the ioye of Israell, thou art the honor of our people, for that thou hast loued chastite, and thou shalt be blessed for euer.

And we the English people with one agreeable content do crie: Thou Marie art the glorie of England, our ioye, the honour of thy people, for that thou hast embraced chastite: thine hart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for euer. But how downe, O most mercifull father thine eyes, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest Lord, that against Iherusalem, not by humane, but by thy ordinance our king, and against thy seruante Marie by thy providence our queene, the restorers and maintainers of thy testament, and of the faith and most constant defenders of thy church; thou knowest (I saie) that against these our two gouernors (the enemies of thy holie testament, and of the church thy spouse) be most ranke rebels, and spitefull murmurers, walking after their lusts, whose mouth speaketh words of pride, to the end they maie set by the kingdome of heretikes and schismatickes. By the power of their hands they would change thy promises, and destroye thine inheritance, and stop and shut by the mouths of them that praise thee, and extinguishe the glorie of thy catholike church and altar.

It is manifest and plaine, how manie contentions, how manie conspiracies & seditions, how great warres, what tumults, how manie and how great troublesome variations, how manie heresies and schismes (for these be the most reade deuises and euident tokens of heretikes) for our sinnes do hang ouer vs, if thy seruante be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling place in the middell of his people, to the intent to deliuer vs out of the hands of our enemies. Turne therefore thy countenance vnto vs, shew vnto vs, O Lord, thy face. Punish vs for our sinnes according to thy will and pleasure, onelie now deliuer vs. We bowing the knees of our heart, beseech thee that thou wilt not reserve vnto vs punishment for euer, and we shall praise thee, all the daies of our life. Heare our crie, and the praier of thy people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercie, thy gracious fauour, the spring of liuelie water. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy seruante a perfect worke. Suffer not, we praye thee, the faithlesse rebels to saie of thy seruante and hir counsellors, that they haue deuised matters which they can not performe. And grant vnto thy seruante an happie and an easie trauell. For it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy iustice, nor vniwanted vnto thy mercie.

It is well knowne vnto vs, how marvellouslie thou

It is not b  
such one to  
granted vnt  
you for bein  
like Iherusa  
Joseph, Mo  
ses, and Da  
uid, he mi  
chance smel  
out your co  
rupt doctri  
ans to detel  
your bloudy  
tyrannie, &c.

An other  
praier for  
the same.

Cardinal  
Bole comes  
with to  
Pauls crosse  
with great  
 pompe.

Ermine  
coat of  
Stephen Gar-

music to Da  
uid and Chila  
beth: so wil  
be not to que  
ene Agne  
ric.

Queene Marie  
re comparo  
of the papists  
to queene Ju  
dith.

Wherby how  
forgetting his  
praier he fall  
eth to the  
praiering of  
queene Marie.

The resti-  
ment set forth  
by onelie the  
glorie of  
Christ.

If the chur-  
ging of God  
promises, do  
through his  
inheritance,  
dropping the  
mouths of  
Gods people  
if contented  
sowres, and  
schismes be  
tokens of he-  
retikes, who  
forget great her-  
etikes as the  
papists be.

Crie by loud  
der you  
priests perbe-  
menture your  
god is a  
liar.

The Lord  
gave a prae  
theu

to Sara  
and Eliza-  
beth: so did  
the king to  
the queene  
Marie.

thou diddest worke in Sara of the age of fourelcore  
and ten yeres, and in Elisabeth the barren, and also  
sare stricken in age: for thy counsell is not in the  
power of men. Thou Lord that art the searcher of  
hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy seruant  
neuer lusted after man, neuer gaue hir selfe to wan-  
ton companie, nor made hir selfe partaker with them  
that walke in lightnesse: but she consented to take  
an husband with thy feare, and not with hir lust. Thou  
knowest that thy seruant toke an husband, not for  
carnall pleasure, but onelie for the desire and loue of  
posteritie, wherein thy name might be blessed for e-  
uer and euer. Gue therefore vnto thy seruants Phi-  
lip our king, & Marie our queene, a male issue, which  
maie sit in the seat of thy kingdome. Gue vnto our  
queene thy seruant, a little infant in fashion and bo-  
die comelie and beautifull, in pregnant wit notable  
and excellent.

This not be-  
lieued to be  
granted vnto  
the king being  
the kingdome  
of Philip, Ma-  
rie, and Sa-  
lomone, he maie  
choose small  
not your cor-  
rupt doctrine,  
and to be left  
your bloudie  
gumme, &c.

Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham,  
in hospitalitie like Lot, in chastitie and brotherlie  
loue like Ioseph, in mekenesse and mildnesse like  
Moses, in strength and ballantnesse like Samson.  
Let him be found faithfull as Dauid after thy heart.  
Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Sa-  
lomone. Let him be like Job, a simple and an vpright  
man, fearing God and eschewing euill. Let him fi-  
nallie be garnished with the comelinesse of all ver-  
tuous conditions, and in the same let him war old  
and line, that he maie see his childrens children to the  
third and fourth generation. And give to our soue-  
reigne lord and ladie, king Philip and queene Marie,  
thy blessing and long life vpon earth. And grant that  
of them maie come kings and queenes which maie  
steadfastlie continue in faith, loue, and holinesse. And  
blessed be their seed of our God, that all nations maie  
know thou art onelie God in all the earth, which art  
blessed for euer and euer, Amen.

### Another praier for queene Marie, and hir conceived child.

**O** Almighty father, which diddest sanctifie  
the blessed virgine and mother of Marie  
in hir conception, & in the birth of Christ  
our sautour, thy onelie sonne; also by thy  
omnipotent power diddest safely deliuer the prophet  
Jonas out of the whales bellie. Defend O Lord we  
beseech thee, thy seruant Marie our queene, with child  
conceiued, and so visit hir in and with thy godlie gift  
of health, that not onelie the child thy creature with  
in hir contained, maie sofullie come from hir into  
this world, and receiue the blessed sacraments of  
baptisme and confirmation, inioieng therewith da-  
lie increase of all princelie and gracions gifts both of  
bodie and soule; but that also she, the mother, through  
thy spectall grace and mercie, maie in time of hir  
trauell auoid all excessiue dolour and paine, and a-  
bide perfect and sure from all perill and danger of  
death, with long and prosperous life, thorough Christ  
our Lord, Amen. And thus much shall suffice tou-  
ching this great adu about queene Marie and hir  
babe.]

The second daie of December being sundaie, car-  
dinall Pole came to Pauls church in London with  
great pompe, hauing before him a crosse, two pillars  
and two pollaces of siluer, and was there solemnlie  
receiued by the bishop of Winchester, chancelor of  
Englind, who met him with procession. And short-  
lie after, king Philip came from Westminster by  
land, being accompanied with a great number of  
his nobles. And the same daie, the bishop of Win-  
chester preached at Pauls crosse, in the which sermon  
he declared, that the king and queene had reposed the

pope to his right of primasie; & that the three estates  
assembled in parlement, representing the whole bo-  
die of the realme, had submitted themselves to his  
holinesse, and to his successors for euer. And in the  
same also, he greatlie praised the cardinall, and set  
forth the passing high authoritie that he had from the  
see of Rome, with much other glorious matter, in  
the commendation of the church of Rome, which he  
called the see apostolike. This sermon being ended,  
the king and the cardinall riding together, returned  
to White hall, and the king had his sword borne be-  
fore him, and the cardinall had onelie his crosse, and  
no more.

The seauen and twentieth daie of the said moneth,  
Emmanuel Philibert earle of Sauoie and prince of  
Piemount came into England, accompanied with  
diuerse other lords and gentlemen strangers, who  
were receiued at Grauesend by the earle of Bed-  
ford lord priue seale, and conueied by water through  
London bridge to White hall, where the king and  
queene then laie. On the ninth of Januarie next fol-  
lowing, the prince of Orange was in like maner  
receiued at Grauesend, and from thence conueied to  
the court, being at White hall. The twelfth of Ja-  
nuarie, the said prince of Orange, with other lords,  
was conducted by the lord chamberlein to the tower  
of London, where was shewed vnto him the ordi-  
nance, artillerie, munitions, and armorie, with the  
mint, &c: and so was brought into the White tower,  
from whence, as he returned through the long galle-  
rie, all the prisoners saluted him: vnto whom the  
prince said, he was sorie for their captiuitie, and tru-  
sted the king and queene would be good vnto them.  
At his departing from the tower, he gaue the gun-  
ners ten peces of Flemmish gold at five shillings  
the pece, and the warders other ten peces, as a  
reward.]

Upon wednesdaie the 12 of December, five of  
the eight men which laie in the Fleet, that had pas-  
sed vpon sir Nicholas Throckmorton's trial, were  
discharged and set at libertie vpon their fines paid,  
which was two hundred and twentie pounds a pece.  
The other three put by a supplication, therein decla-  
ring their gods did not amount to the summe of  
that which they were appointed to paie: and so vpon  
that declaration, paient three score pounds a pece,  
they were deliuered out of prison on saint Thomas  
daie before Christmas, being the one & twentieth of  
December. The two and twentieth of the same mo-  
neth, the parlement (which began the two and twen-  
tith of Nouember before) was dissolved, wherein  
among other acts passed there, the statute *Ex officio*,  
and other lawes made for punishment of heresies  
were renewed. But chieffelie, the popes most liberall  
bull of dispensation of abbete land was there confir-  
med, much to the contentation of manie, who not  
without cause suspected by this new union, to lose  
some pece of their late purchase. On new yea-  
res daie at night was a great tumult betwene Spa-  
niards and Englishmen at Westminster, whereof  
was like to haue ensued great mischief, though a  
Spanish frier which got into the church and rang  
alarm. The occasion was about two whores which  
were in the cloister of Westminster with a fox of  
Spaniards, whereof whilist some played the knaves  
with them, other some did kepe the entrie of the clo-  
ister with dogs and harnesse. In the meane time cer-  
teine of the deanes men came into the cloister, and  
the Spaniards discharged their dogs at them, and  
hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this doing  
came into the streets, so that the whole towne was  
vp almost, but neuer a stroke was stricken. Not-  
withstanding, the noise of this doing with the deans  
men, and also the ringing of the alarm made much  
adu,

diuers ser-  
mon.

The king and  
the cardinall  
ride together.

Prince of  
Piemount  
cometh into  
England.

I. Stow. 1053.  
Prince of Or-  
ange.

Five of  
Throckmor-  
tons iurie re-  
leased.

Parlement  
dissolued.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Ioh. Foxi mar-  
tyrologio.  
It sturde be-  
twene the  
Spaniards  
and English-  
men at West-  
minster.

Queene Ma-  
rie compared  
to the papist  
to queene Ju-  
dith.

Marke how  
forgetting his  
praier he fa-  
leth to the  
praising of  
queen Marie.

The testa-  
ment setteth  
by onelie the  
glorie of  
Christ.

If the chan-  
ging of Gods  
promises, de-  
stroying his  
inheritance,  
stopping the  
mouths of  
Gods people  
if contentions,  
dissensions,  
schismes be  
tokens of he-  
retikes, who  
forget heret-  
ikes as the  
papists be?

Crie by loud  
der you  
priests perad-  
venture your  
god is a  
foole.

The Lord  
gaue a pro-

1555  
15. pag. 1095.

Prisoners de-  
livered out of  
the tower.

Trouble and  
persecution  
for religion.

Ambassadors  
out of Eng-  
land to Rome.

William Fe-  
therstone, alias  
Constable a  
boie, nameth  
himselfe king  
Edward the  
sixt.

John Stow.

atow, and a great number also to be soze afraid.] Upon fridaie the eighteenth of Januarie, all the counsell, by name, the lord chancellor, the bishop of Elie, the lord treasurer, the earle of Shrewesburie, the comptrolloz of the queenes houle, secretarie Bourne, and sir Richard Southwell master of the ordinance and armorie, went to the tower, and there the same daie discharged and set at libertie all the prisoners of the tower, or the more part of them, namelie the archbishop of Yorke, the late duke of Northumberlandes sonnes, the lords Ambrose, Robert, and Henrie; also, sir Andzew Dubleie, sir James Croftes, sir Nicholas Throckmorton, sir John Rogers, sir Nicholas Arnold, sir George Harper, sir Edward Warner, sir William Sentlow, sir Calwen Carew, William Gibbes esquier, Cutbert Waughan, and diuerse others.

Moreover, about this season diuerse learned men being apprehended, and in prison for matters of religion, were brought before the bishops of Winchester and London, and other the bishops and commissioners appointed therefore: who upon the constant standing of the said learned men in their opinions, which they had taken upon them to mainteine, as grounded upon the true word of God, as they protested, proceeded in iudgement against them, and so diuerse of them were burned at London in Smithfield, and in diuerse other places. Hate not onelie by fire but by other torments were the good christians persecuted, whose zeale was hot in religion and defiance of the pope: insomuch that then he was counted Gods enimie, which toke not the pope for the friend of Christ (whome he hateth with hostility) as C.O. noteth verie trulie in his *Elisabetha*, saieing:

*nam creditur hostis*

*Esse Dei, papa: si quis pius asserit hostem*

*Esse Dei, veros Christi qui tollit honores.*

In Februaire next following, doctor Thirlebie bishop of Elie, and Antonie lord Pontacute, with a verie honorable traine of gentlemen and others, rode forth of the citie of London towards Rome as ambassadors sent from the king and queene, to confirme this new reconciliation to the pope. A young stripling, whose name was William Fetherstone, a millers sonne, about the age of eightene yeares, named and banted himselfe to be king Edward the first, whereof when the queene and the counsell heard, they caused with all diligence inquirie to be made for him, so that he was apprehended in Southwiche, or (as other haue) at Eltham in Kent the tenth of Maie, and brought before the counsell at Hampton court, and there examined. And it was demanded of him why he so named himselfe: To which he counterfeiting a manner of simplicitie, or rather stensie, would make no direct answer, but praied pardon; for he wist not what he said: affirming further, that he was counsellor so to saie, and to take upon him the name, whereof he accused certeine persons: but his talke was not found true, wherefore he was committed to the Marshalsee, as a lunatike sole.

On the eight and twentieth daie of Maie next following, the aforesaid counterfet prince was brought in a cart from the Marshalsee thorough the citie of London, with a paper over his head, wherein was written, that he named himselfe king Edward. And from thence was conueied to Westminster, being led round about the hall, and shewed to all the people there: and afterward he was taken out of the cart and stripped, and then whipped round about the palace at the same carts taile, and then thorough Westminster into Smithfield, and then banished into the north, in which countrie he was borne, and had bene sometime lackie to sir Peter Petotas, and without moze punishment was discharged, and set

at libertie. But the next yeare following, for that he had spred abroad that king Edward was alive, and that he had spoken with him, he was againe apprehended, and arraigned of high treason, whereof being condemned, he shortly after was drawne unto Tyburne, and there hanged and quartered the thirtenth of March. ¶ Here, as in a fit and convenient place, the obseruation of the daie and moneth offering no lesse, it is not amisse to set downe the speech of queene Marie uttered to sundrie of hir lords, touching a motion which no doubt certeine popish prelates had put into hir mind; the effect whereof followeth as I find it in master Fox.

Before I passe this moneth of March (saith he) I cannot but leaue a little memorandum of the words or consultation of queene Marie, bled to certeine of the counsell, the eight & twentieth daie of the said moneth of March, touching the restoring againe of the abbete lands. Who after she had called unto hir presence foure of hir priuie counsell, the daie and moneth aforesaid: the names of which counsellors were these; William lord marquisse of Winchester high treasurer of England, sir Robert Rochester knight, the queenes comptrolloz, sir William Peter knight, secretarie, sir Francis Inglesfield knight, master of wards; the said queene Marie inferred these words: the principall effect & summe whereof here followeth. You are here of our counsell, and we haue willed you to be called to vs, to the intent ye might heare of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries, as other churches whatsoever being now presentlie in my possession. First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid, in time of schisme, and that by unlawfull means, such as are contrarie both to the law of God and of the church. For the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to deteine them: and therefore I here expresselie refuse either to claime or to receive the said lands for mine: but with all my heart frelie and willinglie without all paction or condition, here and before God I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions or inheritances whatsoever, & do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken as shall seeme best liking to our most holie lord the pope, or else his legat the lord cardinal, to the honour of God and wealth of this our realme.

And albeit you may obiea to me againe, that considering the state of my kingdome, the dignitie thereof, and my crowne imperiall cannot be honorablie maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding I set more by the saluation of my soule, than by ten kingdoms: and therefore the said possessions I utterlie refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hartie thanks to almightie God, which hath given me an husband likewise minded, with no lesse good affection in this behalfe, than I am my selfe. Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I haue conferred my mind in this matter before) and you foure, to morrow together do resort to the most reuerend lord legat, and do signifie to him the premises in my name, & give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdome, and of the foresaid possessions accordingly, as you your selues do vnderstand the matter, and can informe him in the same. This charge (as the sequele gaue proofe) was followed with no lesse diligence of the lords, than it was imposed with willingnes upon them by the queene: insomuch that shortly after (as anon you shall heare) she performed hir promise to be pith.

But to le this matter passe, till due time & place require

The queene  
set king  
cured.

Abt. Flax  
Ioh. Fox  
marryrologia

The moneth  
of the coun-  
cellors called  
before queene  
Marie.

The effect of  
queene Maries  
words  
touching ab-  
bete lands to  
be restored.

The queene  
taketh a con-  
science in re-  
solving abate  
lands.

The queene  
surrendereth  
from hir selfe  
the possession  
of abete lands.

Promitteth  
the restoration  
of abete lands.

And more of  
this in a booke  
called a booke  
going to Eng-  
land.

The death of  
queene Maries  
in this.

The death of  
queene Maries  
in this.

The death of  
queene Maries  
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queene Maries  
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The death of  
queene Maries  
in this.

require a declaration of the conclusion thereof; I am here (saith master Fox, as occasion seruet) to in- treat of pope Julius death, for so much as he made his end about the latter end of this foresaid moneth of March. Concerning the deeds and acts of which pope, to make a full declaration, it were not so much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good eares. Under this Julius florished the archbishop of Bene- uentanus, a florentine, named Iohannes a Casa, deane of the popes chamber, and chafe legat to the Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that fil- the se, so farre forgot both honestie and nature, that he shamed not onelie to plaie the filthy Sodomite himselte, and to boast openlie of the same: but also take upon him most impudentlie in Italian metre, to all mens eares, to set forth the praise and com- mendation of that heathen iniquitie, saieing that he himselte neuer used other: and this booke was printed at Venice, by one Trolanus Nauus. And yet the pope could suffer this so great iniquitie and shame- lesse heathenlike; even vnder his nose in his owne chamber, which could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in Christian bookes.

Amongst other pranks and deeds of this foresaid pope, in his Iubilie, and in the synod of Trent, and in confirming of the idoll of Lauretane, this is also re- ported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in porke flesh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was admonished of his physician to abstaine from all swines flesh; for that it was noisome for his gent, and yet would not follow his counsell: the physician afterward gaue warning to his steward or orderet of his diet, that he should set no more porke flesh be- fore him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the said porke flesh to be lacking in his accustomed ser- uice; where (saide he) is my porke? And when his stew- ard had answered that his physician had forbidden ante porke to be serued: then the pope bursting out in great rage, said in these words; Bring me, said he, my porke flesh. *Al. dispetto di Dio*: that is to saie in English, In the despite of God.

At another time, he sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacocks vpon his table, which he had not touched; he (saide he) this cold peacocks for me against sup- per, and let me sup in the garden, for I shall haue ghosts. So when supper came, and amongst other hot peacocks, he saw not his cold peacocks brought to his table: the pope after his wonted manner, most horrible blaspheming God, fell into an extreme rage, at Whereupon one of his cardinals sitting by, desired him saying: Let not your holiness, I praye you, be so moued with a matter of so small weight. Then this Julius the pope answering againe; What (saide he) if God was so angrie for one apple, that he cast our first parents out of paradise for the same, whie maie not I being his vicar, be angrie then for a peacocks, sithens a peacocks is a greater matter than an apple? Behold here good reader, by this pope, the holiness of that blasphemous se: and yet thou shalt see here, what affection was borne vnto this pope here in England, by the diuiges, hearles, and funerals commanded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the queene and hir counsell, as may ap- peare by the copie of their letters here following.

A letter from the bishop of Winchester  
(being lord chancellor) vnto Boner bishop  
of London, touching the celebrating of  
the popes funerals.

After my hartie commendations to  
your good lordship. The king and  
queenes maiesties hauing certeine  
knowledge of the death of the popes holi-

nesse, thought good there should be as well  
solemne obsequies said for him throughout  
the realme, as also these prayers (which I  
send you herein inclosed) used at masse  
times in all places at this time of vacati-  
on; and therefore willed me to signifie their  
pleasures vnto you in this behalfe, that  
thereupon ye might proceed to the full ac-  
complishment thereof, by putting the same  
in due execution within your owne dio-  
cese, and sending word to the rest of the bi-  
shops to doe the like in theirs. Thus doubt-  
ing not but that your lordship will be such  
diligence in this matter at this time, as  
shall be necessarie, I bid your lordship har-  
tille well to fare. From my house at Ather,  
the tenth of Aprill. 1555.

Your assured freend and brother,  
Stephanus Winton. Cancel.

### Prayers commanded to be used in

the funerall masses for the pope,  
*Apostolica sede vacante.*

*Supplicite Domine humiliate deposcimus, ut tua immen-  
sa pietas sacrosancte Romane ecclesie concedat pontificem  
illum, qui et pro in nos studio semper tibi gratus, et tuo popu-  
lo pro salubri regimine sit assidue ad gloriam tui nominis ve-  
nerandus, per Dominum nostrum.*

Secreta.

*Tue nobis Domine pietatis abundantia indulgeat, ut gra-  
tum maiestati tue pontificem sancte matris ecclesie regimini  
preesse studeamus per Dominum nostrum.*

Post communionem.

*Pretiosi corporis et sanguinis tui Domine sacramento re-  
fectos, munifica tue maiestatis gratia de illius summi pontificis  
assumptione letificet, qui et plebem tuam virtutibus instruat,  
et fidelium mentes spiritualium aromatum odore perfun-  
dat, per Dominum nostrum.*

Upon this commendement, on Wednesday in Ea-  
ster weeke there were hearles set vp, & diriges long  
for the said Julius in diuerse places. At which time  
it chanced a woman to come into S. Magnus church  
at the bridgefoot in London, & there seeing an hearle  
and other preparation, asked what it meant: and o-  
ther that stood by, said, that it was for the pope, and  
that the must praye for him. Pray (quoth she) that will  
I not, for he needeth not my prayer: and seeing he  
could forgive vs all our sinnes, I am sure he is clean  
himselfe: therefore I need not to praye for him. She  
was heard speake these words of certeine that stood  
by: which by and by caried hir vnto the cage at Lon-  
don bridge, and bad hir cole hir selfe there.

And here (saith master Fox) commeth to be re-  
membred the notable working of Gods hand vpon  
a certeine priest in Kent named Pightingall, par-  
son of Cronball besides Canturburie: who vpon  
Shrouesundae, which was about the third daie of the  
said moneth of March, and yeare of our Lord afore-  
said, reioicing belike not a little at this alteration of  
religion, began to make a sermon to his parishio-  
ners, taking his theame out of the words of saint  
John: He that saith, he hath no sinne, is a lier, and  
the truth is not in him, &c. And so vpon the same,  
verie impertinentlie, declared to them all such arti-  
cles as were set forth by the popes authoritie, and by  
the commendement of the bishops of this realme;  
saieing moreouer vnto the people in this wise: Most  
masters and neighbors reioice and be merrie, for the  
prodigall sonne is come home. For I knowe that the  
most part of you be as I am: for I knowe your  
hearts

Collect for  
the pope.

Another pray-  
er for chusing  
of the pope.

A woman of  
S. Magnus  
parish im-  
prisoned for  
not praying  
for the pope.

A terrible ex-  
ample of  
Gods severe  
punishment  
vpon Pigh-  
tingall par-  
son of Cron-  
ball in Kent.



¶ Blasphemie  
to Christ  
of peccant  
byed.

¶ The lord  
Courneie go-  
eth ouer into  
Italie.

¶ The lord  
Courneie  
descended of  
the blond  
reall.

¶ Ambassadors  
sent to treat  
a peace be-  
twene the  
French king  
and the em-  
perour.

Ab. Fl. cx  
I. S. 1097.

¶ The necessitie  
of the page re-

hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath  
happened in this waite past. I was before my lord  
cardinal Dales grace, and he hath made me as  
cleane from sinne, as I was at the font stone: and  
on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed  
me to notice (I thanke him for it) the same unto you.  
And I will tell you what it is. And so reading the  
popes bull of pardon that was sent into England,  
he said, he thanked God that euer he had liued to see  
that date: adding moreover that he beleued, that by  
the vertue of that bull he was as cleane from  
sinne, as that night that he was borne: and immedi-  
atlie upon the same fell suddenlie downe out of the  
pulpit, and neuer stirred hand nor foot, and so laie he.  
Testified by Robert Austen of Cartham, which both  
heard and saw the same, and is witnessed also by the  
whole countie round about.]

About this time, Edward Courneie, earle of  
Deuonshire, of whom before ye haue heard, how he  
was appointed to remaine at Ffordingheie vnder  
safe custodie, at length was set at libertie, came to  
the court, and got licence to passe the seas, went into  
Italie, where shortly after he sickened, and died with-  
in fourtene daies after his sickness first took him:  
he was honorable buried in Paduwaie. This Court-  
neie was the onlie sonne and heire of Henrie, mar-  
quesse of Excester, cousine germane to king Henrie  
the eight, as is said before. For the said king and he  
were descended of two sisters, Elizabeth and Katha-  
rine, two of the daughters of king Edward the  
fourth, which propinquitie of blood notwithstanding  
the said marquesse, for points of treason laid against  
him, suffered at the tower hill, the thirtieth yeare of  
the reigne of king Henrie the eight, to the great do-  
lour of the most of the subiects of this realme, who  
for his sundrie vertues bare him great fauour and  
goodwill.

After whose death, this yong gentleman his sonne,  
being yet a child, was committed prisoner to the  
tower, where he remained vntill the beginning of  
the reigne of this queene Marie (as before you haue  
heard). This gentleman (as it appeared) was borne to  
be a prisoner, for from twelue yeares of age vnto  
thirtie, he had scarce two yeares libertie, within the  
which time he died, and obtained quiet, which in his  
life he could neuer haue. In the moneth of Maie next  
following, cardinal Dole, who had bin a great la-  
boure for peace betwene the French king and the  
emperour, being accompanied with Stephan Car-  
diner bishop of Winchester and chancelor of Eng-  
land, the erle of Arundell lord steward, and the lord  
Paget, were sent by the king and queene ouer the sea  
to Calis, from thence went to the towne of Marke  
where they met with the ambassadors of the emperour  
and the French king. From the emperour were sent  
the bishop of Arras with others. From the French  
king was sent the cardinal of Lozaine, and the com-  
table of France. In this treatie, cardinal Dole sat  
as president and vmpier in the name of the queene  
of England. This peace was greatlie laboured,  
where at the first, there was much hope, but in the  
end nothing was concluded: wherefore the thirteenth  
daie of Iune, this assemble was dissolved, and  
the English ambassadors returned againe into  
England.

In this moneth of August, in Suffolke, at a place  
by the sea side, all of hard stone and pibble, called in  
those parts a shelte, lieng betwene the towne of  
Driford and Alborough, where neuer grew grasse,  
nor any earth was euer seene, there chanced in this  
barren place suddenlie to spring vp without any til-  
lage or sowing, great abundance of pease, whereof  
the poore gathered (as men iudged) aboue an hun-  
dred quarters; yet remained some ripe, & some bloss-

ming, as manie as euer there were before. The place  
which rode the bishop of Norwich, and the lord  
Willoughbie with others in great number, who  
found nothing but hard reekie stone for the space of  
three yards vnder the roots of those pease, which roots  
were great and long, and verie sweet in tast to the  
mouth of the eater, &c.

On Bartholomew euen, after the Lord maior and  
aldermen of London had rid about Bartholomew  
faire, they came to Wyntes hospitall within New-  
gate, where they heard a disputation betwene the  
scholers of Paules schole, saint Anthonies schole,  
and the scholers of the said hospitall, for whom was  
provided three games, which was three penes: the  
best pen of silver and gilt, valued at five shillings,  
wone by a scholer of saint Anthonies schole, and the  
maister of that schole had six shillings eight pence;  
the second, a pen of silver parcel gilt, valued at six  
shillings, wone by a scholer of Paules schole, & his  
maister had five shillings in monie: the thirde pen  
of silver, valued at three shillings, wone by a scholer  
of the said hospitall, and his maister had foure shil-  
lings. And there were two preests maisters of arts  
appointed for iudges, which had each of them a silver  
rule for their paines, valued at six shillings eight  
pence the peece. The disputation being ended, the  
maior and aldermen entred the hall, where the chil-  
dren of the hospitall be to dine, and had fruit & wine,  
and so departed.

King Philip went ouer seas, and landed at Calis  
on the fourth of September, where he was honora-  
bly receiued by the lord deputie, & the maior of the  
citie of Calis, an alderman of London named sir  
Andrew Jud, presenting his maiestie with a purse  
& a thousand marks of gold in it: that night the king  
was lodged in Staple inne: and on the morrow he  
departed from Calis towards Bussels in Babant,  
to visit the emperour his father: he gaue at his depart-  
ing among the souldiours of the towne of Calis, a  
thousand crownes of gold, and there accompanied  
him in his iournie of English lords, the earle of Ar-  
undell lord steward of the queenes house, the earls  
of Penbroke, the earle of Huntington, and others.  
On Michaelmas euen, the prisoners that laie in the  
counter in Breadstreet, were remoued to a new coun-  
ter made in Woodstreet of the citties purchase & bul-  
ding, the which remouing was confirmed by a com-  
mon counsell assembled at the Guildhall for that  
purpose.

On the last of September, by occasion of great  
wind and raine that had fallen, was such great floods,  
that that morning the kings palace at Westminster,  
that Westminster hall was ouerfloane with  
water, vnto the staire foot, going to the chancerie and  
kings bench: so that when the lord maior of London  
should come to present the shirriffes to the barons of  
the exchequer, all Westminster hall was full of wa-  
ter. And by report there, that morning, a whirring  
roled with his bote ouer Westminster hydge, into  
the palace court, and so through the Staple gate: and  
all the wall Staple into the kings street, and all the  
marthes on Lambeth side, were so ouerfloane, that  
the people from Pelvington church could not passe  
on foot, but were caried by bote from the said church  
to the pinfold, nere to saint Georges in South  
woike.]

About this time, the bishop of Lincoln, Gloucester,  
and Wyke, were sent in commission to Oxford by  
the popes authoritie, to examine Riddle and Latimer,  
upon certaine articles by them preached, which  
if they would not recant, and consent to the popes  
doctrine, then had they power to proceed in sentence  
against them as heretikes, and to commit them o-  
uer to the secular power. Those two doctors neuer  
the les

Disputation  
at Chypps  
hospitall, as  
had bene ac-  
cused at saint  
Bartholomewes  
in Smithfield,  
being an in-  
consequence  
to young  
scholers.

¶ Subsidie  
L. 10.

¶ King Philip  
went ouer seas  
to Flanders.

¶ This shorie  
was executed  
by the  
queene  
Elizabeth  
the first.

¶ The death of  
Stephen  
Barmer  
bishop of  
Winchester.

¶ Great lands  
waters were  
by divers  
quented places  
overfloane.

¶ Anno Reg.  
Commis-  
sioners sent to  
Oxford by the  
popes authori-  
tie, to exam-  
ine Riddle &  
Latimer.

¶ An. Reg  
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¶ A parchment  
written the  
names of the  
church are  
reposed.

¶ Subsidie  
L. 10.

¶ This shorie  
was executed  
by the  
queene  
Elizabeth  
the first.

¶ The death of  
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¶ Anno Reg.  
Commis-  
sioners sent to  
Oxford by the  
popes authori-  
tie, to exam-  
ine Riddle &  
Latimer.

¶ The necessitie  
of the page re-

Ar. Reg. 3.

Disputation  
at Christs  
hospital, as  
well as he ac-  
cused at law  
Bartholo-  
newes in  
Smithfield  
being an in-  
couragement  
of young  
cholers.

king Philip  
went ouer into  
Flanders.

New counts  
in wood street

Great lands  
waters where  
y diverse fre  
uented pla  
es swers  
herdowne.

anno Reg. 3.  
Commissioners sent to  
Oxford, by the  
open author-  
ity & whp.

The one and twentieth of October, a parlement was holden at Westminster, in the which amongst other things the quene being perswaded by the cardinall (and other of hir clergie) that she could not prosper, so long as she kept in hir hands any possessions of the church, did frankelie and frelie resigne and render unto them all those reuenues ecclesiasticall, whiche by the authoritie of parlement, in the time of king Henrie, had bene annexed to the crowne, called the first fruits and tenths of all bishopricks, benefices, and ecclesiasticall promotions. The resignation thereof was a great diminution of the reuenues of the crowne. ¶ In this parlement was granted to the king & quene a subside of the lattie from five pounds to ten pounds eight pence of the pound, from ten pounds to twentie pounds twelue pence of the pound, & from twentie pounds upward firtene pence of the pound, and all strangers double, and the clergie granted six shillings of the pound.

Doctor Storie and other were appointed by the car-  
 dinall, to visit euerie parish church in London and  
 Middlesex, to see their reliques repaired, and the ima-  
 ges of the crucifix, with Marie and Iohn thereupon  
 to be fixed. ¶ During the time of this parlement, Ste-  
 phan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and chancel-  
 lor of England died at his house called Winchester  
 place, beside saint Marie Dueries in Southworke,  
 the ninth daie of September, whose corps was thori-  
 licke after solemnly from thence conueied to his church  
 of Winchester, & there buried. The manner of whose  
 death whi should I blash to blaze as I find it by re-  
 port: ¶ One mistresse Mondaine, being the wife of one  
 maister Mondaine secretarie sometime to the old lord  
 Thomas duke of Norfolkke, a present witnes of this  
 that is testified, thus openlie reported in the house  
 of a worthypfull citizen, bearing office in this citie,  
 in words and effect as followeth. The same daie,  
 when as bishop Hildeie and maister Latimer suffe-  
 red at Oxford, being about the nineteenth daie of  
 October, there came to the house of Stephan Gar-  
 diner, the old duke of Norfolkke with the foresaid  
 Mondaine his secretarie also named, reporter hear-  
 of. The old aged duke, there waiting and tarieng for  
 his dinner, the bishop being not yet disposed to dine,  
 deferred the time till thre or foure of the clocke at af-  
 ter none.

At length, about foure of the clocke commeth his  
seruant posting in all possible speed from Oxford,  
bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard  
and seene: of whom the said bishop diligentli inquir-  
ing the truth of the matter, & hearing by his man,  
that fire most certeinlie was set vnto them, com-  
meth out resolving to the duke: *God saith he*, let vs  
go to dinner. Wherevpon, they being set downe,  
meat immediatlie was brought, and the bishop be-  
gan merlic to eate: but what followed? The bloud-  
ie tyrant had not eaten a feten bite, but the sudden  
stroke of God his terrible hand fell vpon him in such  
sort, as immediatlie he was taken from the table, &  
so brought to his bed, where he continued the space of  
foure daies, in such intolerable anguish and tor-  
ment, as hee could not beleeue.

ments, that all that meane while, during those fixtē dates, he could not auoid by order of vjine, or otherwise, any thing that he receiued: whereby his bodie being miserable inflamed within (who had inflamed fo manie good martyrs before) was brought to a wretched end. And thereof no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tong from his mouth so swolne & blacke, with the inflammation of his bodie. A spectacle worthy to be noted and behol-  
den of all such bloudie burning persecutors.

But what soeuer he was, seeing he is now gone, I  
refferre him to his iudge, to whom he shall stand ope-  
Fall. As concerning his death and manner thereof, I  
would they which were present thereat, would testi-  
fie to vs what they saw. This we haue all to thinke,  
that his death happened so opportunelle, that Eng-  
land hath a mightie cause to giue thanks to the Lord  
therefor: not so much for the great hurt he had done  
in times past in peruerting his princelie, in bringing  
in the six articles, in murdering Gods saints, in de-  
facing Christs sincere religion, &c: as also especiallie  
for that he had thought to haue brought to passe in  
murdering also our noble quene that now is. For  
what soeuer danger it was of death that she was in,  
it did (no doubt) proceed from that bloudie bishop,  
who was the cause thereof. And if it be certaine which  
we haue heard, that hir highnesse being in the tow-  
wer, a twist came downe from certeine of the coun-  
cell for hir execution, it is out of controuersie, that  
wille Malincheser was the onelie Debalas and fram-  
mer of that engine. Who (no doubt) in that one day  
had brought this whole realme into woofull ruine,  
had not the lords most gracious counsell, thorough  
maister Bridges then the lieutenant, comming in  
halt to the quene, certified hir of the matter, and pre-  
uented Archibopels bloudie densles. For the which  
thankis be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the  
congregation of all English churches, Amen.]

After whose death, Nicholas heath archbishop of  
40 Dorke, was preferred by the quene to the office of  
the chancelor. ¶ He likewise gave the prime seale to  
the lord Paget, and made him lord p'suite seale, these  
were both Londoners borne. In this moneth of Fe-  
buarie, the lord mayor of London and the aldermen  
entered into Bridewell, and took possession thereof,  
according to the gift of king Edward, now confir-  
med by quene Marie. ¶ In the moneth of March next  
following, there was in manner no other talke, but of  
the great preparation that was made for the quene  
50 lieng in childbed, who had alreadie taken by hir cham-  
ber, and sundrie ladies and gentlewomen were pla-  
ced about hir in churche office of the court.

¶ And now forsomuch as in the beginning of the  
moneth of June about Whitson tide, the time was  
thought to be nie, that this yong maister should come  
into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses  
with the cradle and all, were prepared and in a readi-  
nesse, suddenlie upon that cause or occasion it is un-  
certeine, a certeine vaine rumor was blowane in  
60 London of the prosperous deliuerance of the quene  
and the birth of the child: insomuch that bells were  
rang, bonefiers and processions made, not one-  
lie in the citie of London, and in most other parts  
of the realme, but also in Antwerpe guns were shot  
off vpon the river by the English ships, and the mar-  
tiners thereof were rewarded with an hundred pils-  
lets or Italian crownes by the ladie regent, who  
was the quene of Hungarie. Such great reioicing  
and triumph was for the quenes deliuerie, and that  
there was a prince bozne. Yea, diuers preachers  
namelie one the person of saint Anne within Albert  
gate, after procession and *Te Deum* song, took vpon  
him to describe the propection of the child, how faire  
how beautifull, and great a pynce it was; as the like

Stephan  
Gardiner  
espēciallie  
hunteth for  
the life of ladie  
Elizabeth.  
M. Elizabeth  
preferred.

M. Bridges  
hesitant the  
Lords organ  
in saving the  
lady Eliza-  
beth's life.

The archie-  
shop of yorke  
lord chaceclor,  
John Stow.

Abr. Fl. ex I.F.  
martyrologio.  
Rochers and  
nurses prei-  
ded for ques-  
Maris Cyto

processions  
and bonfires  
in London for  
joy of the young  
prince.

Triumph at  
Antwerpe is  
the same.

had not bene sene.

In the middell of this great adoe, there was a simple man (this I speake but vpon information) dwelling within foure miles of Bartolike, that neuer had bene before halfe waie to London, which saith concerning the benefices made for queene Maries child; Here is a sofall triumph, but at length all will not proue worth a messe of postage, as in deed it came to passe: for in the end all proued cleane contrarie, and the joy & expectations of men were much deceiued. For the people were certified, that the queene neither was as then deliuered, nor after was in hope to haue anie child. At this time manie talked blucristie. Some said this rumour of the queenes conception was spread for a policie: some other affirmed that she was deceiued by a timpanie or some other like disease, to thinke herselfe with child, and was not: some thought she was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarie, or else that she was betwixhed: but what was the truth therof, the Lord knoweth, to whome nothing is secret. One thing of mine owne hearing and seeing I cannot passe ouer but witnessed.

There came to me, whome I did both heare and see, one I shall call, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate street in Hoine alle, not farre from the house where this present booke was printed, who before witness made this declaration vnto vs, that she being deliuered of a man-child vpon Whitsundaie in the morning, which was the eleuenth daie of June Anno 1555, there came to hir the lord North, and another lord to hir unknowne, dwelling then about old fiftie street, demanding of hir if she would part with hir child, and would sweare that she neuer knew nor had no such child. Which if she would, hir sonne (they said) should be well prouided for, she should take no care for it, with manie faire offers if she would part with the child.

After that came other women also, of whome one (she said) should haue bene the rocker: but she in no wise would let go hir sonne, who at the writing hereof being alive and called Timothie Spall, was of the age of thirtene yeares and vppward. Thus much (I saie) I heard of the woman hir selfe. What credit is to be giuen to hir relation, I deale not withall, but leaue it to the libertie of the reader, to beleue if they that list: to them that list not, I haue no further warrant to assure them. Among manie other great preparations made for the queenes deliuerance of child, there was a cradle verie sumptuouslie and gorgeously trimmed, on the which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written, both in Latine and in English, as they are set downe here in record:

*Quam Maria sobolem Deus optime summe dedisti,*

*Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.*

The child which thou to Marie,

o Lord of might hast send,

To Englands ioie in health

prelerue, keepe and defend.

About this time there came ouer into England a certeine English booke, giuing warning to the Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certeine close practises for recouerie of abbete lands, which booke was called A warning for England, whereof ye shall vnderstand much more at large where we speake of the Spanissh inquisition. So that by the occasion of this booke, vpon the thirtenth daie of this moneth came out a certeine proclamation, set forth in the name of the king and the queene, repealing and disanulling all manner of bookes written or printed, whatsoever should touch anie thing the impairing of the popes dignitie, whereby not onelie much goodlie edification was hindered, but also great perill grew among the people. This procla-

mation is recorded at large with other appendents, in the Actes and Monumentes, vnder the title of queene Marie.]

In this yeare died sir John Cressham, who bare the office of lord maior of London 1547, a man of a mercifull nature, and good deuotion both to God and his countrie. He founded a free schole at Holt, a market towne in Suffolke, & gaue to euerie ward in London ten pounds to be distributed to the poore; and to threescore poore men and women, euerie one of them thre yeards of bode cloth of eight or nine shillings the yarde, to be made in golowes readie to their backs. He gaue also to maids marriages, and to the hospitals in London, about two hundred pounds in readie monie. A blasing starre was sene at all times of the night, the first, seuenth, eight, ninth, and tenth of March.]

About this time, Wokes bishop of Gloucester was by the cardinall sent downe as commissioner from the pope to Driford, there to sit vpon the examination of Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Cantuarie, in such things as should be laid to his charge by John Storie and Thomas Martin, doctors in the lawes, sent speciallie in commission from the queene. At which time the said archbishop making low obsequance to them that late in the queenes name, shewed no token of reuerence to the bishop that was the popes commissioner: who neuertheless proceeded against him as iudge, and conuicted him of heresie. According to the which sentence, the one and twentieth daie of March next following, he was disgraced by Edmund Woner, and Thomas Chirkebie, bishops of London and Elie, sent downe for that purpose, and he was burned in the same place where Kildie and Latimer before had suffered.

Before his death by the persuation of a Spanissh frier, named frier John, a reader of diuinitie in Driford, and by the counsell of certeine other that put him in hope of life and pardon, he subscribed to a recantation, wherein he submitted himselfe wholie to the church of Rome, and continued in the same mind to outward appearance, vntill he was brought out of prison, to go to the fire. Afoze whose execution, a sermon was made by doctor Cole deane of Paules, in saint Martins church in Driford. And in the end of his sermon, the said doctor Cole praised the people to incline their eares to such things as the said Cranmer would declare vnto them by his owne mouth. For (saith he) he is a man verie repentant, and will here before you all renoue his errors. Acuertheless he did cleane contrarie. For when he came to the place where the holie bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Kildie were burnt before him, for the confession of the truth, kneeling downe he prayed to God, & not tarding long in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himselfe to death. His shirt was made long downe to his feet: his feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one heare could not be sene vpon it. His beard was long and thicke, couering his face with marvellous grautie. Such a countenance of grautie moued the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies.

And as for the recantation afoze said, with manie tears he protested, that he had subscribed to the same against his conscience, onelie for feare of death, and hope of life. Which seemed true: for when he came to the stake, & the fire kindled, he put his right hand into the fire, and held it there a good space, saying: that the same hand should first burne, because it held the pen to subscribe against his Lord God. Vpon the death of this Cranmer I find these reuerend verses:

*Infornate est felix, qui numine laes,*

*Quousin gaudet commoditate boni.*

Q. Maries child would not come.

What became of Q. Maries child no man can tell.

Ex testimonio eiusdem puerperae Londinensis.

The young princes cradle

Wrote vpon the cradle.

I. Fox in mart. feb. tit. Hen. 8.

I. Scow. 1556. A free school at Holt, a market towne in Suffolke, & gaue to euerie ward in London ten pounds to be distributed to the poore; and to threescore poore men and women, euerie one of them thre yeards of bode cloth of eight or nine shillings the yarde, to be made in golowes readie to their backs. He gaue also to maids marriages, and to the hospitals in London, about two hundred pounds in readie monie. A blasing starre was sene at all times of the night, the first, seuenth, eight, ninth, and tenth of March.]

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The archbishop was brought to the place of execution.

John Fox.

The delation of his person.

In Cranmer's entmure Henry's Cantuarie neuer see mo; the bo shall al troubl the afo the kee don, & straw the tin

perfection religion.

perfection religion.

perfection religion.

perfection religion.

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perfection religion.

*In felix ille est verò feliciter, orbi  
Inuis quisquis tristia fata subit.  
Huc Cranmere probas, vita presentis amore,  
Dum quævis sanctam dissimulare fidem.  
Et dum conspicias tandem melioribus usus,  
Præponis vita funera sæna tua.*

Immediatlie after the death of the said bishop Cranmer, cardinall Pole (a popish prelat, and a foze enimie to the religion receiued & established in king Henrie the eighths time) was made archbishop of Canturburie, who (during the life of the other) would neuer be consecrated archbishop. Who so desireth to see more of this matter, maie see the same at large in the booke of the monuments of the church, where you shall also find, that about this time manie were in trouble for religion. The eight and twentieth daie of the aforesaid moneth of March, by the negligence of the keepers maid of the gaile of Newgate in London, who had left a candle where a great deale of straw was, the same was set on fire, and burnt all the timber worke on the northside of the same gate.

The Summer next following was a new conspiracie brought to light, which was, to haue raised war in the realme against the queene, for maintenance whereof, their first enterprise was to haue robbed the treasure of the queens exchequer at Westminister, called the receipt of the exchequer, in the which there was of the queens treasure about fiftie thousand pounds the same time, to the intent they might be able to mainteine warre against the queene, as it fell out afterwards in prose. The offerer of which conspiracie was one Whittle, who at the beginning was made priuie to the same, whereupon diuerse of the conspiracie, namelie, Henrie Deekham, Daniell, Dethicke, Udall, Throckmorton, and capteine Stanton, were apprehended, and diuerse other fled into France. Whereouer, sir Anthonie Kingston knight was accused and apprehended for the same, and died in the waie comming to London. The eight and twentieth of Aprill, Throckmorton and Richard Heale, were dialen to Thorne, and there hanged & quartered. The nineteenth of Maie Stanton was likewise executed. The eight of June, Koffie, Kedike, and Bedell suffered at Tiborne for the same offense. The eighteenth of June, one Sands, younger son to the lord Sands, was executed at St. Thomas Waterings, for a robbetrie committed by him and others to the value of thre thousand pounds. The seven and twentieth of June, eleuen men & two women, were had out of Newgate, and in thre carts conueied to Stratford the bow, where for religion they were burnt to ashes.

The eight of Iulie, in the beginning of this fourth yeare of the queens reigne, Henrie Deekham and John Daniell were executed, and after they were dead, were headd on the tower hill: their bodies were buried in Barking church. About this time one Clobber, which sometime kept a schole at Dis in Dorsethe, with thre brethren, whose names were Lincolne, pretended an insurrection, and would haue gathered the people at a marriage, vnto the which the brethren promised either of them to bring an hundred horse with men. At which time by them appointed, the said Clobber gaue charge to a seruant of his, to watch in a lane nigh to the church where they should meet, and as soone as he saw anie horseman comming thitherward, to giue him warning with all speed. So it chanced (by the will of God) that certeine men riding through that lane, to some other place about their businesse, came about such an houre as Clobber had appointed. Upon sight of which men, his said seruant returned to his maister, and told him that his friends were come: and immediatlie the said Clobber stood by in the parish church of

Parleie, and read a traitorous proclamation of purpose prepared: which being ended, and seeing his part was too weake, for that his mates were not come, began to flee. But one maister Shireman pursued and toke him at a towne called Cic in Suffolke, and was kept in prison untill the next sessions at saint Edmundsburie, and his thre mates being brought to him, were there all together drawne, hanged, and quartered.]

This yeare, the hot burning fevers and other strange diseases, which began the yeare before, consumed much people in all parts of England; but namelie, of most ancient and graue men: so that in London, betwene the twentieth of October, and the last of December, there died seuen aldermen, whose names were Henrie Heardon, sir Richard Dobs late maior, sir William Laxton late maior, sir Henrie Hobblethorne late maior, sir John Champneis late maior, sir John Auleph late shiriffe, and sir John Gregham late maior. The one & twentieth of Nouember, John Feknam late deane of Pauls in London, now made abbat of Westminister, was straled, and toke possession of the same: and fourtene monks more receiued the habit with him that daie of the order of saint Benet. The said one and twentieth of Nouember, a man was brought from Westminister hall riding with his face to the horse taile, and a paper on his head, to the scaffold in Cheape, and there set on the pillorie, and then burned with an hot iron on both his cheeks, with two letters F. and A. for false accusing one of the court of the common pleas in Westminister of treason.

The sixteenth of December, Gregorie Carpenter smith, and a Frenchman borne, was arraigned for making counterfeit keies, wherevnto he haue opened the locks of Newgate, to haue slaine the keeper, and let forth the prisoners. At which time of his arraignment, hauing conueied a knife into his sleue, he thrust it into the side of William Whittents his fellow prisoner, who had giuen witness against him, so that he was in great perill of death thereby. For the which fact he was immediatlie taken from the barre into the stræt before the iustice hall, where his hand being first stricken off, he was hanged on a gibbet set vp for that purpose. The keeper of Newgate was arraigned & indicted, for that the said prisoner had a weapon about him, and his hands lose, which should haue bene bound. The fourth of Januarie, a ship before Greenewich (the court being there) shot off his ordnance, one peece being charged with a bullet of stone, which passed through the wals of the court, and did no more hurt.]

About this time came to London an ambassador to the queene from the emperour of Cathaye, Gulcovia, and Kulland, who was honorable receiued at Ottenham by the merchants of London, hauing trade in those countries, riding in velvet coates and chaines of gold, who bare all his costs and charges from the time of his entrie into England out of Scotland: for thither by tempest of weather he was driuen, and there forced to land. The lord Spontacute with the queens pensioners met him at Flington townes end; and at Smithfield barres the lord maior and aldermen in scarlet receiued him, and conueied him through the citie vnto maister Dimmocks house in Fanchurch street, where he lodged untill the twelfe of Maie, all which time he wanted no resort. And after his message and ambassage done to the queene, he departed againe with thre faire ships from Grauesend into his countrie, when he had remained here by the space of two moneths and more.

A traitorous proclamation read, and the reader apprehended.

Great death.

Seuen aldermen of London dead in one yeare.

Ab. Fl. ex l. Stow. 1103. Feknam abbat of westminster.

Falle accuser set on the pillorie & burnt in both cheeks; would to God all such accusers were so well marked.

A stranger should haue murdered the keeper of Newgate.

A gun shot into the court at Grenewich.

1557 An ambassador out of Cathaya.

John Stow.

Also about this time, the lord Sturton, for a verie shamefull and wretched murder committed by him vpon two gentlemen, the father and the son, of the surnames of Hargill, bring his nere neighbors, whom he caused to be smitten downe with clubs, then their throates to be cut, and after to be buried in his stone house fiftene foot deepe, for the which heinous offense he was apprehended and committed to the tower of London . And although the queene seemed to fauour him much, as one professing the catholike religion: yet when she vnderstood the truth of his vile deed, she abhorred him, & commanded that he should be vsed according to iustice; wherefore shortly after, he was brought to Westminster, & there arraigned & found guiltie, & had iudgement as a murderer to be hanged. And for the same fact were likewise condemned foure of his seruants. And the second daie of March next following, the said lord with his foure seruants were conueied by the queens gard from the tower of London through the citie, he hauing his armes pinioned at his backe, & his legs bound vnder the horse belfie, and so caried to Salisburie, where the first daie of March next, he was hanged in the market place, and his foure seruants were hanged in the countrie nere vnto the place where the murder was committed.

The lord  
Sturton han-  
ged.

Abr. Fl. ex  
L. S. 1105.  
Wealth and  
plentie.

John Caius.

The returne  
of king Phi-  
lip into Eng-  
land.

Stafford and others committed to the tower, and after executed.

Thomas  
Derle created earle of  
Northum=  
berland.

Queene Marie.

In this season, although the French king (as was said) was verie loth to haue warres with England, yet the quene tangling hir selfe contrarie to promise in hir husbands quarrell, sent a defiance to the French king by Clarenceaur king of armes; who comming to the citie of Remes, where the said king then late, declared the same unto him the tenth of June, being the mondaie in Whit sun weeke. On the which daye, Carter and Porreie king of armes, accompanied with other heralds, and also with the lord maior and certeine of the aldermen of the citie of London, by sound of three trumpets that rode before them, proclaimed open war against the said French king, first in Cheape side, and after in other parts of the citie, where customarilie such proclamations are made: the thiriffes still ribing with the heralds, till they had made an end, although the lord maior brake off in Cheape side, and went to saint Peters to heare seruice, and after to Paules, where (according to the vsage then) he went on procession. King Philip because of the warres towards, betwixt him and the French king, the first of Iulie passed over to Calis, and so into Flanders, where on that side the seas he made prouision for those warres: at which time there was great talke among the common people, muttering that the king making small account of the quene, sought occasions to be absent from hir.

Queene Ma-  
rie proclaimeth  
open warres  
against the  
French king.

King Philip  
passed over in  
to Flanders

The names  
of the cap:  
teins over the  
queens lap-  
ces.

Feuerthelesse, the thortlie after caused an ar-  
mie of a thousand hoſſemen, and ſoure thousand ſot-  
men, with two thousand pioners to be tranſported o-  
uer to his aid, vnder the leading of diuerſe of the no-  
bilitie and other valiant capteins, whoſe names part-  
lie follow: the earle of Penbroke capteine generall,  
ſir Anthonie Bytowne vicount Pontacue lieute-  
nant generall vnder the ſaid earle, the lord Erie of  
Wilton lord marſhall, the earle of Rutland generall  
of the hoſſemen, the lord Clinton earle of Lincoln  
cozonell of the ſotmen, the lord Ruſſell earle of Bed-  
ford, the lord Robert Dudley earle of Leiceſter  
and maſſer of the ordnance, the lord Thomas How-  
ard, ſir William Weſt lord de la Mare, ſir Ed-  
ward Wainſore after lord Wainſore, the lord Baie,  
ſir Edmund Wages lord Shandois, the lord Ambroſe  
Dudley earle of Warwicke, the lord Henrie Du-  
dley, Edward Randall eſquier ſergeant maior, maſ-  
ſer Whitteman treaſuro of the armie, Edward  
Chamberleine eſquier capteine of the pioners, ſir  
Richard Leigh trenchmaſter, John Higate eſquier  
prouoſt marſhall, Thomas Barue eſquier muſter-  
maſter, ſir Peter Carew, ſir William Courthene,  
ſir Giles Stranguiſh, ſir Thomas Finch maſter  
of the campe, and other nobles, knights, and gentle-  
men of right approued balancie: although diuerſe  
of them were ſuſpected to be proteſtants. Further-  
more, to make king Philips power the ſtronger,  
there came aid vnto him from ſundry places; where-  
by as his armie increased in number, ſo likewiſe  
grew the ſame more puſſant in ſtrength. The  
people that aſſiſted him are thus remembered by C.  
O. in his diſcountre of this warre, as here followeth:

*Misti in auxilium Germania lecta virorum  
Corpora ferratas acies peditionumque catervas.  
Nec deorat miles Latini de gente cruentus,  
Dalmata non deorant bello hinc nec desunt Hunni.  
At tamen ante alios, fiducia summa locata est  
In quibus armatus veluti conuenerat Anglia.  
Fœdus amicitiae vultus id pascibat, et iuxor,  
Cui cum rege fuit sociæ commune periculum.*

Varie genti  
in exercitiis  
Phyllosi.

*Cui cum rege fuit sociis commune periculum.*  
The fifteenth of Zulie, the ladie Anne of Cleve departed this life at Gheslee, and was honorable buried at Westminster the sixt of August: a ladie of right commendable regard, courteous, gentle, a good housekeeper, & verie bountifull to hir servants. The

The death  
the lady 37  
of eight.

Ans. Reg.

Dissected for  
the king of  
Aurangzeb.

fifteene oz  
sixteene thou=  
sand footmen,  
anda three oz  
foare thou=  
sand horse  
men.

The constable of France  
dake Mont-  
morencie ge-  
nerall of the  
french for-  
ces.

10

**Prisoners of  
name.  
These nine  
were knights  
of the order.**

The Gege be-  
low find  
Duntins,  
and the same



Poliope for  
king of  
Holland.

The eighteenth of August was a solemn obsequie celebrated in the church of S. Paule in London, for John king of Boxtingale, who departed this life in Julie last past. The lord treasurer was chiefe mourner. The queenes armie being transported ouer to Calis (as befoze ye haue heard) marched to foine with king Philips power: the which already being assembled, had invaded the French confines, and being come befoze saint Quintins, planted a strong siege befoze that towne. To the rescue whereof, the French king sent a great armie both of horsemen and footmen, under the leading of the constable of France: which armie consisted of about nine hundred men at armes, with as manie light horsemen, seuen or eight hundred Roissers, two & twentie ensignes of lancequenets, and sixtene ensignes of French footmen. They had also with them sixtene peeces of great artillerie, to wit, six double canons, foure long culuerings, the rest bastard culuerings, and other peeces of smaller mould. The constable thus garbed upon saint Laurence daie, which is the tenth of August, approached the towne, meaning to put into the same succours of more soldiors, with Dandelot the admirals brother, that was within the towne not furnished with such a garrison as was thought expedient for the defense thereof, against such a power as king Philip had prepared against it.

The duke of Savoie and other capitaines of the armie that laie at siege befoze the towne, advertised of the constables coming towards them, assembled the most part of their horsemen together, and with all speed made towards a passage distant from the place where the French armie stood houching about a two English miles: and being got ouer, they divided themselves into eight tropes of horsemen, led by the earles of Egmond, Horne, Paussfeld, the dukes of Brunswike and others, being in all to the number of five thousand men of armes, beside the swart Ritters and light horsemen. Which gaue such a furious & cruell charge upon the Frenchmen, that they not able to resist the same, were altogether defeated, and their battels as well horsemen as footmen put to flight. Whereof king Philip having knowledge, pursued them with all his force, in which pursuit there were slain of the Frenchmen a great number, the chiefe whereof were these that follow. John of Bourbon duke of Anguien the vicount of Turenne & eldest sonne of Roch du Maine, the lord of Chandenier, with a great number of other gentlemen that bare armes in the field. There were taken these prisoners following; the duke of Montmorencie constable of France hurt with an harquebus shot in the hand, the duke of Montpensier hurt in the head, the duke of Longueville, the marshall of saint Andrews, the lord Leives brother to the duke of Pantoa, monsieur de Vasse, the baron of Curton, monsieur de la Roch du Maine, the Acingraue coroneell of the Almans: moreover the counte de Roch Foucault, monsieur d'Obignie, monsieur de Peru, monsieur de Pontbuzun, monsieur de Biron, sonnes to the constable, monsieur de la chapelle de Biron, monsieur de saint Heran: beside manie other gentlemen and capitaines of good account and estimation. Yet there escaped the more part of the French horsemen, and manie of their footmen, with certeine of their capitaines of honor; as the duke of Bevers, the prince of Conde brother to the king of Navarre, the earle of Montmorencie eldest sonne to the constable, the earle of Sancerre, monsieur de Burdillon, and other of the barons of France.

Within two or three daies after this overthrow, king Philip with the English armie, under the government of the earle of Penbroke, and others, came to the siege afoze saint Quintins, & so was the

siege greatly reinforced; and on the seuen and twentieth of August by the speciall aid & helpe of the Englishmen, the towne of saint Quintins was taken. For when the other soldours, after diuerse assaults were repelled and gaue ouer, the Englishmen of a stout courage gaue a new onset, by reason whereof the towne was taken. And in reward of their well doing, king Philip granted them the sacage of the said towne. But then the swart Ritters, which kept no rule when they be strongest, set upon the Englishmen, in taking of the spoile, and killed a great number of them. This grudge was with much difficultie appeased, & men thought that if the Englishmen being much fewer in number had not bene oppressed with the multitude of the other, that it would haue growne to a great slaughter on both parts. At the assault the lord Henrie Dudleye, youngest sonne to the duke of Northumberland was slain with the shot of a great peece, as he stooped upon his approach unto the wall, and staid to rip his hose ouer the knee, thereby to haue bene the more apt and nimble to the assault. This was his end, of whome one saith thus:

Henricus Dudleius heros,  
Ille annis generosam animam iuuenilibus efflat,  
Quem referunt socij slentes in castra peremptum;  
Primos christicolæ est, velatum sudore, gentis.

After the winning of this towne, newes in post were brought into England to the queene, who caused generall processions to be made, and Te Deum to be song, giuing all laud and praise to almighty God for this great victorie. And in the streets of euerie citie and towne of the realme were made bonfires with great reioysing: which sudden shot gladnesse turned verie shortly after to great & long sorrow. For if ought were to be had of saint Quintins, England got nothing at all, for the gaine thereof came onlie to king Philip. But the losse of Calis, Hammes and Guines, with all the countie on that side the sea (which followed some after) was such a buffet to England, as happened not in more than any hundred yeares before; and a dishonor wherewith this realme shall be blotted, untill God shall giue power to redub it with some like requitall to the French.

Dodo Weston being (as you haue heard befoze) prolocutor of the conuocation house, was at this time in displeasure with cardinall Pole, and other bishops: because he was unwilling to resigne his deanrie of Westminster unto the queene, whose purpose was to place there (as in old time befoze) the religion of monks, whome in deed he fauoured not, although in all other things he stood with the church of Rome. Wherefore, by verie importunate sute, or rather compulsion, he with his colleagues resigned the deanrie of Westminister. In recompence whereof he was made deane of Windsor, where not long after he was taken in adulterie, and for that fact was by the cardinall deposed of all his spirituall liuings, from whose sentence he appealed unto the court of Rome. For the following of which appeale he sought secretlie to depart the realme: but he was apprehended by the waite, and committed to the tower of London, where he remained prisoner, untill by the death of quene Marie quene Elizabeth came unto the crowne, by whome he was set at libertie, and shortly with fell sicke and died.

The common talke was, that if he had not so suddenly died, he would haue disclosed the purpose of the chiefe of the clergie, meaning the cardinall, which was to haue taken by the Henries bodie at Windsor, and to haue burned it, as manie thought. The thirtieth of Nouember, being saint Andrews daie, in the forenoone, the queene came from saint James to hir palace at Westminister, where she heard masse at the which, sir Thomas Cresham knight received

taken and  
lashed.

The lord  
Henrie Dud-  
leye slain  
with the shot  
of a gun.

Dodo West-  
on resigneth  
the deanrie of  
Westminster  
by compulsion  
and its recom-  
pensed.

The malice  
of cardinall  
Pole against  
king Henrie  
the eight.

Sir Thomas  
Cresham  
made lord of  
saint Johns  
of Jerusalem.

Queene Ma-  
rie proclaimed  
open warfare  
against the  
French king.

King Philip  
passed over  
to Flanders.

The names  
of the cap-  
tains ouer the  
queens forces.

Barons of  
the  
realm.

Marie gentle  
in exercish  
Philip.

The death of  
the noble Anne  
of Cleur.

The siege be-  
ing  
continued  
the same

Calis not furnished with a sufficient number of men.

The losse of saint Quintins nettled the French king.

The duke of Guise with a great armie commeth toward Calis.

Guise entrench the English frontier.

1558.  
Anno Reg. 5.

Newnambridge taken by the French.  
The master gunners head smitten cleane off with a gun.

the order of the crosse, & was instituted lord of saint Johns of Jerusalem in England. At this time, although there was open hostilitie and warre between England & France: yet contrarie to the common custome before used, the towne of Calis and the forts thereabouts were not supplied with anie new accretives of soldiors, but rather witholden from thence, and discharged. Which negligence was not unknowne to the enimie, who long before had practised the winning of the said towne and countrie.

The French king therefore being sharplie nettled with the late losse of saint Quintins, and a great peece of his countrie adjoining, and desirous of reuenge, thought it not meet to let slip this occasion, but rather to aduance the same with all expedition, according vnto the plot lated by the conestable before hand. The king yet neuertheless hauing an armie in a readinesse (although the conestable were now prisoner, and therefore could not be present himselfe) to imploy where most aduantage should appeare, determined with all speed to put in proue the enterpryse of Calis, which long and manie times before was purposed vpon, as it was well knowne. This practice was not secret, but that the deputies of Calis and Guisnes had some intelligence thereof, and informed the queens and hir counsell accordingly, as well by letters, as by sufficient messengers: for not onelie John Hiesfield master of the ordinance was sent from thence to giue due aduertisement of the French kings purpose, & to haue a supplie of things necessarie for mounting of the great artillerie whereof he had charge; but also sir Rafe Chamberleine, capitaine of the castell, was likewise sent to giue the like aduertisement, who returned not past two or thre daies before the duke of Guise came thither with the armie. And so either by wilfull negligence, or lacke of credit by the queens counsell here, this great case was so slenderlie regarded, that no prouision of defense was made, untill it was somewhat to late.

The duke of Guise being generall of the French armie, proceeded in this enterpryse with marvellous speed and no lesse policie. For approaching the English frontier vnder colour to vittell Bullongne and Ard, he entered the same vpon a sudden on Pewpeares daie, a sozie little plot of ground, intrenched at Sandgate, and then diuided his armie into two parts, sending one part with certeine peeces of great artillerie along the doloues by the sea side towards Ricebanke: and the other part furnished also with batterrie peeces, marched straight forth to Newnambridge, meaning to batter these two forts both at one time. Which thing he did with such readie dispatch, that comming thither verie late in the evening, he was master of both by the next morning: where at the first shot discharged at Newnambridge, the head of the master gunner of that peece, whose name was Hozlie was stricken off.

The capteine hauing sent vnto the lord deputie of Calis for some supplie of men, was answered that if he persecuted the enimies force to be such, whereby his peece should grow to be in anie danger: that then he should choke by the artillerie, and retire with his men vnto Calis for defense of the towne, where they stood in great want of men also, even to the perill of losing the whole, if the enimies came forwards to besiege it. Whereupon the capteine within Newnambridge perceiuing he might haue no succors, retired with his soldiors vnto Calis, in such secret wise, that the Frenchmen perceived it not of a pretie while; insomuch that they shot still at the fort, when there was not a man within it to make resistance: and by that time that they were come to Calis, the other part of the French armie that went by the sea side with their

batterie, had twone Ricebanke, being abandoned to their hands. The next daie the Frenchmen with two double canons and thre culuerings began a batterie, from the Sandhills next Ricebanke against the curteine betwixt the watergate and the soldiors prison on the wall, and continued the same by the space of two or thre daies, untill they had made a little breach next vnto the watergate, which neuertheless was not yet assaultable: for that which was broken in the daie, was by them within the towne made by againe in the night stronger than before. But the batterie was not begun there by the French, for that they intended to enter in that place, but rather to abuse the English, to haue the lesse regard vnto the defense of the castell, which was the weakest part of the towne, and the place where they were ascertained by their espials to win easie entrie. So that while our people travelled fondlie to defend that counterfet breach of the towne wall, the duke had in the meane season planted sixtene double canons against the castell. Which castell being considered by the rulers of the towne, to be of no such force as might resist the batterrie of the canon (by reason it was old and without anie rampiers) it was deuised to make a traine with certeine barrells of powder to this purpose, that when the Frenchmen should enter (as they well knew that there they would) to haue fired the said traine, and blotone by the keepe, and for that purpose lest neuer a man within to defend it.

But the French hauing passed through the ditch full of water, & thereby with their cloths wringing wet as they passed ouer the traine, they moisted so the powder, that it would not take fire when it was giuen. Whereupon the Frenchmen espieing the traine, auoided the same; so as that deuise came to no purpose, and without anie resistance they entered the castell, and thought to haue entered the towne by that waie. But by the prouesse and hardie courage of sir Anthonie Ager knight, & marshall of the towne, with his soldiors they were repelled, and driuen backe againe into the castell, and so hard followed, that our men forced them to close and shut the castell gate for their suertie, lest it should haue bene recovered against them, as it was once attempted by sir Anthonie Ager; who there with his sonne and betre, and a purseuant at armes called Calis, with diuers others to the number of thre or foure score Englishmen lost their liues.

The same night after the recule of the French men, whose number so increased in the castell, that the towne was not able to resist their force, the lord Wentworth being deputie of the towne, appointed Nicholas Jello, alias Guisnes, and Richard Turpine, alias Hammes, to go to the French within the castell, to demand parole: whereunto they assented, put forth of the posterne two French gentlemen, and in pledge for them receiued into the castell John Hiesfield master of the ordinance, and Edmund Hall one of the conestables of the staple. Whereupon they falling in talke about a composition: at length after some long debating of the matter, they concluded in this sort. First that the towne, with all the great artillerie, vittels, and munitions, should be freely yelded to the French king, the liues of the inhabitants onelie saued, to whome safe conduct should be granted to passe where they listed: sauing the lord deputie, with sike such other as the duke should appoint, to remaine prisoners, and be put to their ransom. The next morning, the Frenchmen entered and possessed the towne: and forthwith all the men, women, and children, were commaunded to leaue their houses, and to go to certeine places appointed for them to remaine in, till order might be taken for their sending awaie.

Ricebanke taken by the French.

The duke of Guise his purpose.

The English mens fond sense.

The French men dispoine the Englishmens deuise.

Sir Anthonie Ager and his sonne slain.

The lord Wentworth.

A parole demanded of the French.

Carlton of soldiors that were in Calis.

Calis delivered to the French.

The duke of Guises proclamation to bring in money and plate, &c.

The French fail to spoiling and rifling.

The purport of the meanest sort of Calis.

Carlton of soldiors that were in Calis.

The places thus appointed for them to remaine in, were the four, the two churches of our ladie, and saint Nicholas, the deputies house, and the staple, where they rested a great part of that daie, and one whole night, and the next daie till thre of the clocke at afternone, without either meat or drinke. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the duke of Calis in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a proclamation, strictly charging all and euerie person that were inhabitants of the towne of Calis, hauing about them any monie, plate, or iewels, to the value of one groat to bring the same forthwith, and laie it downe upon the high altars of the said churches upon paine of death; bearing them in hand also, that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great & sorrowfull offeratorie. And while they were at this offering within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasure: but speciallie of ordinance, armour, and other munitions.

Thus dealt the French with the English in lieu and recompence of the like vlsage to the French when the forces of king Philip preuailed at St. Quintins: where not content with the honour of victorie, the English in sacking the towne sought nothing more than the satisfieng of their greedie desire of couetousnesse, with an extreme neglect of all moderation. So likewise did the Spanishe soldiors, and the rest that could come to finger any thing of value: insomuch that neither monie nor plate, either of silver or gold, rich hangings, bedding, nor household stuffe, was spared: but what they could not carie awaie for cumbersome, they sold dogcheape; were the same necessarie furniture seruiceable for the chamber, the kitchen, or any other roome in a mans house. Pearls and pretious stones, iewels and ovels, the rich ornaments of the French daimes were then bought and sold at a low price, which a long time had bene kept shut by vnder locke and key: all laid open now to the greedie eye of the soldiors, who like landlords kept possession of houses, as C. O. noteth, of whom I haue borrowed the report of this reuel roist, saieing:

*Amatis muros firmisimamque occupat urbem  
Militibus victor, dominantur in adibus altis  
Lam vacuis veterum dominorum Marce phalanges  
Conspicua.]*

About two of the clocke the next daie at after none, being the seuenth of Januarie, a great number of the meanest sort were suffered to passe out of the towne in safetie, being guarded through the armie with a number of Scottishe light horsemen, who bled the Englishmen verie well and terrible: and after this euerie daie for the space of thre or foure daies together, there were sent awaie diuerse companies of them till all were auoided, those only excepted that were appointed to be reserved for prisoners, as the lord Wentworth, & others. There were in the towne of Calis five hundred English soldiors ordinarie, and no more: and of the townesmen not fullie two hundred fighting men (a small garrison for the defense of such a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children (as they were accounted when they went out of the gate) foure thousand and two hundred persons. But the Lord Wentworth deputie of Calis, Sir Isaac Chamberleine capitaine of the castell, John Harrison capitaine of Kicebanke, Nicholas Alexander capitaine of Newmansbridge, Edward Grimstone the comptroller, John Rogers surueyor, with others, to the number of fiftie (as aforesaid) such as it pleased the duke of Calis to appoint, were sent prisoners into France.

Thus haue ye heard the discourse of the ouerthrow

and losse of the towne of Calis, the which enterpris was begun and ended in lesse than eight daies, to the great maruell of the world; that a towne of such strength, and so well furnished of all things as that was (sufficient numbers of men of warre onlie excepted) should so suddenly be taken and conquered, but most speciallie in the winter season, what time all the countrie about (being marish ground) is commonly ouerflowed with water. The said towne was won from the French king by R. Edward the third, in the time of Philip de Valois then French king: and being in possession of the kings of England two hundred and eleuen yeares, was in the time of Philip and Marie king & queene of England lost within lesse than eight daies: being the most notable fort that England had. For the winning whereof, king Edward aforesaid, in the 21 yeare of his reigne, was faine to continue a siege eleuen moneths and more. Wherefore it was iudged of all men, that it could not haue come so to passe, without some secret trecherie.

Here is also to be noted, that when queene Marie and hir counsell heard credible of the Frenchmens sudden approach to that towne, she with all speed possible (but somewhat too late) raised a great power for the rescue thereof, the which comming to Douer, staid thereabouts till the towne was wonne, either for that their whole number was not come together, or for that there were not ships readie sufficient to passe them ouer, although the wind and weather serued verie well to haue transported them thither, till the furdais at night after the towne was deliuered: for then began a maruellous sore and rigorous tempest, continuing the space of foure or five daies together, that the like had not bene seene in the remembrance of man. Wherefore some said that the same came to passe through necromancie, and that the diuell was raised up and become French, the truth whereof is knowne (saith master Grafton) to God. True it is that after the said tempest began, for the time it lasted, no ship could well bryoke the seas, by reason of the outrageous stormes. And such of the queenes ships as did then aduenture the passage, were so shaken and tozned with the violence of the weather, that they were forced to returne in great danger, & not without losse of all their tackle and furniture: so that if this tempestuous weather had not chanced, it was thought that the armie should haue passed to haue gotten some succors to Guines, and to haue attempted the recouerie of Calis.

But if the same armie might haue bene readie to haue transported ouer in time, before the losse of Calis, and whilest the weather was most calme and sweet, as was possible for that time of the yeare, the towne might haue bene preserved; and the other peeces which through want of timelie succours came into the enemies possession. And thus by negligence of the counsell at home, conspracie of traitors elsewhere, force and false practise of enemies, holpen by the rage of most terrible tempests of contrarie winds and weather, this famous fort of Calis was brought againe and left in the hands and possession of the French, & so to were he worthy of a kingdome, that could sensible and significantlie set forth the insolent triumphs and immoderate reioicing of the French for the recouerie of Calis so long possessed by the English, and now in foren tenure. In describing whereof a man had need of manie heads fraught with extraordinary inuention, and of many hands readie to deliuer in writing his rare conceits in this case. For as they are a people depending wholly upon extremities in their actions: so in this they used no measure, insomuch that euery the learner fort among them, namely Turnebus, Au-

q q q q. iij. ratur,

Calis conquered and lost in lesse than eight daies.

How long Calis was in possession of the kings of England.

As good neuer as too late.

A terrible tempest.

Rich. Grafton.

The queenes ships sore shaken with storme and tempest.

Abr. Fl. ex opere historico Schradij collectio

icebank in by the French.

The duke of Calis proposition to bring in money and plate.

The English ens fond the

The French in disappointing the nightmen

The French in disappointing the nightmen

The French in disappointing the nightmen

The French in disappointing the nightmen

The French in disappointing the nightmen

ratus, Bellaius, and others did both pen and publish pamphlets in Latine verse, replenished with scoffs and uncrendent termes against the English, calling them *Perfidus*, and in flowing sort *Diuisos* or *Britannos*; but aduancing to the skies their Henric, their Guise, and the rest of the robot that were adooz in this conquest. A sight of which verses in some part I may not omit (for it requireth a booke to transcribe all) least I might be thought to impose upon them a false charge. This therefore in the forme of a dialog betweene a poist and the people writeth Auratus the French kings publike reader in the Greeke tongue:

N. *Clamate Galli mine ter io io.*  
 V. *Qua lata Gallis inflat onatio?*  
 N. *Capit Caletes. V. Multa paucis*  
*Digna nouo memoras triumpho.*  
 N. *Picere Galli, sed duce Gualo.*  
 V. *Io triumphe, mine ter io io.*  
 N. *Picere Victores Britannos.*  
 V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe.*  
 N. *Annos ducentos fersa Britannia*  
*Pris liberata est. V. Nunc ter io io.*  
 N. *Migrate iam prisici coloni.*  
 V. *Nunc ter io, ter io triumphe, &c.*

And thus proceedeth he in his od beine of inuenti- on, concluding with a question, whether the king of France or the duke of Guise are the more happie and blessed person? The answer is made that they are both blessed, the king for the duke sake, and the duke for the kings; and therefore his poisse must of force sing and sound to them both thise, that is, often times *Ter io triumphe, ter io triumphe*. But I would to God the English had not bene so soon and so suddenlie turned out of their old possession, nor the French fondlings obtained such a iust cause of immoderate ioy and outrageous triumph.]

But to leaue Calis in the present state, you shall vnderstand, that so soon as this duke of Guise (con- trarie to all expectation) had in so few daies gained this strong towne of Calis (afore thought impreg- nable) and had put the same in such order as best ser- ued for his aduantage, prouid of the spoile, and pres- sing forward vpon his good fortune, without giuing anie long time to the residue of the guides or cap- teines of the forts there, to breathe vpon their busi- nesse, the 13 daies of the said moneth being thursdaie, with all prouision requisite for a siege, marched with his armie from Calis, vnto the towne and fort of Guisnes, five miles distant from thence. Of which towne and castell at the same time there was cap- teine a valiant baron of England, called William lord Greie of Wilton, who not without cause sus- pecting a siege at hand, and knowing the towne of Guisnes to be of small force, as being large in com- passe, without walles or bulwarks, closed onlie with a trench, before the Frenchmens arriuall had caused all the inhabitants of the towne to auoid, and so ma- nie of them as were able to beare armes he caused to retire into the castell, which was a place well forti- fied with strong and massie bulwarks of bricke, ha- uing also an high and mightie tower, of great force and strength, called the Keep.

The towne being thus abandoned, the Frenchmen had the more easie approach to the castell, who thinking to find quiet lodging in those vacant houses, entered the same without any feare. And being that night at their rest (as they thought) a chosen band of souldiours appointed by the lord Greie, issued out by a posterne of the said castell, and slue no small number of their sleepe theifs, & the rest they put out of their new lod- gings, and mangre the duke and all the French po- uer, consumed all the houses of the towne with fire. That notwithstanding, the said duke with all dili- gence began his trenches. And albeit the spot of the

great artillerie from the castell was terrible, & gaue him great impeachment: yet did he continue his worke without intermission, and for examples sake wrought in his owne person as a common pioner or labourer. So that within lesse than thre daies, he brought to the number of five & thirtie batterie pe- ces, hard to the bylm of the castell ditch, to batter the same on all sides, as well forthright as acrosse. But his principall batterie he planted against the strong- est bulwke of all, called *Sparte* bulwke, thin- king by gaining of the stronger to come more easi- lie by the weaker.

On mondaie morning therefore by breake of the daie, they had laid two batteries to the said bulwke, thirtie canons in the one, and nine in the other, with which they piled it so well, as that by none they had not onlie dismounted their counter batterie within, but also cleane cut a waie the hope of bricke off the whole forefront of their bulwarks, thereof the filling being but of late digged earth, old crumble awaie. Which the enimie finding about two of the clocke in the same afternoone, sent fortie or fiftie for- loine boies with swozds and targets to view and assaie the breach. The ditch at that place before the batterie was not four and twentie fot broad, now assuredlie not a dozen, nor in depth above a mans knees, therefore with small ado they came to the breach, and with as little paine came by the same, the clime was so easie; from whence hauing dischar- ged certie pistols vpon the Englishmen, and re- ceived a few pusses of the pike, they retired. And making report of the easinesse of the breach, strait a band or two of Gascoignes (as it was thought) threw themselves into the ditch, and by they came. Then a little more earnestly the Englishmen leaped to their tackling, their flankers walked, their pikes, their culuers, their pots of wild fire were lent them, the harquebush saluted them, so as tolke master Cal- coigne was set downe with more hast than he came by with good speed: and so ended mondaies worke, sauing that vpon the retire from the assalt, they gaue seven or eight such terrible tires of batterie, as toke cleane away from them within the top of their bau- more and maunds, leauing them all open to the ca- nons mouth. Whereby surelie but for night that came on, the Englishmen had bene forced to haue aban- doned the place.

At this assalt was slaine of gentlemen, one cap- teine Bourne an Englishman, vertie valiant, also a Spanish gentleman, and common souldiours to the number of fortie or fiftie. There was also sore hurt at the same assalt, one other Spanish capteine, with diuerse others, whom for the auoiding of tediousnesse I let passe. At night the lord Greie came to the bul- wke, and hauing rendred thanks to God for that daies good successe, did greatlie commend them all for their manfull defense and valiant behaviour, ex- horting them to continue therein, as the onlie thing wherein their safetie and god name did rest. The bat- terie (as before is told) hauing laid the bulwke as open, they within were enforced for winning of a new baumore, to intrench within the bulwke fir fot daie, and nine in thicknesse, which maruellouslie did strengthen the pece, the same being of no great largenesse before. By the next daie being tuesdaie, they had planted two batteries more; the one in the market place of the towne, to beate a curtaine of the bodie of the castell, of six canons; the other vpon the rampire of the towne of thre peeces, to beate the Cat and a flanker of the Barbican, which two garded one side of the *Sparte* bulwke.

This morning they bestowed most in battering at the flankers, which the daie before they had felt, and in dard waue euerie one from them within, sa- uing

Ex. romo sentio  
historiarum  
Schardij de capto  
Calis pag. 1973  
&c.

The duke of  
Guise mar-  
cheth to the  
fort and town  
of Guisnes.

The L. Greie  
capteine of  
Guisnes.

The L. Greie  
taketh the  
French at a  
sleepe aduan-  
tage.

The Gas-  
coignes put  
backe with  
more hast than  
they came by  
with good  
speed.

The number  
slaine at this  
assalt.

The lord  
Greie com-  
mendeth his  
souldiours.

The Spanishe  
Calcoignes  
were the  
assalt.

The manhood  
of the Spanishe  
was against  
the French.

Batteries at  
the flankers.

Rabutine.

Batterie laid to the Spore bulworne.

The Calcoignes put backe with more haste than they came by South good speed.

The number slaine at this assault.

The lord Greie commendeth his souldiours.

Batteries of the flankers.

Certaine Swisses and French approached the ditch as if they would have given the assault.

Exchange between lord Greie and the Spaniards upon a bar with gentlemen.

The Swisses and Calcoignes for the Cal.

Spaniards against the French.

ning that of the Cat, which laie high and somewhat secret, and another at the end of a brate by the gate on the other side of the bulworne; all the rest, as those of the Garden bulworne which chafelle beheld the maine breach of the Barbican, and of the Riepe, were quite bereaved them. And besides the enimie continually intertained the breach, with eight or nine tires the houre. In the afternoon, about the same houre that they made their attempt the daie afore, a regiment of Swisses, with certeine bands of Frenchmen approached the ditch, as if presentlie they would have given the assault; but there they did staie, tending to the breach onelie a capteine or two, seeking thereby to have discovered what flankers yet were left to them within: wherein they were prevented, the lord Graie having before warned the gunners not to disclose them, but upon extremitie. And thus after an houres plaie with the harquebush onelie, and a light offer or two of approach, this people retired them, and gaue the canon place againe, which by night had driuen them within anew to become moldwarps, and to intrench themselves with all speed possible.

The morrow being Wednesday, by the peepe of daie, all the batteries began, and without intermission held on till one of the clocke in the afternoon, and especiallie that in the market place so prevailed, as having cleane ruined the old wall, did drue through the rampire, and a new countermure of earth raised upon the same, where the lord Greie himselfe sitting upon a forme, with sir Henrie Palmer, and master L. Greie his lordships counsell and deputie, made a faire escape, the forme being stricken asunder under them, without anie further harme to anie of them: though sundrie other that daie and the next following lost their liues on the same curteine by the foresaid battre, which full in flanke did beat it, where, in yet was his lordships onelie abode as his chiefe place, to view and regard the behauiour and need of all the other lims, from which also a quost might be tholue into Marie bulworne. The enimies canon (as is said) having plaid thus all the morning, and well searched (as they thought) euerie corner that flankers might lurke in, about the foresaid houre of one of the clocke, the Englishmen might descrite the trench before the breach to be stuffed with ensignes. The L. Greie straight expecting that which followed, gaue word incontinently to euerie place to stand on their gard, encouraging euerie man to continue in their well begun endeuor. A tower that was called Webs tower, and yet standing, which flanked one side of the beaten bulworne, he stuffed with twentie of the best shot with carriers. These things no sooner thus ordered, but that eight or nine ensignes of Swisses, and three of Calcoignes, did present themselves upon the counterscarfe; and without staie the Calcoignes sue into the ditch, run by the breach, whome they within receiue with harquebush shot, but they requite the Englishmen againe with two for one. The top of the baumure or rather trench, the enimie boldlie approacheth, the pike is offered, to handblowes it commeth. Then the Swisse with a statelie leasure steppeth into the ditch, and close together marcheth by the breach, the fight increaseth, warreth verie hot, & the breach all couered with the enimies. The small shot in Webs tower began now to their parts, no bullet that went in vaine. On the other side againe 20 of the Spaniards on the inside of the brates had laid themselves close till the heat of the assault: and then shewing themselves, did no lesse gall the enimies than the tower. Thus was it no lustiler assailed than branelie defended. At last after an houres fight and more, the gouernours with out finding the great slaughter that theirs went to, and small assault, and perceiving the two little castes

mates of the tower and brates to be the chiefe and notances, did cause a retire to be sounded: and with all three or foure of the canons in the market place, to be turned upon Webs tower, the which at two tires brought cleane downe the same upon the souldiours heads, wherein two or three were slaine outright, others hurt to death, and the escaped best, so maimed or brused, as they were no more able to serue.

The enimie this while hauing breathed, and a brace of an hundred shots put forth onelie to attend on the few Spaniards that kept the corners of the brates the assault afresh is begun, and their beaten bands with new companies relieved. The lord Greie also sent into the bulworne two hundred fresh men. So grew the fight heauie upon the Englishmen, all their defense resting in the pike and bill, their chiefe flankers being gone, their places to bestow shot in taken from them, their fier-works in manner spent, the Spanish shot on the other side so overlaid, as not one of them but was either slaine or maimed, yet a quarter of the assault was past. The easinesse of the fight thus alluring the enimie, unappointed companies sue to the breach, and courage was on euerie side with them, what haucke they made it is not hard to gesse. By lord Greie perceiving the extremitie, sent to the two forenamed flankers, that they should no longer spare. They straight went off, the ditches and breach being couered with men. These vnloked for ghosts made the enimie that was coming to pause, and the other already come to repent their hast. Three or foure boits of these salutations began to cleare well the breach, though the ditch grew the fuller at night. At last parted with no great triumph of others winnings (for as the Englishmen within went not scotfree) so fuerlie no small number of their enimies carcasses toke by their lodgings in the ditch that night.

By lord Greie this night came into the bulworne, where after praise first to God, he gaue thanks and commendations to them all. The slaine men he caused to be buried, the hurt to be removed and looked vnto, saw the breach repaired, inquired of their lacks, and (as he might) supplied the same. They that were great could not be helped, as cornpowder, fierworks, yea and pikes began to faile vs. The most part of the night he here bestowed, and longer as was thought had taried, had not a scabrdies sword about one of the souldiours as he went in the throng & darke amongst them, thrust him almost through the foot: whereupon he withdrew him to be dressed, vnto his souldiours an exhortation to acquite themselves no lesse valiantlie the next daie, assuring them that one or two more such bankets as this last, giuen to the enimie, would cole their courages for anie more assaults.

This night now, great noise & working was heard in the ditch, whereupon the bulworne was once or twice on alarm. At the last with cressets it was espied that they were making a bridge. The morning came, and then the same was seene to be finished, emptie casks with ropes fastened together, & sawed boards laid thereon. This yet did but put them within, in a certainte of that which before they accounted of, and stood prepared for. To be short, the enimies spent all the daie till it was full two of the clocke in batterie, & beating at the two last flankers, which at length they wone from them within, & the gunners of either slaine. Whereupon the lord Greie taking counsell of sir Henrie Palmer, master L. Greie and Pontdragon the leader of the Spaniards: it was resolved, that there might be order to make a fusilie within the bulworne, and presentlie to with draw all from thence, sauing a certeine for a face and stale to toll in the enimie, and then to haue blotone it

A fresh assault begun and the light hot and heauie against the English.

Enimies slaine.

By lord Greie this night came into the bulworne after the skirmish ended.

By L. Greie hurt by mischance.

The French make bridge.

Consultation betweene the lord Greie and the English gentlemen.



Rich, Grafton.

The duke of  
Guise and  
monſieur Dan-  
delot with  
their powers.

Rabutin.

The desperat  
adventure of  
the French.The duke of  
Guise in a  
rage with his  
soldiers.The English  
forced to avoid  
the enimie  
entrench.

up whole to the destruction of them all.

In the meane time, the duke of Guise hauing giuen order to monſieur Dandelot coroneill of the French ſoldiers, that he with his bands should be in a readinesse to giue the assault when ſigne should be giuen, did withdraw him to an higher ground, from whence he might plainly diſcouer the behauiour as well of his ſouldiours in the assault giuing, as also of the defendants in answering the same. And perceiuing not so manie of the English part appearing for defence (as he doubted there would) gaue order forthwith, that a regiment of his most forward lance, knights should mount the breach, to open the first passage: and that monſieur Dandelot with his French ſoldiers should backe them, which order was followed, with such hast & desperat hardines, that entering a deepe ditch full of water, from the bottome whereof to the top of the breach, in some places, was well neare fortye foot, without feare either of the water beneath, or the fire aboue, they mounted the breach.

And whereas the duke had prepared (as ye haue heard) byldes made of plankes boards, bozne up with castles and emptie pipes, tied one to another, for his men to passe the said ditch: manie of them now at this assault, without care of those byldes, plunged into the water, and toke the next waie to come to the assault. Which hot hast notwithstanding, the assaults were at the first so stoutlie repelled and put backe by the defendants, being furnished with great store of wildfire, and other suchies for the purpose, that they were turned headlong one vpon another, much faster than they came up, not without great wast and slaughter of their best and most forward ſouldiours, to the small comfort of the stout duke, who (as is said before) stood all this while vpon a little hill to behold this businesse. Wherefore he not induring this sight any longer, as a man enraged, ran among his men, so reprooing some, and incouraging other, that the assault was hot renewed, with much more vehemencie and furie than before, and with no lesse sturdie obstinacie and desperation receiued by the defendants, whereby all the breach beneath was filled with French carcases.

This notwithstanding, the duke still redoubled his forces with fresh companies, and continued so manie assaults one vpon another, that at the last charge, being most vehement of all the other, the Englishmen being tired, and greatlie diminished in their numbers, by slaughter and bloudie wounds, were of fine force vnto to avoid, & so after halfe an hours fight, the enimie entered. Which when the lord Greie beheld, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wishing of God that some shot would take him. When one that stood next him, by the scarffe suddenie pulled him downe, otherwise the effects had well declared the earnestnes of the praiser: for he was not yett vngaine, when a canon shot grated vpon the same place from whence he fell. And thus verie narrowlie he escaped the danger of that shot, which if it had hit him would (no doubt) haue wrought his dispatch. For what is the weake frame of a mans bodie to mightie foits and strong castles, builded of timber and stone, beside the iron worke therewith compact, oftentimes redoubling the strength of the same: And yett these (we ſee by experience) ruinated, battered, and laid leuell manie times with the thundering shot of this dreadfull artillerie: an engine of no great antiquitie, and not vsed among ancient warriours in former ages, but a late deuise of a Frenchman frer; pittie it is that euer he was bozne to set abroad such a pestilent inuention, as the poet noteth, theſeuing also the use and the mischefeous effect thereof as followeth:

*Tormenti genus est ex ferro aut are coactum,  
Quod Franciscanus frater reperisse refertur.*

*Vi capias paucis validissima castra diebus,  
Qua vix cepisses armis toto prius anno, &c.*

But to proceed. The fight within the bulworke yet lasted, to the great slaughter of them that defended it. Wherevpon my lord Greie presentlie called to maister Leues Diue, and others that were about him, to follow him to the gate. The maze was such, that besides his sonne maister Arthur Greie, and now lord Greie, maister Leues Diue, capteine Biche- well, and halfe a dozen of armed cossets, not a man else did follow him. By this means the Englishmen were cleane driuen out of the bulworke, the enimie yett not daring to passe the braces, gaue them that escaped good leisuere to recover the gate, where my lord Greie holding the wicket himselfe, receiued them in. Vpon the taking of this bulworke, the ſouldiours of Whiteheies bulworke and the base court in discomfiture abandoned their charges, fleeing to the castle: so that more than the halfe and the bodie of the castle no part was free from the enimie. My lord Greie hauing receiued all his, caused the gates to be rammed up.

Thus were the chiefe bulworks and better liues of the castle of Guines obtained by the French, on saint Sebastians daie, being the twentieth of January, but yett not without great expenſe of bloud on both sides: for of the French part there were slaine in those assaults aboue the number of eight or nine hundred, and of the English not manie fewer: amongst whom the greatest losse lighted vpon those few Spaniards and Mallons that were come to assist the English at that present. It was now night: when a trumpetter came to the ditches side in the base court, & sounded a summons: who being called vnto & asked what he would, told that he was sent to my lord Greie by the duke of Guise, with offer of a parlee if it would be harkened vnto. The ſouldiours no sooner heard these newes, but forsaking the walles came all in rolot together, & confusedlie speaking to their chiefeine the said lord Greie, praied him to harken to the message, & to haue consideration of their liues, which so long as ante hope remained, they willingly had ventured. The lord Greies answer was, that he marvelled, either what causelesse mistrust of his caring for them was now come vpon them, or what sudden vnwonted faintnesse of mind had so assailed them, as to cause them in such disorder to forsake their places, and leaue the walles naked, and he willed them to returne to the same.

My lord Greie heretofore toke counsell, and it was thought good not to reiect the offer, the extremitie on euerie side tried. The trumpetter receiuing answer, accordingly departed, & without long abode returned againe, requiring in the dukes behalfs hostages for a truce during the parlee from vs, he minding to deliuer the like into the castle. From him in fine monſieur Desliras, and a gentleman of the kings chamber were sent in: and maister Arthur Greie my lords sonne, and maister Leues Diue, were put out. Monſieur Dandelot in the braces receiued them, and carried them ouer the unfortunate bulworke, being come vpon naked and new slaine carcases, some of them spalling yett and groining vnder their feet, where onelie the earth they trod on. So passing downe the breach somewhat to the ease of the former heauie fight, they saw it, and the ditch little lesse fraught with the enimies corpses. Then to the campe they came, and were lodged in the said Dandelots tent.

The next daie in the morning, the lord Greie was to meet the duke abroad: betwene them willinglie one houre was spent in talking without agreement, onelie vpon this point, that the lord Greie would haue his bands depart with their ensignes displayed,

Arthur Greie  
now lord  
Greie.The enimie  
dashed out  
his兵  
notwithstanding.

Rich. Grafton.

A trumpetter  
from the base  
of Guise to the  
lord Greie.Hostages re-  
quired on the  
dukes part  
from the lord  
Greie during  
the time of  
the parlee.The lord  
Greie  
was  
being  
shamed  
of their time-  
passing, and  
yett pitting  
their present  
adversitie.The lord  
Greies ſoul-  
diers in a mo-  
ment did mur-  
der against  
him.Articles of re-  
signment be-  
tweene the  
lord Greie  
and the eni-  
mie.The ſouldiours  
of Guines  
depart thence  
with bag and  
baggage.

which  
hostes  
struck  
nere  
for  
falling  
him  
men  
him  
lord  
this

of poi-  
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of cor-  
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or mini  
Greie  
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fith of  
of Guise  
the rest  
lord Gre  
at Henry  
the Span  
the comp  
gave the  
king so

which would not be yielded unto: so he returned, & the hostages also thereupon were sent in. Monsieur Desfrées not being yet come forth, my lord was no sooner entered againe, but that the souldiers chafones for taking the walls, willinglie & to the present cutting of all their owne throates (if monsieur Desfrées himselfe had not bene, with a few captains & gentlemen of the lord Greie's owne retinue) came and met him, crying upon him to have pitie upon them. The lord Greie herewith staid, and pausing a while, had this speech.

The onelie pitie (if fond I cannot saie) that I have of you, hath caused me this daie to make such offers of composition, as neither your honesties, nor my honour, nor either of our duties in my thought maie well beare, which refused to take harder to the bitter defacing of our credits, with the best would blot it. If I would, souldiers, your selues (me thinketh) in vengeance thereof should turne your weapons upon me, and sacrifice so hartlesse a captaine, rather than to take it as a token of a pittifull captaine over you, and to yield thanks for the same. We haue begun, as becommend vs: we haue yet held on as dutie doth bind vs: let vs end then as honest dutie and same doth will vs. Neither is there anie such extremite of despair in our case, but that we maie yet bearelie enough sell our skins yet we lose them. Let vs then either march out under our ensignes displayed, or else herewith die under them displayed. The souldiers herewith in a mutinie stakie answered, that they for his daingloze would not sell their liues. The desperatenesse of their case was not unknowne unto them (said they) and that their liues in other service might yet auaille their prince and countrie. In this now further to venture, was but like oven to be thrust to the butcher. That his lordship was not to expect anie one blow at their hands.

Herewith in hast came one from monsieur Desfrées that stood at the rampire, advising him to send his souldiers to the walls, otherwise that the Swisses would assuredlie enter. So constrained, his lordship promised them to compound, and so he got them to the walls. Then my lord going to counsell, at length agreed upon these conditions. First, that the castell with all the furniture therein as well bittels as great artillerie, powder, and all other munitions of warre, should be wholie rendred without waisting, hiding, or minishment thereof. Secondarie, that the lord Greie with all the captains, officers and others, having charge there, should remaine prisoners at the dukes pleasure, to be ransomed after the manner of warre. Thirde, that all the rest, as well souldiers as others, should depart with their armors, and baggage to what parties it seemed them best: neuertheless to passe without sound of drum or trumpet, or ensigne, and to leave them behind. These articles sent by monsieur Desfrées to the duke were accepted, & so in the after noone, the duke himselfe came & received the keys of my lord Greie, who presentlie went out, and was given to the marshall Strozzi, and from him sold to monsieur de Kandau, by whom he came into his brother the counte de Rochefort's hands, and there rested, till he was redeemed for foure and twentie thousand crownes.

The daie following, that is saie the two and twentieth of Januarie, all the souldiers of the said fortreffe of Guines, as well English as strangers, with all the rest of the inhabitants, and other (excepted the lord Greie himselfe, master Arthur Greie his son, Sir Henrie Palmer knight, Pontdragon captaine of the Spaniards, and other men of charge referred by the composition) departed with their bag and baggage from thence towards Flanders. At whose flying forth, there were esteemed to the number of

eight or nine hundred able men for the warre, part English & part Burgognians. Of Spaniards so few were left, as no account is to be made of them, in manner the whole number of them being slaine, and selling their liues right dearelie, according to the order of god & hardie souldiers. Thus endeth this siege, wherein for breuities sake we haue left to saie anie thing of the provisions that the lord Greie made against the same, of the aduertisements that from time to time he sent to king Philip and queene Marie, and of their answers, of the sundrie adventures which they of Guines had with the enimie during their being about Calis, and of the great and manie booties that were there taken. Onelie in a word or two will I ad what bands of strangers were within the peece, because thereof as in another thing or two, I do find master Grafton in his chronicle speake at rousers. First came in Pontdragon, with two Spaniards more, verie valiant men, whome did follow within a daie or two, about foure or five and thirtie other Spaniards, all shot, of which (as I haue heard) there went not five out of the castell.

There came one captaine Desquie a Burgognian, with two hundred souldiers, pikers most. This band was appointed to the Marie bulworke, whose captaine being full of the gout, and an impotent man, would not yet be from his charge, but in his bed ended his life in the bulworke. And so of this enough. But now after the winning of this towne and castell, the duke abusing well upon the place, and considering that if it should happen to be regained by Englishmen, what a noisome neighbor the same might be to Calis, now being French; and speciallie what impeachment should come thereby for the passage thither from France, considering also the neere standing thereof to the French kings fortreffe of Ard: so that to keepe two garrisons so nigh together should be but a double charge, and not onlie needlesse, but also dangerous for the cause afore rehearsed. Upon these considerations (as the Frenchmen write) he took order for all the great artillerie, bittels and other munition, to be taken forth, and the castell with all the bulworkes and other fortifications there, with all speed to be razed and throwne downe, and the stiffe to be caried awaie, and employed in other more necessarie places.

Then rested nothing within all the English pale on that side unconquered, but the little castell or pile called Hammes, which though it were but of small force, made by art and industrie of mans hand, and being altogether of old workemanship without rampiers or bulworkes: yet neuertheless, by the naturall situation thereof, being on all sides environed with fens and marshy grounds, it could not easilie be approached unto, either with great ordinance for the batterie, or else with anie armie to incampe there for a siege: but having one streit passage thereto by a narrow causeie, tranversed and cut through in diuerse places, with deepe ditches, alwaies full of water. Which thing being well foresene by Edward lord Dubleie then captaine there, having as good cause to suspect a siege there, as his neighbors had afore the Frenchmens coming to Guines, caused all the bridges of the said causeie bring of wood to be broken, to giue thereby the more impeachment to the French, if they should attempt to approach the same, as they did after they did, and kept diuerse of the passages.

But to deliuer the duke and his souldiers from that care, there came to him glad newes from those that had charge to watch the said causeie, how the captaine having intelligence of the rendering of Guines, secretly the same night had conueied himselfe,

what bands of strangers were within the fort.

Rich. Grafton.

Hammes castell could not be easilie approached unto, and why.

The lord Edward Dubleie.

2000 of  
advantage for  
the duke.

This was a  
richardous  
rich bottie for  
the enimie,  
and a great  
losse to the  
partie contra-  
rie.

Triumphs in  
France for the  
getting a-  
gaine of Ca-  
lis.

A. Fl. ex opere  
historico Schar-  
d. collectio.  
pag. 197.

D. Powell in  
hist. Camb. pag.  
4, 5.

selfe, with his small garrison by a secret passage o-  
uer the marsh into Flanders. Whereby the duke be-  
ing now past care of anie further siege to be laid in  
all the frontier, took order forthwith to seise the said  
little fort into his own hands, as it was easie to do,  
when there was no resistance. When this place  
was once seised by the French, then remained there  
none other place of defense nor strength of the Eng-  
lish on all that side the sea, for the safeguard of the rest  
of the countrey. Whereby the French king became  
wholie and throughlie lord & master of all the Eng-  
lish pale: for now (as ye haue heard) there was nei-  
ther towne, castell, or other fortresse, more or lesse  
on that side (sauiug Wots bulworke nere to Graue-  
ling, which after king Philip kept as his) but that it  
was either taken awaie by force, or else abandoned,  
and left open to the enimie. And (as the French  
men write) besides the great riches of gold and sil-  
uer, coine, Jewels, plate, wools, and other merchan-  
dize (which was inestimable) there were found three  
hundred peeces of brasse mounted on wheels, and as  
manie of iron, with such furniture of powder, pel-  
lets, armour, vittels, and other munitions of war  
scarcelie credible.

Thus haue you heard the whole discourse of the  
conquest of the noble towne of Calis, with all the  
English fortresses and countrey adjoining made by  
the duke of Guise. The news whereof when they  
came to the French king, no need to aske how soful-  
lie they were receiued, not onelie of him and all his  
court, but also vniuersallie through the whole realme  
of France. For the which victorie, there was (as  
the manner is) *Te Deum* sung, and honestiers made  
euerie where, as it is wont to be in cases of common  
joy and gladnesse, for some rare benefit of God. In  
so much that shortly upon the conquest, there was a  
publike assemblee at Paris of all the estates of  
France, who franklie in recompense of the kings  
charges employed in the winning of Calis, and the  
places aforesaid, and for maintenance of his wars to  
be continued afterwards, granted unto him three  
millians of French crowns: whereof the clergie of  
France contributed one millian, besides their dis-  
mes. And no maruell though the French did high-  
lie reioise at the recouerie of Calis out of the Eng-  
lishmens hands: for it is constantlie affirmed of  
manie, that be acquainted with the affaires of  
France, that ever since the same towne was first  
wonne by Englishmen, in all solempne counsels as-  
sembled to treat upon the state of France, there  
was a speciall person appointed to put them in re-  
membrence from time to time of Calis: as it were  
to be wished that the like were vsed in England, un-  
till it were regained from the French.

And here because thus much is said of the French  
by waie of discourse concerning their exulting, and  
immoderat ioyfulness manie waies testified, some-  
what being alreddie written thereof before: it is now  
worthy, either for the increase of wit in vs, if it  
were the fault of our follie; or the aggravating of  
their impudencie, if they blush not to publish a most  
lowd and lewd lie; to remember what I haue read  
in verses set forth by a Frenchman; wherein a-  
mong manie words & terms vsed touching this con-  
quest of Calis & Guines (wherein also a prophesie of  
Merline (of which name there were two, and both pro-  
phets) is introduced, foretelling the reuolution of the  
same to be rather fatall to that nation, than recou-  
uerable by prowesse martiall (for thus he saith:)

*Namque erat in fati redditurum haud ante Caletum  
Ad veteres dominos, quam se regina marito  
Traderet externo, veterumque propagine regum  
Posthabita, nouus hic succederet advena regnis:  
Ipse Valensia venturum à stirpe nepotem*

*Merlinus vates multo pradiixerat ante,  
Sanguinis vltorem nostri cladisque futurum.)*

But this is not the matter that I meant (though  
it containe somewhat whereat men may muse) but a  
further reach to the rebuke of rashnesse in some, if it  
were their deed; and to the shame of others, if the re-  
port be false. For thus saith the same author, whose  
verses euen now I rehearsed, speaking of the Eng-  
lishmen, whose former vidozies (saith he) made he-  
rie venturous, confident, and full of heart; and he-  
sides that, to disdainfull and scornfull towards the  
French, that they caused to be grauen in hard mar-  
bell aloft at the entrie of the castell or fortresse in le-  
gible letters (but he telleth not in what language,  
no more than which of the Merlinus prophesie it was;  
howbeit (saith he) thus much in effect in Latine:

*Tum demum Francus premet obsidione Caletum,  
Cum ferrum plumbumque natabit siberis instar.*

Then shall the Frenchmen Calis win,  
When iron and lead like corke shall swim,

Thus report the French, but how trullie, let them  
saie that are able (upon their owne knowledge) to  
iudge: and thus much shall suffice for that matter. ]  
How scamed euerie daie a yeare to the French king  
vntill he personallie had visited Calis, and his new  
conquered countrey. Wherefore about the end of Ja-  
nuarie he took his viage thither, accompanied with  
no small number of his nobilitie: and immediatlie  
upon his arrivall there, he perused the whole towne  
and euerie part thereof from place to place, deuising  
with the duke of Guise for the better fortification  
thereof, what should be added vnto the old, and what  
should be made new, and what should be taken a-  
waie. And after order taken for that businesse, he  
placed there a noble man, & no lesse valiant knight  
of the order, called monsieur de Thermes to be cap-  
taine of the towne, and so departed he againe into  
France.

After the French kings departure from Calis, he  
made great hast for the accomplishment of the mar-  
riage, moued betwene Francis his eldest sonne,  
called the Dolphin, and Marie Steward daughter  
& sole heire of James the sixt late king of Scotland:  
which princeesse, if the Scots had bin faithfull of pro-  
mise, as they seldom be) should haue married king  
Edward the first. For the breach of which promise be-  
gan all the warre betwene England & Scotland, as  
you heard in the latter end of the life of king Hen-  
rie the eight, and in the beginning of king Edward  
the first. This marriage (saith Grafton) though it be not  
of my matter, I thought not to omit, for that manie  
things were meant thereby, which thanks be to God  
neuer came to effect. But one speciall point was  
not hidden to the world, that by meanes of the same,  
the realme of Scotland should for euermore haue  
remained as united and incorporated to the crowne of  
France: and that as the sonne and heire of euerie  
French king should succeed to the inheritance and pos-  
session of a countrey called the Dolphin, & is therfore  
called Dolphin; & like as the principallitie of Wales  
aperteineth to the eldest son of the king of England,  
who therefore is called the prince of Wales: euen  
so the Dolphin heire of France should thereby haue  
bene king of Scotland for euermore: which name  
and title vpon this marriage was accordinglye giuen  
to Francis Dolphin and heire apparant of France,  
to be called king Dolphin. The meaning whereof  
was vnto the world to be king of Scotland, but onelie the eldest sonne of France.

This memorabie marriage was solemnized in  
the citie of Paris the foure & twentieth daie of Ap-  
rill, in the yeere of Christ 1558, with most magni-  
ficall pompe and triumph, and honored with the pre-  
sence of the most part of the princes, prelates, lords  
and

The queene  
Dowager of  
Scotland  
with what the  
can to procure  
war against  
England.

The French  
king goeth to  
visit and see  
Calis.

Ab. Fl. ex  
15 pag. 1106.  
3 p. 1107 to the  
quene.

Monsieur de  
Thermes  
made captain  
of Calis.

The marriage  
betwene the  
Dolphin and  
the princeesse  
of Scots.

A great death  
of old people  
through bche-  
ment quare-  
ness agues.

Why the last  
and heire of  
euerie French  
king is called  
the Dolphin.

En loh.  
Fou mar-  
riologie.  
The old  
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Stephan  
Bermer  
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and barons of both the realmes, as it were for a confirmation of this new alliance. Which as it was much to the advantage and benefit of France: so nothing could be more prejudiciall & derogation to the crowne of Scotland, as a devise tending to the perpetuall abolishing and extinguishtment of the name & state of kings in that realme. In this meane time also the queene Dowager of Scotland had done what in hir laie, to procure the Scottis nobilitie to make warres against England: but they being not willing thereto, monsieur Doissell cozonnell of certeine hundredes of Frenchmen came to Almouth within six miles of Berwikke, and fortified that place, making sundrie robes and invasions into England. In revenge whereof the Englishmen made the like invasions into Scotland, whereupon the Scottis men in their defense (as some pretend) were driven to have warres: and thereupon the earle of Huntley was made lieutenant of the Scots borders, who remaining there by the helpe of the Frenchmen did manie displeasures to the Englishmen. This warre was begun in the yere last past, and so continued: during the which manie skirmishes and diverse proper feats of armes were put in practise betwixt the parties (as in the historie of Scotland more at large it doth appeare) where we speake of the doings in the yeres 1557 and 1558.

A preft was granted to the queene by the citizens of London, of twentie thousand pounds, which was lent of the companies: for the which summe to be paid againe, the queene bound certeine lands, & also allowed for interest of the monie twelue pounds of enerie hundred for a yere. Also this yere within a mile of Nottingham, was a marvellous tempest of thunder, which as it came through two towne, beat downe all the houses and churches, the bels were cast to the out side of the churchyards, and some webes of lead foure hundred foot into the field, withen like a paire of gloves. The river of Trent running betwene the two towne, the water with the mud in the bottom was carried a quarter of a mile, and cast against the trees, the trees were pulled up by the roots and cast twelue score off. Also a child was taken forth of a mans hands two speares length hie, and carried a hundred foot off, and then let fall, where with his arme was broken, & so he died. A flue or sir men thereabout were slaine, and neither flesh nor skinnie perished; there fell some hailestones that were sixtene inches about, &c. This yere in harvest time the quartane agues continued in like manner, or more vehementlie, than they had done the last yere past, where through died manie old people, and speciallie prefts, so that a great number of parishes were unferued, and no curats to be gotten: and much corne was lost in the field for lacke of worke men & labozers. Whereupon ensued a great scarcitie, so that in the beginning of sir Thomas Leighs mayoraltie, corne rose to fourtene shillings the quarter, and wood waied scant in London, and was sold for thirtene and fouretene shillings the thousand of billets, and coles at ten pence the facke, by reason of the great death and sicknesse the last summer for lacke of helpe and carriage. And here before we passe the yere 1558, it were a fowle oversight, not to make mention of a memorable discourse touching the ladie Katharine late dutchesse of Suffolke, a personage of honor, and worthe of commendation in chronicles for hir godlinesse to hir high praise: where manie a malefactor is recorded for their outrageous wickednesse to their immortall shame. Concerning the said ladie therefore thus writeth master Fox.

Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester, furnishing the ladie Katharine baroness of Willough, bis and Cressie, and dutchesse Dowager of Suffolke,

to be one of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had deserued no better of hir, denised in the holie time of the first Lent in queen Maries reigne, a holie practise of reuenge, first by touching hir in the person of hir husband master Richard Bertie esquier, for whom he sent an attachment (hauing the great scale at his deuotion) to the shiriffe of Lincolnshire, with a spectall letter, commanding most straitlie the same shiriffe to attach the said Richard immediatlie, and without baile to bring him vp to London to his great lordship. Maister Bertie hir husband being cleare in conscience, and free from offense towards the queene, could not coniecture anie cause of this strange processe, unlesse it were some quarrell for religion, which he thought could not be so soze as the processe pretended.

The shiriffe, notwithstanding the commandement, aduentured onlie to take the bond of maister Bertie, with two suerties in a thousand pounds for his apperance, to be made before the bishop on good fridaie following: at which daie maister Bertie appeared; the bishop then lieng at his house by aint Marie Queries. Of whose presence when the bishop vnder stood by a gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallerie into his dining chamber, where he found a prease of letters, saying he would not that daie heare anie: but came forth onlie to know of maister Bertie, how he being a subiect durst so arrogantlie set at light two former processe of the queenes. Maister Bertie answered, that albeit my lords words might seeme to the rest somewhat sharpe towards him, yet he conceiued great comfort of them. For whereas he before thought it extremitie to be attached, hauing used no obstinacie or contumacie: now he gathered of those words, that my lord ment not otherwise but to haue used some ordinarie processe; albeit indeed none came to his hands. Yea Marie, quoth the bishop, I haue sent you two *Sub panas*, to appeare immediatlie, and I am sure you receiued them: for I committed the trust of them to no worse man but to maister Solicitor, and I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire for your obstinacie. Maister Bertie denying the receipt of anie, humbly prayed his lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment, till he had god triall thereof: and then (if it pleased him) to double the paine for the fault, if anie were. Well quoth the bishop I haue appointed my selfe this daie (according to the holinesse of the same) for deuotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I intioine you in a thousand pounds, not to depart without leaue, and to be here againe to morrow at seauen of the clocke.

Maister Bertie well obserued the houre, and no tot failed. At the which time the bishop had with him maister sergeant Stamford, to whome he moued certeine questions of the said maister Bertie, because maister sergeant was towards the lord Arundelle late earle of Southampton, & chancelor of England, with whom the said maister Bertie was brought up. Maister sergeant made verie friendlie report of maister Bertie of his owne knowledge for the time of their conuersation together. Whereupon the bishop caused maister Bertie to be brought in; and first making a false traine (as God would, without fire) before he would descend to the quarrell of religion, he assaulted him in this manner. The queenes pleasure is (quoth the bishop) that you shall make present payment of foure thousand pounds due to hir father by duke Charles, late husband to the dutchesse your wife, whose executor he was. Pleaseth it your lordship (quoth maister Bertie) that debt is effailed, and is according to that effallment trulie answered. Truly (quoth the bishop) the queene will not be bound

Maister Richard Bertie husband to the dutchesse, attached by the bishop of Winchester.

Maister Bertie appeareth before bishop Gardiner.

The beaue of the bishop Gardiner and maister Bertie.

The deuotion of bishop Gardiner to god fridaie.

Maister Bertie attached for debt of foure thousand pounds due to the queene.

The queene Dowager of Scotland had done what in hir laie, to procure the Scottis nobilitie to make warres against England.

The French king goeth to visit and see Calis.

Ex. 1106. I said to the point.

Honour of the hermes made captiue of Calis.

The marriage betwene the Dolphin and the princeesse of Scots.

Great death of people through the quartane agues.

Why the son and heire of enerie French king is called the Dolphin.

The marriage of the queene of Scots with the Dolphin.

The marriage of the queene of Scots with the Dolphin.

Let captaine  
of the rebels  
in Northfolke  
in king Ed-  
wards time.

to establishments, in the time of hets government, for  
so I esseme the late government. The establishment  
(quoth maister Bertie) was appointed by king Hen-  
rie the eight; besides, the same was by speciall com-  
missioners confirmed in king Edwards time; and  
the lord treasurer being an executor also to the duke  
Charles soldie and whole, toke upon him befoze the  
said commissioners to discharge the same.

If it be true that you saie (quoth the bishop) I  
will shew you fauor. But of an other thing maister  
Bertie, I will admonish you as mening you well. I  
heare euill of your religion; yet I hardlie can think  
euill of you, whose mother I know to be as god-  
lie and catholike, as anie within this land, your selfe  
brought vp with a maister, whose education if I  
should disallow, I might be charged as author of his  
error. Besides partlie I know you my selfe, and un-  
derstand of my friends inough to make me your  
friend: wherefoze I will not doubt of you, but I praie  
you if I maie aske the question of my ladie your  
wife; is she now as readie to set vp the masse, as she  
was latelie to pull it downe, when she caused in hir  
progresse, a dog in a rochet to be caried & called by  
my name? Doth she thinke hir lambs now safe  
inough, which said to me when I bailed my bonnet  
to hir out of my chamber window in the towre, that  
it was merie with the lambs now the wolfe was  
shut vp? Another time my lord hir husband hauing  
inited me and diuerse ladies to dinner, desired eu-  
erie ladie to chosse him whome she loued best, and so  
place themselves. My ladie your wife taking me by  
the hand, for that my lord would not haue hir to take  
himselfe, said, that for so much as she could not sit  
downe with my lord whome she loued best, she had  
chosen me whome she loued worst.

Of the deuise of the dog, quoth maister Bertie, she  
was neither the author nor the allower. The words,  
though in that season they sounded bitter to your  
lordship: yet if it should please you without offense  
to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the  
other. As touching setting vp of masse, which she  
learned not onelie by strong persuasions of diuerse  
excellent learned men, but by vniuersall consent and  
order whole six yeares past inwardlie to abhorre; if  
she should outwardlie allow, she should both to Christ  
shew hir selfe a false christian, and vnto hir prince a  
masking subiect. You know my lord, one by iudge-  
ment reformed, is more worth than a thousand trans-  
formed temporizers. To force a confession of religi-  
on by mouth, contrarie to that in the heart, worketh  
damnation where saluation is pretended. Pea ma-  
rie (quoth the bishop) that deliberation would do  
well if she neuer requited to come from an old religi-  
on to a new. But now she is to returne from a new  
to an ancient religion: wherein when she made me  
hir gossip, she was as earnest as anie.

For that, my lord (said M<sup>r</sup>. Bertie) not long since,  
she answered a friend of hers using your lordships  
speech, that religion went not by age but by truth:  
and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion and  
not by commandement. I praie you (quoth the bi-  
shop) thinke you it possible to persuade hir? Pea be-  
relie (said maister Bertie) with the truth: for she is  
reasonable inough. The bishop therevnto replieng,  
said: It will be a marvellous grieve to the prince of  
Spaine, and to all the nobilitie that shall come with  
him, when they shall find but two noble personages  
of the Spanishe race within this land, the quene, and  
my ladie your wife, and one of them gone from the  
faith. Maister Bertie answered, that he trusted they  
should find no fruits of infidelitie in hir. So the bi-  
shop persuading maister Bertie to trauell earnestlie  
for the reformation of hir opinion, and offering large  
friendship, released him of his band from further ap-

pearance.

The duchesse and hir husband, dastie more and  
more, by their friends vnderstanding that the bishop  
meant to call hir to an account of hir faith, whereby  
extremities might follow, deuised waies how by  
the quenes licence they might passe the seas. Ma-  
ster Bertie had a redie meane: for there rested great  
summes of monie due to the old duke of Suffolke  
(one of whose executors the duchesse was) beyond the  
seas, the emperor himselfe being one of those deb-  
tors. Maister Bertie communicated this his purpo-  
sed suite for licence to passe the seas, and the cause, to  
the bishop; adding, that he toke this time most met  
to deale with the emperor, by reason of likelihood of  
marriage betwene the quene and his sonne. I like  
your deuise well (quoth the bishop) but I thinke it  
better, that you carrie the princes comming, and I  
will procure you his letters also to his father. Pea  
(quoth maister Bertie) vnder your lordships corre-  
ction & pardon of so liberall speech, I suppose the time  
will then be lesse conuenient: for when the marriage  
is consummate, the emperor hath his desire; but  
till then he will refuse nothing to win credit with vs.

By saint Marie (quoth the bishop, smiling) you  
gesse she wolde. Well, proceed in your suite vnto the  
quene, and it shall not lacke my helping hand. Ma-  
ster Bertie found so good successe, that he in few  
daies obtained the quenes licence, not onlie to passe  
the seas, but to passe and repasse them so often as to  
him seemed good, till he had finished all his businesse  
and causes beyond the seas. So he passed the seas at  
Douer about the beginning of June in the first  
yeare of hir reigne, leauing the duchesse behind, who  
by agreement and consent betwixt hir and hir hus-  
band, followed, taking barge at Lion keie, berie ear-  
lie in the morning, on the first daie of Januarie next  
insuing, not without some perill. There was none  
of those that went with hir, made priue to hir going  
till the instant, but an old gentleman called maister  
Robert Crantwell, whome maister Bertie had speci-  
allie provided for that purpose. She toke with hir hir  
daughter an infant of one yeare, and the meanest of  
hir seruants: for she doubted the best would not ad-  
uenture that fortune with hir. They were in number  
foure men, one a Greke boie, which was a rider of  
horses, an other a joiner, the third a brewer, the  
fourth a sole one of the kitchen, one gentlewoman,  
and a landpelle.

As she departed hir house called the Barbican,  
betwixt foure and fise of the clocke in the morning,  
with hir companie and baggage, one Atkinson an  
herald, keeper of hir house, hearing noise about the  
house, rose and came forth with a torch in his hand  
as she was yet issuing out of the gate: where with  
being amazed, she was forced to leaue a male with  
necessaries for hir young daughter, & a milkepot with  
milke in the same gatehouse, commanding all hir  
seruants to spend them befoze awaite to Lion keie:  
and taking with hir onelie the two women and hir  
child, so lone as she was out of hir owne house, per-  
ceiving the herald to follow, she slept in at Warte-  
house hard by. The herald comming out of the du-  
chess house, and seeing no bodie stirring, not assured  
(though by the male suspecting) that she was depa-  
red, returned in: and while he staied vnsacking par-  
cels left in the male, the duchesse issued into the street,  
and proceeded in hir iourne, he knowing the place  
onelie by name where she should take hir boat, but  
not the waie thither, nor none with hir. Likewise hir  
seruants hauing diuided the missetues, none but one  
knew the waie to the said keie.

So she appareled like a meane merchants wife,  
and the rest like meane seruants, walking in the  
streets unknown, she toke the way that led to Lion  
keie.

A dog clothed  
in a rochet  
under the  
name of bishop  
Gardiner.

It is merie  
with lambs  
when wolues  
be tied.

Purgation of  
the ladie du-  
chess for not  
comming to  
masse.

Religion go-  
eth not by age,  
but by truth.

Maister Ber-  
tie released  
from his band  
of appearing.

waies prau-  
sed how to  
comming the  
duchess out  
of the seas  
with the  
quenes  
licence.

Maister Ber-  
tie deuised  
causes to get  
ouer into  
Flanders.

The duchess  
sent hir com-  
pans takeeth  
barge.

Maister after  
the duchess.

The duchess  
remained in  
Lion keie  
until by  
night, vnder  
the name of  
her daughter.

The herd ad-  
mire of the  
duchess upon  
her loss.

Maister Ber-  
tie licensed by  
the quene to  
passe the seas.

Preparation  
made how to  
comming the  
duchess out  
of the seas.

The duchess  
was in  
habitant.

Maister  
with the du-  
chess his wife  
arrived at  
London.

The fre-  
quency of  
distill in  
Lionland.

Protection  
secured for  
the duchess,  
the magis-  
trates of  
Lion.

The duchess  
with hir com-  
pans departed  
the realm.

The manner  
the duchess  
being out of  
hir house.

Maister Ber-  
tie &  
the duchess  
in danger of  
being by the  
shop of St.  
as of Saint.

Another ca-  
se of the  
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The duchesse  
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Herbert after  
the duchesse.

The duchesse  
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the name of  
her daughter.

Herbert ad  
vance of the  
duchess  
to day.

The duchesse  
was in  
the Salu  
m by  
her, under  
the name of  
her daughter.

The first  
time of  
her in  
England.

Protection  
granted for  
the duchesse,  
the magis  
trates of  
Wesell.

Herbert's  
danger of  
being by the  
ship of Ar  
ragon.

Herbert's  
case of the  
duchess and  
her husband.

barie field, and the others walked the citie streets as they laie open before them, till by chance more than discretion, they met all suddenlie together a little within Spoze gate, from whence they passed directly to Lion keie, and there toke barge in a morning so mistie, that the steersman was lost to launch out, but that they byged him. So sone as the daie permitted, the counsell was informed of hir departure, and some of them came forthwith to hir house to inquire of the maner thereof, and toke an inuentarie of hir goods, besides further order deuised for search and watch to apprehend and staie hir. The same of hir departure reached to Leigh, a towne at the lands end, before hir approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Golling a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Crantwells, whither the said Crantwell brought the duchesse, naming hir mistress White, the daughter of master Golling, for such a daughter he had which neuer was in that countrie. There he reposed hir, and made new garments for hir daughter, hauing lost hir owne in the male at Barbican.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constrained that night to lie at an inne in Leigh (where she was againe almost belayd) yet notwithstanding by Gods god working the escaping that hazard, at length as the tide and wind did serue, they went aboard, and being carried twise into the seas, almost into the coast of Zeland, by contrarie wind were giuen to the place from whence they came. And at the last recule, certeine persons came to the hope, suspecting she was within that ship: yet having examined one of hir companie that was one land for fresh shotes, and finding by the simplicitie of his tale, onelie the appearance of a meane merchants wife to be a shipboard, he ceased anie further search. To be short, so sone as the duchesse had landed in Wyabant, she and hir women were apparelled like the women of Fetherland with hukes, and so she and hir husband toke their iourne towards Cleueland, and being arrived at a towne therein called Santon, toke a house there, untill they might further deuise of some sure place where to settle themselves.

About five miles from Santon is a free towne called Wesell, under the said duke of Cleues dominion, and one of the Hauns townes, priuiledged with the companie of the Stillard in London, whither diuerse Wallons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Riners, who had receiued some courtlesie in England at the duchesse hands. Master Bertie being yet at Santon, practised with him to obtaine a protection from the magistrats for his abode and his wifes at Wesell: which was the soner procured because the state of the duchesse was not discovered but onelie to the chiefe magistrate, earnestlie bent to shew them pleasure, whilst this protection was in seeking.

In the meane while, at the towne of Santon was a muttering, that the duchesse and hir husband were greater personages than they gaue themselves forth, and the magistrats not bertie well inclined to religion; the bishop of Arras also being deane of the great minster, order was taken, that the dukes and hir husband should be examined of their condition and religion vpon the sudden. Which practise discovered by a gentleman of that countrie to master Bertie, he without delaie taking no more than the duchesse daughter, and two other with them, as though he meant no more but to take the aire, about thre of the clocke in the afternone in Februarie, on foot, without hieing of horse or wagon for feare of disclosing his purpose, meant priuile that night to get to Wesell, leaving his other familie still at Santon.

After the dukes and he were one English mile

from the towne, there fell a mightie raine of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice before congealed was thawed, which doubled more the wearinesse of those new lackies. But being now on the waie, and overtaken with the night, they sent the two seruants (which onelie went with them) to villages, as they passed, to hire some car for their ease: but none could be hired. In the meane time master Bertie was forced to carrie the child, and the dukes his cloke and rapier. At last betwixt six and seauen of the clocke in the darke night, they came to Wesell, and repairing to their innes for lodging and some repose after such a painfull iourne, found hard intertainment: for going from inne to inne, offering large monie for small lodging, they were refused of all the inhobers, suspecting master Bertie to be a lanceknight, and the dukes to be his woman. The child for cold and sustenance cried pittifullie, the mother wept as fast, and the heauens rained as fast as the clouds could polue.

Master Bertie destitute of all other succor of hospitalitie, resolved to bring the duchesse to the porch of the great church in the towne, and so to buy coles, victuals and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by Gods helpe he might procure hir better lodging. Master Bertie at that time understood not much Dutch, and by reason of euill weather and late season of the night, he could not happen vpon anie that could speake English, French, Italian, or Latine, till at last going towards the church porch, he heard two striplings talking Latine, to whome he approched and offered them two shiners to bring him to some Wallons house. By these boies, and Gods god conduct, he chanced at the first vpon the house where master Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrats of that towne. At the first knoeche, the godman of the house himselfe came to the doore, and opening it, asked master Bertie what he was. Master Bertie said, an Englishman, that sought for one master Perusells house. The Wallon willed master Bertie to staie a while, who went backe and told master Perusell that the same English gentleman, of whome they had talked the same supper, had sent, by likelihood his seruant to speake with him. Where vpon master Perusell came to the doore, and beholding master Bertie, the duchesse, & their child, their faces, apparels, and bodies so farre from their old forme, deformed with hurt, weather, and beaunesse, could not speake to them, nor they to him for teares. At length recovering themselves, they saluted one another, & so together entered the house, God knoweth full iollitie: master Bertie changing of his apparell with the godman, the duchesse with the god wifes, and their child with the child of the house.

Within few daies after, by master Perusells means, they hired a vertie faire house in the towne, and did not let to shew themselves what they were, in such good sort as their present condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole towne what discourtesie the inhobers had shewed vnto them at their entrie, in so much as on the sundae following, a preacher in the pulpit openlie in sharpe termes rebuked that great incivillitie towards strangers; by allegation of sundrie places out of holie scriptures, discourting how not onelie princes sometime are receiued in the image of priuat persons, but angels in the shape of men, and that God of his iustice would make the strangers one day in an other land, to haue more sence of the afflicted heart of a stranger. The time was passing forth, as they thought themselves thus happily settled, suddenly a watchword came from sir John Mason, then queene Maries ambassadour in Fetherland, that my lord Paget had taken

The hard di  
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duchess by  
euill weather.

The hard in  
tertainment  
of M. Bertie  
& the duchesse  
at their en  
tring into  
Wesell.

Gods promi  
dence in time  
of distresse.

The meeting  
of M. Perusell  
& the duchesse  
at Wesell.

The citizens  
of Wesell ad  
monished by  
their preacher  
of their hard  
nesse toward  
strangers.

A strange  
part of sir  
John Mason  
towards the  
duchess.

A traine laid  
for the dutches  
by the lord  
Dagert and  
the duke of  
Bunswicke.

M. Bertie &  
the dutchesse  
remoue to  
Winheim  
under the  
Dalsgrau.

The helping  
hand of the  
Lord againe  
in their neces-  
sities.  
Ioan. Alasco  
a meane to  
the king of  
Pole for the  
dutchesse of  
Sutolke.

The dutchesse  
inuit into  
Poleland by  
the kings  
letters.

M. Barlow  
a messenger  
from the dut-  
chesse to the  
king of Pole.

The Dalgatine  
of Alua a  
great friend  
of the dutches

The dutches  
taketh hir  
iourne to-  
ward Pole.

The troubles  
happening  
to the dutches  
in hir iourne  
to Poleland.

M. Bertie in  
great danger  
of his life.

an errant to the bathes that waies: and whereas the duke of Bunswicke was shortly with ten ensignes to passe by Melk for the seruice of the house of Austria against the French king, the said dutchesse, and hir husband should be with the same charge and compaignie intercepted. Wherefore to prevent the crueltie of these enemies, master Bertie with his wife and child departed to a place called Winheim in high Dutchland under the Dalsgrau's dominion, where under his protection they continued till their necessities began to faile them; and they almost fainting under so heauie a burthen, began to faile of hope.

At what time, in the midst of their despaire, there came suddenlie letters to them from the Palatine of Silnia and the king of Pole, being instructed of their hard estate by a baron named Ioannes Alasco, that was sometime in England, offering them large curtisies. This purnison vnlooked for greatlie reuiued their heauie spirits. Yet considering they should remoue from manie their countriemen and acquaintance, to a place so faire distant, a countrie not haunted with the English, and perhaps vpon their arrivall not finding as they looked for, the end of their iourne should be worse than the beginning: they deuised therevpon with one master Barlow, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some paines therein, they would make him a fellow of that iourne. So finding him prone, they sent with him letters of great thanks to the king & Palatine, and also with a set of principall ietwels (which onlie they had left of manie) to sollicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe vnder his seale, to assure them of the thing which he so honourable by letters offered.

What lute by the forwardnes of the Palatine was as sone granted as uttered. Vpon which assurance the said dutchesse and hir husband, with their familie, entred the iourne in Aprill 1557, from the castell of Winheim, where they before laie, towards Francford. In the which their iourne, it were long here to describe what dangers fell by the waie vpon them, & their whole companie, by reason of the Lantgrau's capteines, who vnder a quarrell pretended for a spawell of master Berties, set vpon them in the high waie, with his horsemen, thrusting their borespears through the wagon where the children and women were, master Bertie hauing but foure horsemen with him. In the which vnable it happened the capteins hostile to be slaine vnder him.

Wherevpon a rumor was sparred immediatlie through townes and villages about, that the Lantgrau's capteine should be slaine by some Wallons, which incited the ire of the countriemen there more fiercelie against master Bertie, as afterwards it proued. For as he was motioned by his wife to saue himselfe by the swiftnes of his horse, and to recouer some towne thereby for his rescue, he so doing was in worse case than before: for the townesmen and the capteines bothe supposing no lesse but that the capteine had bene slaine, pressed so egerlie vpon him, that he had bene there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would) spieing a ladder leaning to a window, by the same got vp into the house, and so gone vp in to a garret in the top of the house, where he with his dag and rapier defended himselfe for a space: but at length the Burghmaister coming thither with another magistrate, which could speake Latine, he was counselled to submit himselfe vnto the order of the law. Maister Bertie knowing himselfe cleere, and the capteine to be aliue, was the more bolder to submit himselfe to the iudgement of the law, vpon condition that the magistrate would receiue him vnder safe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, master Bertie putteth himselfe and his weapon in

the magistrates hand, and so was committed to safe custodie, while the truth of his cause should be tried. Then master Bertie writing his letters to the Lantgrau and to the earle of Erbach, the next daie erlie in the morning the earle of Erbach dwelling within eight miles, came to the towne whither the dutchesse was brought with hir wagon, master Bertie also being in the same towne vnder custodie.

The earle, who had some intelligence of the dutchesse before, after he was come, & had helped such courtesie as he thought to hir estate was seemlie, the townesmen perceluing the earle to behaue himselfe so humble vnto hir, began to consider moze of the matter: and further vnderstanding the capteine to be aliue, both they, and especiallie the authours of the sir thynke awaie, and made all the friends they could to master Bertie and his wife, not to report their doings after the worst sort. And thus master Bertie and his wife escaping that danger, proceeded in their iourne toward Poleland, where in conclusion they were quietlie interteined of the king, and placed honorablie in the earldome of the said king of Poles in Sanogelia, called Crojan, where master Bertie with the dutchesse hauing the kings absolute power of gouernment ouer the said earldome, continued both in great quietnesse and honor, till the death of queene Marie. Whole troublesome time (sauiouring altogether of bloudshed & mercurie murdering of Gods saints, wherof the poet saith full trulie,

*sellus madefacta cruce  
Christicolum regerit decursus sanguinis atros,  
Hec carnem mollem puerorum deuorat ignis,  
Femina masque perit, nulla ratione virilis  
Feminei aut sexus habita)*

being expired, and the peaceable reigne of gracions queene Elizabeth established, the said dutchesse and hir husband returned into England, where they lived in libertie both of bodie and mind; in which good state we will leaue them. And because we are entred into a discourse of troubles happening to personages of god account and name; it is necessarie that we adde another narration of like argument vnto the former, concerning the troubles and hapie deliuerance of the reuerend father in God doctor Sands, first bishop of Worcester, next of London, and now archbishop of Dorke, as I find it word for word in master Fox, who beginneth and continueth the said discourse as followeth.

King Edward died, the world being vnto this of him, the duke of Northumberland came downe to Cambridge with an armie of men, hauing commission to proclame ladie Jane queene, and by power to suppress ladie Marie, who toke vpon hir that dignitie, and was proclaimed queene in Dorset. The duke sent for doctor Sands being bicechancellor, for doctor Parker, for doctor Will, and master Leuer, to sup with him. Amongst other speeches he said; Maisters, praise for vs that we speed well: if not, you shall be made bishops, and we deacons. And euen so it came to passe: doctor Parker, and doctor Sands were made bishops, and he and sir John Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons yet it was long after on the tower hill. Doctor Sands being bicechancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was short for such an auditors, and to speake of such a matter: yet he refused not the thing, but went to his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three of the clocke in the morning, took his bible in his hand, and after that he had praised a good space, he shut his eyes, and holding his bible before him, earnestlie prayed to God that it might fall open where a most fit text should be for him to intreat of. The bible (as God would haue it) fell open vpon the first chapter of Iosua, where he se and so conueni-

M. Sands  
with the  
dutchesse home  
bicechancellor  
of the king  
of Pole.

The duke &  
nobles desire  
D. Sands  
to write his  
sermon that  
might be  
printed.

Whorespeake  
more than  
peradventure  
he thought.

Abt. Fl. et L.  
marryrologie  
D. Sands  
bicechancellor  
when the  
duke of North-  
umberland  
came downe  
Cambridge  
proclame the  
ladie Jane  
queene.

D. Sands  
wishes to the  
duke touching  
his come ter-  
mon and the  
dukes action.

Entintended  
against doctor  
Sands.

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The duke of  
B. Sands  
conspired  
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conspired  
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The duke of  
B. Sands  
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ent a p[ar]ce of scripture for that time, that the like he could not haue chosen in all the bible. His text was thus: *Responditque ad Ioseph, atque dixerunt, Omnia que precepisti nobis faciemus, & quocunque miseris ibimus: sicut obedimus in cunctis. Moyses ita obediuit & tibi, tantum sit Dominus Deus tuus tecum sicut fuit cum Moysē, qui contradixit ori tuo, & non obediuit cunctis sermonibus quos preceperis ei, moriatur: tu tantum confortare & vincliter agere.* Who shall consider what was concluded by such as named themselves by the state, and withall, the auditors, the time, and other circumstances, he shall easily see that this text most fitly serued for the purpose. And as God gaue the text, so gaue he him such order and utterance, as pulled manie teares out of the eyes of the biggest of them.

In the time of his sermon one of the gard lift vp to him into the pulpit a masse booke and a graile, which sir George Holward with certeine of the gard had taken that night in master Harlestone's house, where lady Marie had bene a little before, & there had masse. The duke with the rest of the nobilitie required doctor Sands to put his sermon in writing; and appointed master Leauer to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Doctor Sands required one daie and a halfe for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it readie, and master Leauer was readie to receive it at his hands, & carie it to London. As he was deliuering of it, one of the bedels named master Adams, came weeping to him, & praied him to shift for himselfe, for the duke was retired, and queene Marie proclaimed.

Doctor Sands was not troubled herewithall, but gaue the sermon written to master Leiffield; master Leauer departed home, and he went to dinner to one master Howes a bedell, his great friend. At the dinner, mistress Howes seeing him merrie and pleasant (for he had euer a mans courage, and could not be terrified) dranke vnto him, saying: Master vicechancellor, I drinke vnto you, for this is the last time that euer I shall see you. And so it was, for the duke was dead before doctor Sands returned out of Germany. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for doctor Sands to go with him to the market place to proclame queene Marie. The duke cast by his cap with others, and so laughed, that the tears ran downe his cheekes for greefe. He told doctor Sands that queene Marie was a mercifull woman, and that he doubted not thereof: declaring, that he had sent vnto hir to know hir pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. Doctor Sands answered; My life is not deare vnto me, neither haue I done or said anie thing that vygeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, I haue instructions warranted by the subscription of sixtene counsellors. Neither can I speake be treason, neither yet haue I spoken further than the word of God, and lawes of this realme doth warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall neuer escape death: for if the duke would saue you, those that now shall rule will kill you.

That night the gard apprehended the duke, and certeine groomes of the stable were as busie with doctor Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But sir John Cates who late then in doctor Sands his house, charpely rebuked them, and draue them awaie. Doctor Sands, by the aduise of sir John Cates, walked into the fields. In the meane time the vniuersitie (contrarie to all order) had met together in consultation, and ordered that doctor Howse and doctor Watther should repaire to doctor Sands lodging, and set awaie the statute booke of the vniuersitie, the keies, and such other things that were in his keeping, and so they did. For doctor Howse being an earnest protestant the daie before, and one whome doctor Sands

had done much for, now was he become a papist, and his great enimie.

Certeine of the vniuersitie had appointed a congregation at afternone. As the bell rang to it, doctor Sands cometh out of the fields, and tending for the bedels, asketh what the matter meaneth, and requirerth them to wait vpon him to the scholes, according to their dutie. So they did. And so sone as doctor Sands, the bedels going before him, came into the regent house and toke his chaire; one master Spitch with a rabble of vnlearned papists went into a by-schole, and conspired together to pull him out of his chaire, and to vse violence vnto him. Doctor Sands began his oration, expostulating with the vniuersitie, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring that he had said nothing in his sermon, but that hee was readie to iustifie, and that there case was all one with his: for they had not onelie concealed, but consented to that which he had spoken.

And thus while he remembred vnto them how benificiall he had bene to the vniuersitie, and their vnthankfulnesse to him againe, in comyneth master Spitch with his conspirators about twentie in number. One laich hand vpon the chaire to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him traitor. Whereat he perceiuing how they vsed violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as Gods enimies; if doctor Will and doctor Blith had not fallen vpon him, and praied him for Gods sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently to beare that great offered wrong. He was perswaded by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his oration, and hauing some monie of the vniuersities in his hands, he there deliuered the same euerie farthing. He gaue vp the books, reckonings & keies pertaining to the vniuersitie, & with all yelded vp his office, praieing God to giue to the vniuersitie a better officer, and to giue them better and more thankfull hearts, and so repaired home to his owne college.

On the morrow after, there came vnto him one master Gerningham, and one master Thomas Pilbomaie. Gerningham told him, that it was the queens pleasure that two of the gard should attend on him, and that he must be caried prisoner to the tower of London with the duke. Master Pilbomaie said he marvelled that a learned man would speake so vniuersally against so good a prince, and wilfullie run into such danger. Doctor Sands answered, I shall not be ashamed of bonds. But if I could doe as master Pilbomaie can, I needed not feare bonds: for he came downe in palment against queene Marie, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in palment for queene Marie: before a traitor and now a great friend. I can not with one mouth blow hot and cold after this sort.

Vpon this, his stable was robbed of foure notable good geldings, the best of them master Harlestone toke for his owne saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An inuentarie was taken of all his goods by master Howse bedell for the vniuersitie. He was set vpon a lame horse that halted to the ground, which thing a friend of his perceiuing, praied that he might lend him a nag. The yeoman of the gard were content. As he departed out of the towres end, some papists resorted thither to gēre at him, some of his friends to mourne for him. He came into the ranke to London, the people being full of outcries. And as he came in at Bishops gate, one like a milketwise hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the breast with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horse. To whome he mildely said: Woman, God forgive it thee. Truth it is, that iourneing & euill intreating

A conspiracie  
of papists a-  
gainst doctor  
Sands, and  
their behauior  
towards him.

D. Sands  
courageous  
heart and  
manhood.

D. Sands re-  
signeth by his  
office of vice-  
chancellorship

Master Pilbomaie treche-  
rie noted by  
doctor Sands  
to his oblique

The misusage  
of certeine  
drabs against  
doctor Sands  
as he was  
brought prisoner  
to the  
tower.

Ar r r r j.

so mortified him, that he was more readie to die than to live.

As he came through tower hill street, one woman standing in hir doore, cried: fie on thee thou knave, thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretike. Whereat he smiled. Look; the desperat heretike (saith she) laugheth at this geare. A woman on the other side of the street answered, saying: fie on thee neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman, railing upon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, neither yet the cause whie he is thus intreated. Then she said, Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in Gods cause even to the end. And thus he passed through fire and water into the tower, the first prisoner that entered in that daie, which was saint James daie. The peonain of the gard took from him his boyolwed nag, and what else soeuer he had. His man one Quintin Swainton brought after him a bible, and some shirts, and such like things. The bible was sent in to him, but the shirts and such like served the peonain of the gard.

The gard offer him some wrong.

After he had bene in the tower three weekes in a bad prison, he was lift up into Runnes bolwer, a better prison, where was put to him maister John Bradford. At the daie of queene Maries coronation, their prison doore was set open, ever shut before. One maister Spitchell his old acquaintance, who had bene prisoner before in the same place, came in to him and said: Maister Sands, there is such a stir in the tower, that neither gates, doores, nor prisoners are locked to this daie. Take my cloake, my hat and my rapier, and get you gone; you maie go out of the gates without questioning; save your selfe, and let me do as I maie. A rare friendship: but he refused the offer, saying: I know no iust cause why I should be in prison. And thus to do were to make my selfe guiltie, I will expect Gods good will, yet must I thinke my selfe most bound unto you: and so maister Spitchell departed.

Maister Spitchells counsell to D. Sands to make an escape.

While doctor Sands and maister Bradford were thus in close prison together nine and twentie weekes, one John Bowler was their keeper, a verie perverser papist, yet by often persuading of him, for he would give eare, and by the gentle using of him, at length he began to mislike poperie, and to favour the gospell, and so persuaded in true religion, that on a sundaie when they had masse in the chappell, he bringeth up a service booke, a manchet and a glasse of wine, and there doctor Sands ministred the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their sonne begotten in bonds when Mat was in armes, & the old duke of Norfolk sent forth with a power of men to apprehend him, that some might be made in the tower for him and other his complices. Doctor Cranmer, doctor Ridley, and maister Bradford were cast into one prison, & doctor Sands with nine other preachers were sent into the Marshalsea.

Bowler of a perverser papist became reformed in true religion.

D. Sands removed to the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to euerie preacher a man to lead him in the street, he caused them go farre before, and he and doctor Sands came behind, whome he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet doctor Sands was knowne, and the people euerie where praised to God to comfort him, & to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the peoples minds were altered, poperie began to be unsauerie. After they passed the brydge, the keeper Thomas Wale said to doctor Sands: I perceiue the vaine people would set you forward to the fire, you are as vaine as they, if you being a yong man will stand in your own conceit, & prefer your own knowledge before the iudgement of so manie worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and graue men, as be in this relme. If you so do, you shal find me as strict a keeper as one that utterlie mislike your religion. Doctor

Thomas Wale the keeper pretermeth to persecute doctor Sands to poperie.

Sands answered: I know my yeares yong, and my learning small, it is ienough to knowe Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing that hath not the great blasphemie that is in poperie, I will yield unto God and not unto man: I haue read in the scriptures of manie godlie and courteous keepers, God may make you one; if not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to beare your hard dealing with me. Saith Thomas Wale: Do you then mind to stand to your religion? He saith doctor Sands, by Gods grace. Trilie saith the keeper, I loue you the better, I did but tempt you. What saith I can shew you, you shall be sure of, and I shall thinke my selfe happie if I may die at the stake with you. The said keeper shewed doctor Sands euer after all friendship: he trusted him to go into the fields alone, and there met with maister Bradford, who then was removed into the Bench, and there found like fauour of his keeper. He laid him in the best chamber in the house: he would not suffer the knight marshalls men to laie fetters on him, as others had. And at his request, he put maister Sands in to him, to be his befellow, and sundrie times suffered his wife, who was maister Sands daughter of Essex, a gentlewoman, beautifull both in bodie & soule to resort to him. There was great resort unto doctor Sands, and maister Sanders: they had much monie offered them, but they would receiue none. They had the communion there three or foure times, and a great sort of communicants. Doctor Sands gaue such exhortation to the people, for at that time being yong, he was thought verie eloquent, that he moued manie tears and made the people abhorre the masse, and desie all poperie.

The friendship that doctor Sands found at his keepers hands.

Communicants not become Sir Thomas Holcroft and doctor Sands about his departing out of England.

When Mat with his armie came into Southwicks, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea to doctor Sands: saying, that maister Mat would be glad of his companie and aduise, & that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered: Tell maister Mat, if this his rising be of God it will take place: if not, it will fall. For my part I was committed hither by order, I will be discharged by like order, or I will neuer depart hence. So answered maister Sanders, and the rest of the preachers being there prisoners. After that doctor Sands had bene nine weekes prisoner in the Marshalsea by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcroft then knight marshall he was set at libertie. Sir Thomas sued earnestlie to the bishop of Winchester, doctor Gardiner for his deliuerance after manie repulses, except doctor Sands would be one of their sect, and then he could want nothing. He wroang out of him, that if the queene could like of his deliuerance, he would not be against it: for that was Sir Thomas his last request. In the meane time he had procured two ladies of the priuie chamber to moue the queene in it: who was contented, if the bishop of Winchester could like of it. The next time that the bishop went into the priuie chamber to speake with the queene, maister Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for doctor Sands remission readie, and praised the two ladies, when as the bishop should take his leave, to put the queene in mind of doctor Sands. So they did. And the queene said: Winchester, what thinke you by doctor Sands, is he not sufficientlie punished? As it please your maiestie, saith Winchester. That he spake, remembring his former promise to maister Holcroft, that he would not be against Sands, if the queene should like to discharge him. Saith the queene: Then trilie, we would that he were set at libertie. Inmediatlie maister Holcroft offered the queene the warrant, who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was given to the knight

What was made to doctor Sands, and his answer.

Doctor Sands set at libertie by the means of Sir Thomas Holcroft.

Sir Thomas Holcroft cannot persuade doctor Sands to come in England, and therefore letteth him at large.

How queene Maries displeasure to let doctor Sands at large, and search his warrant for his libertie.

Search made by doctor Sands after his enlargement.

The friendship  
that doctor  
Sands found  
at his keepers  
hands.

Commence-  
ment between  
the keeper  
and  
doctor  
Sands  
concerning  
his be-  
coming out of  
England.

violates mel-  
lage to doctor  
Sands, and  
his answeres  
uerfed.

Doctor  
Sands set at  
libertie by the  
meanes of Sir  
Thomas Hol-  
croft.

How quene  
Marie is dis-  
posed to set  
doctor Sands  
at large, and  
scares his  
warrant for  
his libertie.

Dr Thomas  
Holcroft com-  
mence-  
ment between  
him and  
doctor  
Sands  
concerning  
his be-  
coming out  
of  
England.

How made  
the  
keeper  
Sands after  
the  
exchange.

the night marshall againe, Sir Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went forth of the priue chamber doore, he called maister Holcroft to him: commanding him not to let doctor Sands at libertie, untill he had taken suerties of two gentlemen of his countrie with him, euerie one bound in five hundred pounds, that doctor Sands should not depart out of the realme without licence. Maister Holcroft immediatlie after met with two gentlemen of the north, friends & consins to doctor Sands, who offered to be bound in bodie, goods and lands for him.

At after dinner the same daie, maister Holcroft sent for doctor Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to accompanie with him. He came accordingly, finding maister Holcroft alone, walking in his garden: maister Holcroft imparted his long sute, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken to doctor Sands: much rejoicing that it was his good hap to doe him good, & to procure his libertie, and that nothing remaineth, but that he would enter into bonds with his two suerties, for not departing out of the realme. Doctor Sands answered: I giue God thanks, who hath moued your hart to mind me so well, & I thinke my selfe most bound vnto you, God shall requite, and I shall neuer be found vnthankfull. But as you haue deist friendlie with me, I will also deale plainlie with you. I came a free man into prison, I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them: and if I be set at libertie, I will not farie Sir daies in this realme if I may get out. If therefore I may not go free forth, send me to the Marshalsea againe, and there you shall be sure of me.

This answer much mistaked maister Holcroft, who told doctor Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come: the state was but a cloud, and would soon shake awaie; and that his consins Sir Edward Baie would glablie receiue him and his wife into his house, where he should neuer need to come at church, and how the ladie Baie was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated poperie: adding that he would not so deale with him to lose all his labor. When doctor Sands could not be remoued from his former saieing, maister Holcroft said: Seeing you can not be altered, I will change my purpose, and yeld vnto you, come of it what will, I will set you at libertie: and seeing you mind ouer sea, get you gone so quicklie as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you write nothing to come hither, for so ye may vndo me. He friendlie kissed doctor Sands, bad him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him: saieing, Let me answer Winchester as I may. Doctor Sands returned with the keeper to the Marshalsea and taried all night. There on the morrow gaue a dinner to all the prisoners, bad his bedfellow and sworne stakefellow, if it had so pleased God, maister Saunders farewell, with manie teares and billings, the one falling on the others necke, and so departed, clearelie deliuered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the Bench, and there talked with maister Bradford, and maister Farrar bishop of S. Dauids, then prisoners. When he comforted them, & they praised God for his happy deliuerance. He went by Winchester's house, and there took boate, and came to a friends house in London called William Banks, and taried there one night. On the morrow at night he shifted to an other friends house, and there he learned that scarch was made for him.

Doctor Watson and maister Christopherson, coming to the bishop of Winchester, told him that he had set at libertie the greatest heretike in England,

and one that had of all other most corrupted the vniuersitie of Cambridge, doctor Sands. Whereupon the bishop of Winchester, being chancellor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch for doctor Sands, who was then within the citie, and to apprehend him; and who so euer of them should take him and bring him to him, he should haue five pounds for his labor. Doctor Sands suspecting the matter, conuicted himselfe by night to one maister Barties house a stranger, who was in the Marshalsea with him prisoner a while, he was a good protestant and dwelt in Marke lane. There he was six daies, and had one or two of his friends that repaired to him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurlestone a skinner, dwelling in Cornhill, he caused his man Martin to prouide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex to maister Sands his father in law, where his wife was.

At his going to bed in Hurlestone's house, he had a paire of hose newlie made that were too long for him. For while he was in the tower, a tailor was admitted him to make him a paire of hose. One came vnto him whose name was Benjamin, a good protestant, dwelling in Birchin lane: he might not speake to him, or come vnto him, to take measure of him, but onelie looke vpon his leg, he made the hose, and they were two inches too long. These hose he praised the god wife of the house to send to some tailor to cut his hose two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the house to carie them to the next tailor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God so prouided) to go to the next tailor, which was Benjamin that made them, which also was a constable, and acquainted with the lord chancellors commandement. The boy required him to cut the hose. He said I am not thy maisters tailor. Saith the boy, Because ye are our next neighbor, and my maisters tailor dwelleth far off, I come to you, for it is far nights, and he must occupie them tunicke in the morning. Benjamin took the hose and looked vpon them, he took his handie worke in hand, and said: These are not thy maisters hose, but doctor Sands, them I made in the tower. The boy yeldeo, and said it was so. Saith he, Go to thy mistresse, praise hir to sit by till twelue of the clocke, then I will bring the hose and speake with doctor Sands to his god.

At midnight the godwife of the house, and Benjamin the tailor, commeth into doctor Sands chamber. The wife praieeth him not to be afraid of their coming. He answereth: Nothing can be amisse, what God will, that shall be done. Then Benjamin telleth him that he made his hose, and by what good chance they now came to his hands, God bled the meane that he might foete tell him of his perill, & aduise him how to escape it, telling him that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, & some were so greedilie set, that they praised him (if he took him) to let them haue the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should haue the five pounds. Saith Benjamin, It is known that your man hath prouided two geldings, and that you mind to ride out at Alogate to morrow, and there then ye are sure to be taken. Follow mine aduise, and by Gods grace ye shall escape their hands. Let your man walke all the daie to morrow in the street where your horses stand, booted and readie to ride. The godmans seruant of the house shall take the horses and carrie them to Bednoll grarie. The godman shall be booted, and follow after as if he would ride. I will be here with you to morrow about eight of the clocke; it is both terme and parliament time, here we will breake our fast, and when the street is full we will go forth. Loke wilde lie, and

Cardiners  
commande-  
ment to watch  
and ward for  
doctor Sands  
and to appre-  
hend him,  
with a reward  
promised to  
the taker of  
him.

Note Gods  
providence in  
giuing a way  
to doctor  
Sands for  
his safe esca-  
ping out of  
dangere.

All the mil-  
chieses inten-  
ded against  
doctor Sands  
disclosed by a  
constable, who  
tellet him  
how to escape.



Doctor  
Sands dis-  
guiseth him-  
selfe like a  
gentleman,  
and escapeth.

if you meet your brother in the street, thin him not, but outface him, and know him not. Accordingle doctor Sands did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects, and looked wilde as one that had bene long kept in prison out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birching lane, and from one lane to another till he came at More gate: there they went forth untill they came to Bednoll greene, where the horses were readie, and maister Hurleston to ride with him as his man. Doctor Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leaue of his friend Benjamin, with teares they kissed ech other, he put his hand in his purse, and would haue giuen Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none. Yet since doctor Sands hath remembred him thankfullie. He rode that night to his father in law maister Sands where his wife was, he had not ben there two houres, but it was told maister Sands that there was two of the gard which would that night apprehend doctor Sands, and so they were appointed.

God stirreth  
by the hearts  
of the mari-  
ners to fanthe  
doctor Sands  
&c.

That night doctor Sands was guided to an honest farmer nere the sea, where he taried two daies and two nights in a chamber without all companie. After that he shifed to one James Howler a ship-maister, who dwelt at Spilton thore, where he expected wind for the English fleet readie into flanders. While he was there, James Howler brought to him fortye or fiftie mariners, to whom he gaue an exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, yer that he should be apprehended. The first of Maie, being sundaie the wind serued: he toke his leaue of his host and hostesse, and went towards the ship. In taking leaue of his hostesse who was barren, and had bene married eight yeares, he gaue hir a fine handkercher and also an old rosall of gold in it, thanking hir much, and said: Be of god comfort, yer that an whole yere be past God shall giue you a child a boie. And it came to passe, for that daie twelue moneths lacking one daie, God gaue hir a faire sonne.

Doctor  
Sands his  
propheticall  
blessing to his  
hostesse at his  
departing.

At the thore doctor Sands met with maister Isaac of Kent, who had his eldest sonne there, who by on the liking he had to doctor Sands, sent his sonne with him, who afterward died in his fathers house in Frankford. Doctor Sands and doctor Cox were both in one ship, being one Cockels ship. They were within the kenning when two of the gard came thither to apprehend doctor Sands. They arrived at Antwerpe, being bid to dinner to maister Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin being secretarie to the English house, and kinsman to doctor Sands, came to him and rounded him in his eare, and said; King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they rose from their dinner in a marvellous great thower, and went out at the gate toward the land of Cleue; there they found a wagon and hasted awaie, and came safe to Aufpurg in Cleueland, where doctor Sands taried foureteene daies, and then iournted towards Strasbozough, where after he had liued one yere, his wife came vnto him. He fell soze sicke of a flux which kept him nine moneths, and brought him to deaths doze. He had a child which fell sicke of the plague and died. His wife at length fell sicke of a consumption and died in his armes; no man had a more godlie woman to his wife.

Doctor  
Sands and  
doctor Cox go  
by wagon into  
Cleueland.

After this, maister Samson went awaie to Emanuel, a man skilfull in the Hebrew. Maister Crindall went into the countrie to learne the Dutch tong. Doctor Sands still remained in Strasbozough, whose sustentation then was chieflie from one maister Isaac, who loued him most dearelie, and was euer more readie to giue than he to take. He gaue him in that space aboue one hundred marks,

which from the said doctor Sands paid him againe, and by his other gifts and friendlinesse shewed himselfe to be a thankfull man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Partys house for the space of five weekes. Being there as they sate at dinner, word suddenlie came that quene Marie was dead, and doctor Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasbozough. What newes made maister Partys and maister Jarret then there verie ioyfull: but doctor Sands could not reioise, it smote into his hart that he should be called to miserie. Maister Bullinger and the ministers feared him, and he toke his leaue and returned into Strasbozough, where he preached, and so maister Crindall and he came towards England, and then to London the same daie that quene Elizabeth was crowned.

Happy newe  
of quene Ma-  
ries death:  
whereupon  
doctor Sands  
returneth into  
England.

This is the true storie of such accidents as befell doctor Sands, a reuerend father, and constant in the truth; whereof if anie part had bene false, likelie it is that one or other would haue barked against it yer now. But the report being common, and hauing bene thus long extant in print, the silence of men is a sufficient prooue & confirmation of the truth. Here therfore we will leaue doctor Sands in his archiepiscopall see of Porke; and after this long (but yet narrow) digression fall againe to the discourse of Calis; which being lost (as you haue heard) in a vexte short time after so long possession, tidings thereof were carried to and fro, farre and nere, by word of mouth and by writing. In so much that the same newes likewise being made notorious and knowne to the French were not so ioyfullie received in France, as they were generallie grienous and displeasing to the whole relme of England; but speciallie to quene Marie, who being a pynesse of hart and courage, more than commonlie is in womankind, thought hir selfe so much touched in honour by the losse of hir said towne and possessions on that side the sea, as she counted hir life irkesome, untill the same were either recovered againe, or the losse redoubled with some like victorie against the French elsewhere.

with whose  
indignation  
quene Marie  
toke the  
losse of Calis.

In respect whereof she ceased not to trauell after with king Philip hir husband, as with hir owne pynie counsell, and the lords of the realme, which wate should be best to reuenge this iniurie: and speciallie noto whilste the French king was occupied in wars with king Philip, to indamage some of his countries by waie of inuasion, & to surpise some of his townes upon the sudden. And among sundrie deuises, none was thought so fit to be attempted as an haue towne in Britaine called Brest, which in the time of king Richard the second was kept and maintained with an English garrison, untill the said king rendered the same to the French king againe by composition. This towne as well for the conuenient situation alwaies readie to receiue fresh succors and vittelling out of England by sea, as also for that it was knowne to the quene and hir counsell at that present, not to be furnished with anie garrison of soldiers, sufficient to repell the power of a prince by on the sudden, was thought to be the best marke to be shot at for the time. Wherefore upon this case well debated, there was immediatlie order given to Edward lord Clinton then high admerall of England, with all expedition to prepare himselfe with all the quenes ships of warre, furnished with soldiers, munition & vittels, to ioine with the admerall of king Philip, who had like order from the said king to ioine with the nauie of England for the atchinging of this enterprize.

Force inuaded  
against  
Brest in Brit-  
taine.

Honfeur de  
Thermes  
take of the  
port.

Counte Eg-  
mond licutes-  
nant generall  
to king Philip  
by in the tow  
countrie.

The lord  
Clinton ad-  
merall of En-  
gland first  
against Philip.

But before I declare to you the aduenture of these two great nauies by sea, it shall not be impertinent to touch some accidents in the meane time by land.

Honfeur de  
Thermes  
captaine of  
Calis work  
eth upon the  
dian cage to  
make the French  
more by  
negotiate ser-  
uice.

Honfeur de  
Thermes de  
determination  
to pule king  
Philip  
matric.

Dunkirk be-  
sieged, taken,  
and burned by  
the French.

Chaple new  
of queene Marye  
death:  
wherupon  
doctor Sande  
returneth into  
England.

And. While king Philip being absent from the low  
countie, was (as you haue heard) occupied with his  
wa res in France, monsieur de Thermes the new  
capitaine of Calis, being a man verie expert in the  
wars (whose propertie is neuer to neglect anie time  
of advantage) cast in his mind, how (during king  
Phillips absence) to do some singular seruice to the  
French king his maister. And espieng well the neg-  
ligence of the Flemings his neighbors, how little  
they vnderstood the great weakening of their coun-  
trie by the losse of Calis, and that there was no  
new prouision made for the defense thereof, moze  
than was before, whilst Calis was English, by the  
losse wherof, their frontiers were now become open  
for the French at all times to enter. He therefore  
taking out of Calis so manie of his soldiors as  
might be spared from thence, adioining to them all  
the forces of the French garrisons in Arthois, Bul-  
longnois, and Picardie, wherof together with the  
soldiors of Calis, being to the number of seuen hun-  
dred footmen, and three hundred light horsemen Sco-  
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fourteene hundred men at armes of Burgoyne, be-  
side the light horsemen Scots, amounting in the  
whole to the number at the least of nine thousand  
footmen, and fiftene hundred horsemen, entred in-  
to Flanders, with full determination to spoile and  
waste all king Phillips countie along the sea coast,  
and namely a proper haueu towne called Dun-  
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His capitaine following his enterprize, of a poli-  
tic passing by the towne of Graueling, laid siege to  
a little towne not farre from thence called Werghs,  
which he toan in a small time, and with small resis-  
tance, leaving the saccage of the same vnto his sol-  
diors, where they found manie good booties. And with-  
out long stayng they marched forth to Dunkirke be-  
foresaid, and planting a siege in like maner there,  
battered the same so sharplie with the cannon, that  
within lesse than foure daies he became master of  
the towne, which he in like maner put to the sacke,  
where was found moze plentie of spoile and good bo-  
ties, than in anie place before, so farre forth as the  
meanest slauies and lackies came awaie rich. And af-  
ter setting the towne on fire (whereby all in the coun-  
trie about were maruellouslie put in feare) and the  
French spreading further abroad, wasted the most  
fruitfull quarter of all that part of Flanders, even  
almost vnto Deluport. But yet because that mon-  
sieur de Thermes fell diseased of the govt, the armie  
withdrew and incamped within halfe a mile of Gra-  
ueling, & for his moze ease, he himselfe laie in Dun-  
kirke, and in the meane time diuerse skirmishes fell  
out betwene the Frenchmen, and them of the garr-  
ison within Graueling.

During which pastime, the countie de Aiguemont  
(as he is commonlie called Egmond) lieutenant  
general for king Philip in the low countie, with all  
hast possible assembled all the power as well of king  
Phillips garrisons, as also of men of warre in the  
low countie, to the number of fouretene or fiftene  
thousand footmen, and two or three thousand horse-  
men, wherof there were fiftene hundred swart Rut-  
ters, determining so to affront the French, that ei-  
ther they should passe no further into the countie, or  
at the least waite to impeach them from the siege of  
Graueling, wherof there was great appearance.  
Monsieur de Thermes hearing of this power assem-  
bled (though scarcelie well recovered) made all possi-  
ble hast toward Graueling, where he was no sooner  
arrived, but that he saw his enemies ready ranged  
in the field. By reason wherof his studie was now

nothing else but how he might bring home his armie  
in safetie to Calis.

The countie de Egmond espieng the Frenchmen  
bent to march awaie with the spoile of the countie,  
rut betwene them and home, placing his battels in  
such order, that the Frenchmen had no waie to passe,  
but vpon the sands betwene the towne and the sea.  
Wher as by good chance laie a great fleet of queene  
Maryes ships of warre, within the danger of whose  
gunshot the Frenchmen had no shift but to passe as  
their iourne laie. And so being forced either to fa-  
mish or to fight at disadvantage, monsieur de Ther-  
mes without stayng anie longer, caused his vanti-  
gard to passe ouer the riuer somewhat nere the  
towne, to auoid the shot of the English ships. And  
stayng vpon the further side for the residue of his  
battels, there came such thicke haileshot of artillerie  
out of the towne on the one side, and from the Eng-  
lish ships on the other side, that there was a full  
batterie made vpon the Frenchmen on all sides,  
which they neuertheless abode, without breaking or-  
der for the time, when suddenly appeared before them  
two great troops of horsemen, of fiftene hundred  
a peece, part swart Rutters, and part Burgoyne,  
wherof the one in front, and the other in flanke,  
gaue strong charges vpon the French vanguard,  
who being well backed with their other battels (wher-  
of the most part then had passed the riuer) stoutlie re-  
pelled these two first troops, though not without losse  
of manie their best soldiors.

So thus both parties being at a state, and seuered  
somewhat asunder, the countie de Egmond himselfe  
with eightene hundred men of armes, and his foot  
battels following, before the French had well reco-  
uered breath, recharged vpon them with all his for-  
ces together, so terrible that he choked all their bat-  
tell, and the number took them to flight, without fur-  
ther triall. So by that time that the footmen on ei-  
ther side came to the push of the pike, the victorie  
was sone had, by reason (as the Frenchmen report)  
that the Almans beaten back with artillerie, as well  
of the towne as of the ships before said, brake their  
order, and came not to the thocke, whereby the whole  
charge of the battell rested vpon the French bands  
onelie. This field was fought the thirtenth of Ju-  
lie 1558, vpon the sea sands nere to Graueling,  
where besides those that were slaine, being esteemed  
to the number of siue thousand fighting men, there  
were taken prisoners the marshall de Thermes cap-  
taine of Calis, monsieur Senerpont gouernour of  
Bullongne, monsieur Willebou gouernour of Pi-  
cardie, monsieur Annebault sonne to the late admi-  
rall Annebault, knight of the order, monsieur de  
Mouilliers gouernour of Abuille, monsieur de  
Channe gouernour of Corbie, beside a great num-  
ber of other gentlemen, valiant capteins & soldiors:  
but specially the bands of Calis went to wacke, so  
as verie few returned home to bring tidings. Which  
gaue such a terror to the soldiors remaining in Ca-  
lis, that it is verelie beleued, that if the admirals  
of England and Flanders had bene present there  
with their naues, as the said other few ships of  
England were, and vpon this sudden had attempt-  
ed Calis, with the aid of the countie Egmond ha-  
uing his power present: the towne of Calis might  
haue bene recovered againe with as little difficul-  
tie, and happlie in as short time as it was before ga-  
ined by the duke of Guise. But the said admirals (as  
it appeared) knew nothing thereof. Wherfore follow-  
ing their prescribed course, & joining together at the  
place appointed, they sailed from thence with prope-  
rous wind & weather, & by the nine and twentieth daie  
of the same moneth, and in the said yeare, with sea-  
uen score ships of warre, appeared by the breake of  
the

The English  
ships annoy  
the French  
with gunshot,  
et.

A ballent on-  
set giuen vpon  
the French-  
men by coun-  
tie Egmond.

A recharge  
vpon the  
French scarce  
recouered.

A great victo-  
rie.

Certaine  
French pris-  
oners taken,  
and what they  
were by  
name.

Calis might  
haue bene re-  
covered from  
the French.

With what  
indignation  
queene Marye  
toke the  
losse of Calis.

Force inter-  
ded against  
the countie.

The lord  
Clinton ad-  
mirall of En-  
gland sent  
against the

the daie before the haue of Corquest, commonlie called Conquest in Britaine; whereof the poet saith, touching the seat of the same, abutting vpon the sea:

*Nobile Conquetum salis Thetis albiit undis.*

At whose arrivall there (as the manner is) they sounded their trumpets, & with a thundering peale of great ordinance gaue a loud saluie vnto the Britains: and by eight of the clocke the same morning, mauer all the power of the countrie, being assembled there in armes, with manie peeces of great artillerie, to defend the entrie of their port, the Englishmen manning forth their shipboats, with manie valiant captiues and soldiors, recovered landing, and within short time became masters of the said towne of Conquet, which they put to the sacke, with a great abbeie, and manie pretie townes and villages nere thereabouts, where our men found great store of pillage and good booties. This done, they marched into the countrie, and burned manie villages and houses: and after withdrew downe vnto the sea side, where their ships laie readie to receiue them. But the Flemmings being covetous of spoile, passing further into the land, before they could recover their ships againe, were encountered by the power of the countrie, by whome there were slaine of them to the number of foure or five hundred.

The admerals perceiuing the power of the countrie greatlie to increase, and hauing intelligence that the duke of Campes the French kings lieutenant in Britaine was verie nere, coming on with a great number of horsemen and footmen, & skimed to be about twentie thousand (as the Frenchmen themselves affirme) thought not best to attempte any assault against the towne of Brest, or to make longer abode there. But yet in hope to doe some further exploit elsewhere, they laie there hovering on the coast a while, to vnderstand the demeanour of the Britains: but by this time there was such numbers of people raised in all those parts for defense of the same coasts, that the admerals afterward attempting in diuers places to land their men, and finding ech where more appearance of losse than of gaine, returned home without atchiuing any further enterpryse. In this meane time, while king Philip and the French king, with two most puissant armies affronted ech other, nere vnto the water of Some, either of them was vnsafelie bent to ouercome the other out of the field, for which cause they intrenched their camps.

During which time there was nothing done betwixen them worthy memorie, more than baslie skirmishes of no great account. Neuerthelesse, the countrie of France could not but susteine extreame damage, so long sustaining such a maine multitude, speciallie of men of warre, which those two mightie kings had assembled. And daie by daie came fresh companies to either partie; so as it was thought a thing impossible that such two princes being so nere, could depart without some cruell bloodie battell to determine their quarrels. But God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings (when least hope was) conuerted their obstinate minds from warre to peace, which came chieflie to passe by the mediation of the duchesse of Lorraine, who had bene a long and earnest traveller to that end; and neuer ceased, vntill by his intercession, both the said kings appointed speciall commissioners to treat vpon peace. So that after diuerse conferences, they at last concluded vpon all controuersies, except the matter of Calis, whereof queene Marie by his ambassadoers required restitution: but the French partie would in no wise heare thereof. By reason of which difficultie, this treatie could not come to any good conclusion. King Philip thinking himselfe bound in honour to stand in

that case with the queene his wife, who for his sake had entered into a needlesse warre against France, and thereby lost his said towne, with all the countrie adjoining (as you haue heard before) did therefore staie a long time before he concluded peace with the French king.

Queene Marie seeing no likelihood, nor hauing any hope of the restitution of Calis, and considering also that most of his affaires had but hard successe, conceived an inward sorrow of mind: by reason whereof about September next the fell sicke of a hot burning feauer, which sicknesse was common that yeare through all the realme, and consumed a marvellous number, as well noblemen, as bishops, judges, knights, gentlemen, and rich farmers: but most of the cleargie, and other ancient and graue persons. In which while the queene laie languishing of a long sicknesse, and so continued vntill the seventeenth of Nouember next betwixen the houres of five or six in the morning, and then ended his life in this world, at his house of saint James besides Westminster, when she had reigned five yeares, foure moneths, and eleuen daies, and in the thre and fortieth yeare of his bodilie age. The death of this said queene made a marvellous alteration in this realme, namely in the case of religion, which like as by the death of king Edward the first it suffered a change from the establishment of his time: so by the death of this queene it returned into the former estate againe. So that we see the vncerteintie of the world, and what changes doe come in times by their revolutions, and that euery thing is subiect to vncostancie, and nothing free from variablenesse; as the poet saith:

*nihil est quoniam*

*Perpetuum solet in terris fixumque manere:*

*Humana quam nulla subest constantia rebus!*

And here, because we are come to the knitting by of queene Maries reigne, I cannot ouerskip with silence that notable and needfull discourse of master Fox concerning our blessed soueraigne, queen Elizabeth, whose maiestie the Lord of his mercie inuironed with friends as in number manie, so in seruice true; and whose enemies the same Lord in iustice rot out from the land of the liuing, heaping vpon them plague after plague, to their bitter confusion, because they haue reiected the gracious means of their conuerfion. Thus therefore writeth master Fox concerning the much precious persecution and miraculous preservation of ladie Elizabeth, now queene of England, from extreame calamitie and danger of life, in the time of queene Marie his sister.

But (saith master Fox) when all hath bene said and told, what soeuer can be recited touching the admirable working of Gods present hand in defending and deliuering any one person out of thalidome, neuer was there since the memorie of our fathers, any example to be shewed, where in the Lords mightie power hath more admirable and blessedlie shewed it selfe, to the glorie of his owne name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the publike felicitie of this whole realme, than in the miraculous custodie and outescape of this our soueraigne ladie, now queene, then ladie Elizabeth, in the strict time of queene Marie his sister. In which storie, first we haue to consider in what extreame miserie, sickness, feare, and perill his highnesse was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought. First with great routs and bands of armed men (and hapie was he that might haue the carriage of her) being fetched vp as the greatest traitour in the world, clapped in the tower, and againe tolled from thence, from house to house, from prison to prison, from pill to pillar, at length also prisoner in his owne house, and garded with a sort of cut-throats, which were

Conquest of  
Conquest taken and burnt.

A great  
slaughter of  
the Flemmings occasioned by their  
owne conuention.

The admerals remoued  
for feare of  
losse.

Anno Reg. 6.

No memorie  
done by either  
of the kings during the  
affronting of  
their armies.

Hence is produced  
between  
both kings  
at the late and  
sacking of the  
duchess of  
Lorraine.

These  
pennies for  
the sake of  
Calis.

The death  
of queen  
Marie.

The history  
of the  
ladie  
Elizabeth.

These references by  
1 page where  
they  
fall in this  
discourse of  
Elizabeth  
are ment of  
the impresse  
published 15  
Sir Richard  
Southwell  
for Edward  
Hallings, a  
Sir Thomas  
Comwallis  
sent to fetch  
ladie Elizabeth  
with  
whom also  
afterward  
was sent the  
lord William  
Howard, &c.

The  
bliss  
of  
the  
ladie  
Elizabeth  
in  
the  
tower.

The  
brim-  
mer of  
the  
night.

The  
treason  
of  
ladie  
Elizabeth  
in  
the  
tower.

graped for the spoile, whereby they might be fingering  
of somewhat.

Secondlie, we haue againe to consider, all this notwithstanding, how strangely, or rather miraculouſlie from danger the was deliuered: what fauour and grace the ſound with the almightie, who when all helpe of man, and hope of recouerie was paſt, ſtretched out his mightie protection, and preſerued his highneſſe, and placed him in this princelie ſeat of reſt and quietneſſe, where in now the ſitteth, and long mate ſhe fit, the lord of his glorious mercie grant, we beſeech him \*. In which ſtozie, if I ſhould ſet forth at large and at full, all the particulars and circumſtances thereunto belonging, and as iuſt occaſion of the hiſtozie requireth, beſides the importunite length of the ſtozie diſcoured, peraduenture it might moue offence to ſome being yet allie, and truth might get me hated. Yet notwithſtanding, I intend (by the grace of Chriſt) therein to be ſuch benenite and moderation, as both may be to the glorie of God, the diſcharge of the ſtozie, the proſit of the reader, & hurt to none, ſuppreſſing the names of ſome, whom here althoug I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruell in hurting their name, than the queene hath bene mercifull in pardoning their liues.

Therefore now to enter into the discourse of this tragickall matter, first here is to be noted, that quene Marie when she was first quene, before she was crowned, would go no further, but would haue hir by the hand, and send for hir to dinner and supper: but after she was crowned, she neuer dined nor supped with hir, but kept hir aloofe from hir, &c. After this it happened, (immediatlie vpon the rising of sir Thomas Wyatt (as before was mentioned, \* pag. 1418, 1419) that the ladie Elizabeth and the lord Court, neie were charged with false insuspicion of sir Thomas Wyatts rising. Wherevpon quene Marie, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said Elizabeth hir sister, at that time lieng in hir house at Ashbridge, the next daie after the rising of Wyatt, sent to hir thre of hir counsellors, to wit, sir Richard Southwell, sir Edward Hastings, then master of the houlse, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troupe of hofemen, to the number of two hundred & fiftie. Who at their suddain and vnproviden coming, found hir at the same time foze sicke in hir bed, and verie feeble and weake of bodie. Whither when they came, ascending vp to hir graces private chamber, they twilled one of hir ladies, whome they met, to declare vnto hir grace, that there were certein come from the court, which had a message from the quene.

Hir grace hauing knowledge thereof, was right glad of their comining: howbeit, being then verie sicke, and the night farre spent (which was at ten of the clocke) she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the said messenger sent word againe, that they must needs see hir, and would so do, in that case shewer the words. Whereat the ladie being against, went to shew hir grace their words: but she haistilie following hir, came rushing as sone as she into hir graces chamber vnbiſden. At whose so sudden comining into hir bed chamber, hir grace being not a little amazed, said vnto them: As the haſt ſuch, that it might not haue pleased you to come to morrow in the morning? They made answer, that they were right ſorie to see hir in that caſe. And ſhe (quoth ſhe) am not glad to ſee you here at this time of the night. Wherevnto they answered, that they came from the queene to do their meſſage and dutie: which was to this effect, that the queens pleasure was, that the ſhould be at London the ſeauenth daie of that preſent month. Wherevnto ſhe ſaid; Certesſe,

no creature more glad than I to come to hir maies  
sie, being right sozie that I am not in case at this  
time to wait on hir, as you your selues do see and can  
well testifie.

In deed we see it true (quoth they) that you doe saie : A strait com-  
mission from  
the queene to  
bring the labe  
Elizabeth  
either quicke  
or dead.  
for which we are verie sope : albeit we let you to vn-  
derstand, that our commission is such, and so strait  
neth vs, that we must needs bring you with vs, either  
quick or dead. Whereat she being amazed, for so  
fullie said, that their commission was verie sope: but  
yet notwithstanding she hoped it to be other wise, and  
not so strait. Yes verelie, said they. Whereupon they  
called for two physicians, doctor Mowen and doctor  
Wentie, demanding of them, whether the might be  
removed from thence with life, or no. Whose answer  
and iudgement was, that there was no impediment  
(in their iudgement) to the contrarie, but that the  
might trauell without danger of life. In conclusi-  
on, they willed hir to prepare against the morning  
at nine of the clocke to go with them, declaring  
that they had brought with them the quænes litter  
for hir. After much talke, the messengers declaring  
howe there was no prolonging of times and dates, so  
departed to their chamber, being interteined and  
cheared as apertained to their worthips.

On the next morrow at the time prescribed, they had hir forth as she was, verie faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to found three or foure times betwene them. What should I speake here that cannot well be expressed, what an heauie boult there was to behold the vnreuerend and dolefull dealing of these men, but especiallie the carefull feare and captiuitie of their innocent ladie and missestress. Now to proceed in hir toznie from Alhridge all sick in the litter, she came to Knebborne, where she was garded all night: from thence to S. Albons, to sir Rafe Kowlets house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in bodie, and comfortlesse in mind. From that place they passed to master Woods house at Wlms, where also they remained that night: and so from thence she came to Highgate: where she being verie sicke, tarried that night and the next daie. During which time of hys abode there, came manie puruenants and messengers from the court: but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From that place she was conueied to the court: where (by the waie) came to meet hir manie gentlemen, to accompanie hir highnesse, which were verie sozie to see hir in that case. But especiallie a great multitude of people there were standing by the way, who then flocking about hir litter, lamented and bewailed greatlie hir estate. Now, when she came to the court, hir grace was there straightwaies shut vp, and kept as close prisoner a fortnight, which was till Palmesunday, seeing neither king nor queene, nor lord, nor friend, all that time, but onelie then the lord chamberlaine, sir John Coge, and the vicechamberlaine which were attendant vnto the doores. About which time sir William Sestlow was called before the counsell; vnto whose charge it was laid, that he knewe of Maits rebellion. Which he stoutlie denied, professing that he was a true man, both to God and his prince, denieng all traitors and rebels: but being stricte examined, he was in conclusion committed to the tower.

The firste before Walmsundate, the bishop of Winchester, with nineteene others of the counsell (who shall be here named) came vnto hir grace from the queenes maiestie, and burdened hir with whats conspiracie: which she utterlie denied, affirming th at she was altogether guiltlesse therein. They being not contented with this, charged hir grace with businesse made by sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west countrie: which also

The gentle-  
nelle of queene  
Marie to send  
hir hoxsitter  
to bring hir  
sister to trou-  
ble.

Ladie Elizabe  
beth takerh  
hir iourne  
toward the  
quene,

Lacie Elizabeth  
brought  
up to London.

Sir William  
Sutlow  
committed to  
the tower.

Ladie Elizab  
beth charged  
with sir Tho-  
mas watons  
conspiracie.  
Ladie Elizab  
beth charged  
with the busi-  
nesse of Peter  
Carew.

D. Harte  
penfile for the  
Isle of Coll.

The death of  
Queen Anne

The histoye  
of the ladye  
Elisabeth.

These references by the page where they are to be found in this course of Elizabeth's government of the suppression of the monasteries published 1588.

For Richard Sharnwell, Sir Edward Bellings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, sent to fetch the Duke of Northampton also Edward was sent the Lord William Howard, &c.

**D** The blessed  
**I** protection of  
**D** almighty  
**R** God in preser-  
**C** ving the lab-  
**R** Elizabeth in  
**C** hir manifold  
**E** dangers and  
troubles.

The brim-  
minelle of  
night

The trouble  
of ladie Elizabeth  
in Spain

3

Ladie Elizabeth  
both threatened  
to go to the  
tower.

Ladie Elizabeth  
both purgeth  
hir selfe to the  
lords.

Ladie Elizabeth  
beths seruants  
remoued from  
hir.  
The queenes  
men, and wait-  
ting women  
attendant vpon  
ladie Elizabeth.

The hard deal-  
ing of a cer-  
taine lord  
with the ladie  
Elizabeth.  
The earle of  
Suffex gentle  
to the ladie  
Elizabeth.  
Ladie Elizabeth  
writeth  
to the queene  
but it would  
not serue.

the bitterlie denieng, cleared hir innocencie therein. In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared vnto hir, that it was the queenes will and pleasure that she should go vnto the tower, while the matter were further tried and examined. Whereat she being agast, said, that she trusted the queenes maiestie would be more gracious ladie vnto hir, and that hir highnesse would not otherwise conceiue of hir, but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened hir; and desired them therefore to be a further meane to the queene hir sister, that she being a true woman in thought, word, and deed towards hir maiestie, might not be committed to so noxious & dolefull a place: protesting that she would request no mercie at hir hand, if she should be psoned to haue consented vnto anye such kind of matter, as they had laid vnto hir charge: and therefore in fine desired their lordships to thinke of hir what she was, and that she might not so extremelie be dealt withall for hir truth.

Wherevnto the lords answered againe, that there was no remedie, for that the queenes maiestie was fullie determined that she should go vnto the tower. Wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging ouer their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an houre or little more, came foure of the foresaid lords of the counsell, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earle of Suffex, with the gard, who warding the next chamber to hir, secluded all hir gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen, sauing that for one gentleman vsher, three gentlewomen, and two groomes of hir chamber, were appointed in their rooms three other men of the queenes, and three waiting women to giue attendance vpon hir, that none should haue access to hir grace. At which time there were an hundred of northerne souldiers in white cotes, watching and warding about the gardens all that night, a great fire being made in the midd of the hall, and two certeine lords watching there also with their band and companie.

Vpon saturdaye following, two lords of the counsell (the one was the earle of Suffex, the other shall be namelesse) came and certified hir grace, that forthwith she must go vnto the tower, the barge being prepared for hir, and the tide now readie, which tarieth for no bodie. In heauie mood hir grace requested the lords that she might tarie another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that nether tide nor time was to be delaied. And when hir grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queenes maiestie, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding that in his iudgement it would rather hurt, than profit hir grace in so doing. But the other lord, more courteous and fauorable (who was the earle of Suffex) kneeling downe, said she should haue libertie to write; and as he was a true man, he would deliuer it to the queenes highnesse, & bring an answer of the same, what soeuer came thereof. Wherevpon she wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speake with the queene to hir great discomfort, being no offender against the queenes maiestie.

And thus the tide and time passed awaie for that season, they prauailie appointing all things readie that she should go the next tide which fell about midnight: but for feare she should be taken by the waie, they durst not. So they staid till the next date, being Palmesundate, when about nine of the clocke these two returned againe, declaring that it was time for hir grace to depart: she answering: If there be no remedie, I must be content, willing the lords to go before. Being come forth into the garden, she did cast

vp hir eyes toward the window, thinking to haue seene the queene, which she could not. Whereat she said she marvelled much what the nobilitie of the realme meant, which in that sort would suffer hir to be led into captiuitie, the Lord knew whether, for she did not. In the meane time commandement was giuen in all London, that euerie one should keepe the church and carie their palmes, while in the meane season she might be conuicted without all recourse of people into the tower.

After all this, she took hir barge with the two foresaid lords, three of the queenes gentlewomen, and three of hir owne, hir gentleman vsher, and two of hir groomes, lieng & houering vpon the water a certeine space, for that they could not shot the bridge, the bargemen being verie vnwilling to shot the same so lone as they bad, because of the danger thereof: for the sterne of the boat strooke vpon the ground, the fall was so big, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being vnder the bridge, there staid againe a while. At landing, she first staid, and denied to land at those staires where all traitors and offenders customablie used to land, nether well could she vnlesse she should go ouer hir sho. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went backe againe to hir, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords which shall be namelesse, that she should not chuse: and because it did then raine, he offered to hir his cloke, which she (putting it backe with hir hand with a good dash) refused. So she coming out, hauing one foot vpon the staire, said: Here landeth as true a subiect being prisoner, as euer landed at these staires: and before the Lord God I speake it, hauing none other friends but the alone.

To whom the same lord answered againe, that if it were so, it was the better for hir. At hir landing there was a great multitude of their seruants and warders standing in their order; What needed all this said she: It is the vse (said some) so to be taken a prisoner came thither. And if it be (quoth she) for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the more men kneeled downe, and with one voice desired God to preserve hir grace, who the next daie were released of their cold coats. After this passing a little further, she sat downe vpon a cold stone, and there rested hir selfe. To whom the lieutenant then being, said: Madame, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit vnto holsonelle. She then replieng, answered againe: Better sitting here than in a worse place, for God knoweth, I know not whether you will bring me. With that hir gentleman vsher wept: the demanding of him what he meant so vncomfortable to vse hir, seeing the toke him to be hir comforter, and not to dismaie hir, especiallie for that she knew hir truth to be such, that no man should haue cause to weepe for hir. But forth she went into the prison.

The doores were locked and bolted vpon hir: which did not a little discomfort and dismaie hir grace. At what time she called to hir gentlewoman for hir booke, desiring God not to suffer hir to build hir foundation vpon the sands but vpon the rocke, wherevpon all the blasse of blustering weather should haue no power against hir. The doores being thus locked, and the cloke shut vp, the lords had great conference how to keepe ward and watch, euerie man declaring his opinion in that behalfe, agreeing finally and circumspectlie to keepe hir. Then one of them, which was the lord of Suffex swearing, said: My lords, let vs take heed, and do no more than our commission will beare vs, what soeuer shall happen hereafter. And further, let vs consider that she was the king our maisters daughter, and therefore let vs vse such dealing,

Ladie Elizabeth  
both sent to  
the tower.

The words of  
ladie Elizabeth  
both entering  
the tower.

The bishop of  
Winchester com-  
me to ladie  
Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth  
examined  
by the bishop  
of Winchester.

The friendlie  
speech of the  
earle of Suffex  
well to the ladie  
Elizabeth.

Mr James  
Brock exam-  
ined touching  
the ladie  
Elizabeth.

The lord of  
Suffex speake  
both lordes  
Elizabeth.

These were  
the officers  
of the tower,  
which as  
sent in white  
and grane.



dealing, that we may answer unto it hereafter, if it shall so happen, for thus dealing (quoth he) is alwaies answerable. Whereunto the other lordes agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the tower, within two daies, commandement was that the should have masse within his house. One maister Pong was then his chapleine: and because there was none of his men so well learned to helpe the priest to saie masse, the masse staid for that daie.

The next daie two of his yeomen, who had gone long to schoole before, and were learned, had two abbies pouldred and deliuered them, so that upon the abbies they should helpe the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abbie in his hand, pretending ignorance at byrie eleison, set the priest, making as though he could answer that no further. It would make a pitifull and a strange storie, here by the waie to touch and recite that examinations and rackings of poore men there were; to find out that knife which should cut his throte: what gaping among my lordes of the cleargie, to see the date wherein they might wash their godlie white rochetes in his innocent blood, but especially the bishop of Winchester Stephan Gardiner, then lord chancelor, ruler of the roff, who then within five daies after came unto him, with diuerse others of the counsell, and examined him of the talke that was at Albridge, betwixt him and sir James Acroft, touching his remouing from thence to Dunnington castle, requiring him to declare what he meant thereby.

At the first, he being so suddenlie asked, did not well remember anie such house: but within a while, well aduising his selfe, he said; In deed (quoth he) I do now remember that I haue such a place, but I neuer laie in it in all my life. And as for anie that hath moued me thereunto, I do not remember. When to enforce the matter, they brought forth sir James Acroft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of him what he said to that man: she answered, that she had little to saie to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the tower. But my lordes (quoth she) you do examine euerie meane prisoner of me, wherein me thinks you do me great iniurie. If they haue done euill and offended the queenes maiestie, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you my lordes, let me not be in this sort with anie of these offenders. And as concerning my going unto Dunnington castle, I do remember that maister Hobbie and mine officers and you sir James Acroft, had such talke: but what is that to the purpose, my lordes, but that I may go to mine owne houses at all times?

The lord of Arundell kneeling downe, said: Your grace saith true, & certainlie we are verie sorie that we haue so troubled you about so vaine matters. She then said: app lordes, you do siff me verie narrowlie, but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed, and so God forgive you all. At their departure, sir James Acroft kneeled down, declaring that he was lozie to see the daie in which he should be brought as a witnesse against his grace. But I assure your grace (said he) I haue bene maruellouslie tossed and examined touching your highnesse, which the lord knoweth is verie strange to me. For I take God to record before all your honors, I do not know anie thing of that crime that you haue laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be diuened to so strid a trial.

That daie, or thereabouts, diuerse of his owne officers, who had made provision for his diet, brought the same to the bitter gate of the tower, the common rascall souldiers receiuing it: which was no small greafe unto the gentlemen the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to speake with the lord cham-

berleine, being then constable of the tower. Who conning before his presence, declared unto his lordship, that they were much afraid to bring his graces diet, and to deliuer it to such common and desperat persons as they were which did receiue it: beseeching his honors to consider his grace, and to giue such order, that his viands might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed thereunto.

Pea first (said he) who appointed you this office? They answered, his graces counsell. Counsell (quoth he) There is none of them which hath to do, either in that case, or anie thing else within this place: and I assure you, for that he is a prisoner, he shall be serued with the lieutenants men, as other the prisoners are. Whereat the gentlemen said, that they trusted for more fauor at his hands, considering his personage, saing; that they mistrusted not, but that the queene and his counsell would be better to his grace than so, and therewith shewed themselves to be offended at the vngratefull words of the lord chamberleine to, wards their ladie and mistresse.

At this he swore by God, striking himselfe upon the breast, that if they did either frowne or thug at him, he would set them where they should neither see sunne nor mone. Thus taking their leaue, they desired God to bring him in a better mind towards his grace, and so departed from him. Upon the occasion whereof, his graces officers made great sute unto the queenes counsell, that some might be appointed to bring his diet to him, & that it might no more be deliuered in to the common souldiers of the tower. Which being reasonable considered, was by them granted. Whereupon were appointed one of his gentlemen, his cleark of his kitchen, and his two purueors to bring in his provision once a day; all which was done the warders euer waiting upon the bringers thereof. The lord chamberleine himselfe being alwaies with them, circumspectlie and narrowlie watched, and searched what they brought: and gaue heed that they should haue no talke with anie of his graces waiting seruants, and so warded them both in and out. At the said sute of his officers were sent by the commandement of the counsell, to wait upon his grace, two yeomen of his chamber, one of his robes, two of his pantrie and ewie, one of his buttrie, another of his cellar, two of his kitchen, and one of his larder, all which continued with him the time of his trouble.

Here the constable, being at the first not verie well pleased with the conning in of such a companie against his will, would haue had his men still to haue serued with his graces men. Which his seruants at no hand would suffer, desiring his lordship to be contented: for that order was taken, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being so displeased, he brake out into these threatening words: Well (said he) I will handle you well enough. Then went he into the kitchen, and there would needs haue his meat rolled with his graces meat, & said that his coke should come thither and dress it. So that his graces coke answered; app lord, I will neuer suffer anie stranger to come about his diet, but his owne souldiers men, so long as I liue. He said they should. But the coke said, his lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble his poore seruants verie stoutlie: though afterwards he were other wise aduised, and they more courteously vsed at his hands. And god cause why, for he had good cheare, and fared of the best: and his grace paid well for it. Wherefore he vsed himselfe afterwards more reuerentlie toward his grace.

After this sort, having lien a whole moneth there in close prison, and being verie euill at ease therewith all, he sent for the lord chamberleine, and the lord

Ladie Elisabetha  
bertha seruants  
restrained for  
bringing his  
diet to the  
tower.

Displeasure  
betwene the  
lord chamber-  
leine and ladie  
Elisabetha  
men.

Ladie Elisabetha  
bertha waiting  
seruants in  
the tower.

Variance  
betwene the  
lord chamber-  
leine & ladie  
Elisabetha  
seruants.

Eliza-  
betha  
ent to  
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Cyphill of  
recherer co-  
me to ladie  
Elisabetha.

words of  
Eliza-  
betha  
ver.

Ladie Eliza-  
betha  
recherer co-  
me to ladie  
Elisabetha.

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lord of Arun-  
dell in the ladie  
Elisabetha.

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Elisabetha.

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the James  
bertha  
recherer co-  
me to ladie  
Elisabetha.

Ladie Elisabeth denied the libertie of the tower.

Shandois, to come and speake with hir. The comming, she requested them that she might haue libertie to walke in some place, for that she felt herselfe not well. To the which they answered, that they were right soze that they could not satisfie hir graces request, for that they had commandement to the contrary, which they durst not in any wise breake. Furthermore, the desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might walke but into the quenes lodging. So noy yet that (they answered) could by any means be obtained without a further sute to the quene and hir counsell. Well said she my lords, if the matter be so hard that they must be sued vnto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strid, God comfort me: and so they departed, the remaining in hir old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but onlie God.

The next daie after, the lord Shandois came againe vnto hir grace, declaring vnto hir that he had sued vnto the counsell for further libertie. Some of them consented therevnto, diuerse other dissented, for that there were so manie prisoners in the tower. But in conclusion they did all agree, that hir grace might walke into those lodgings, so that he & the lord chamberlaine, and thre of the quenes gentlewomen did accompanie hir, the windowes being shut, and she not suffered to looke out at any of them: wherewith she contented herselfe, and gaue him thanks for his good will in that behalfe. Afterwards there was libertie granted to hir grace to walke in a little garden, the doores and gates being shut vp, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort vnto hir, as the walke in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of hir walking there, the prisoners on that side stridlie were commanded not to speake or looke out at the windowes into the garden, till hir grace were gone out againe, hauing in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting vpon them for that time. Thus hir grace with this small libertie contented hir selfe in God, to whome be praise there-fore.

During this time, there vsed a little boie, a mans child in the tower to resort vnto their chambers, and manie times to bring hir grace flowers, which likewise he did to the other prisoners that were there. Wherevpon naughtie and suspicious heads thinking to make and bring out some matter thereof, called on a time the child vnto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked of him when he had bene with the earle of Devonshire, not ignorant of the childs wonted frequenting vnto him: The boy answered that he would go by and by wither. Further they demanded of him, when he was with the ladie Elisabeths grace: He answered: Euerie daie. Furthermore they examined him, what the lord of Devonshire sent by him to hir grace: The child said: I will go know what he will giue to carle to hir. Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but foure years of age. This same is a craftie boy, quoth the lord chamberlaine, how saie you my lord Shandois? I prate you my lord (quoth the boy) giue me the figs you promised me. So marie (quoth he) thou shalt be whipped if thou come any more to the ladie Elisabeth, or the lord Courtneie. The boy answered: I will bring my ladie and mistresse more flowers. Wherevpon the childs father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come vp into their chambers.

The next daie, as hir grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the doore, cried vnto hir, saying: Mistresse, I can bring you no more flowers. Whereat she smiled, but said nothing, vnderstanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the chamberlaine rebuked highlie his father, commanding him to put him out of the house.

Alas poore infant, quoth the father. It is a craftie knaue (quoth the lord chamberlaine) let me see him here no more. The first of Maie the constable was discharged of his office of the tower, & one sir Henrie Benesfield placed in his come, a man unknowne to hir grace, and therefore the more feared: which so sudden mutation was vnto hir no little amaze. He brought with him an hundred soldiers in blew cotes, wherewith she was maruellouslie discomforted, and demanded of such as were about hir, whether the ladie Janes scaffolds were taken awaie or no, fearing by reason of their comming, least she should haue played hir part. To whome answer was made, that the scaffolds were taken awaie, and that hir gracedeb not to doubt of any such tyrannie: for God would not suffer any such treason against hir person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked that sir Henrie Benesfield was, and whether he was of that conscience or no, that if hir murdering were secretly committed to his charge, he would see the execution thereof: She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Wherewith they persuaded hir that God would not suffer such wickednesse to proceed: Well, quoth she, God grant it be so. For thou O God canst mollifie all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruell purposes: and I beseech thee to heare me thy creature, which am thy seruant, and at thy commandement, trusting by thy grace euer so to remaine.

About which time it was spread abroad, that hir grace should be caried from the nise by this new solle captaine and his soldiers: but whether, it could not be learned. Which was vnto hir a great griefe, especially for that such a companie was appointed to hir gard, requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thence with such a sort of rascals. At last plaine answer was made by the lord Shandois, that there was no remedie, but from thence she must needs depart to the manour of Woodstocke, as he thought. Being demanded of hir for what cause: For that (quoth he) the tower is like further to be furnished. She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded wherewith: He answered, with such matter as the quene and counsell were determined in that behalfe, wherof he had no knowledge: and so departed. In conclusion, on Trinitie sundae being the nineteenth daie of Maie, she was removed from the tower, the lord treasurer being then there for the lading of hir carts, and discharging the place of the same. Where sir Henrie Benesfield (being appointed hir gallo) did receiue hir with a companie of takehels to gard hir, beside the lord of Darbies hand, waiting in the countrie about for the mooneshine in the water. Vnto whome at length came my lord of Tame, ioined in commission with the said sir Henrie, for the safe guiding of hir to prison: and they togither conueied hir grace to Woodstocke, as hereafter followeth. The first daie they conducted hir to Richmond, where she continued all night, being restrained of hir owne men, which were lodged in outchambers, and sir Henrie Benesfields soldiers appointed in their comes to giue attendance on hir person. Whereat she being marvellouslie dismayed, thinking verelie some secret mischief to be a working towards hir, called hir gentle man vsher, and desired him, with the rest of his companie, to prate for hir. For this night (quoth she) I thinke to die. Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, said: God forbid that any such wickednesse should be pretended against your grace. So comforting hir as well as he could, at last he burst out into teares, & went from hir doore into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame and sir Henrie

The constable of the tower discharged of his office. Sir Henrie Benesfield with his company, placed about the lady Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth in doubt of sir Henrie Benesfield.

The ladie Elisabeths brother talketh with the lord of Tame.

The gentle heart of the lord of Tame to ladie Elisabeth.

Tamworths owne, like a shepe in the slaughter.

Ladie Elisabeths honourable reception and beloved of the people.

The gentle entertainment of ladie Elisabeth at the lord of Tames house.

Benesfield guardeth at the gentle entertainment of ladie Elisabeth.

The rude and boisterous behauiour of sir Henrie Benesfield.

Ladie Elisabeths comely to Woodstocke.

The strict watch kept at Woodstocke.

Libertie granted to ladie Elisabeth to walke in a little garden.

Suspicious heads.

A young child examined for bringing flowers to the ladie Elisabeth.

Ladie Elisabeth removed from the tower to Woodstocke. Ladie Elisabeths brother recruited from his servants. Ladie Elisabeth in doubt of her safe.

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The constable of the tower discharged of his office. Sir Henrie Benefield with his comaranie placed about the lady Elizabeth. The lady Elizabeth in great feare and doubt of life.

Ladie Elizabeth with in doubt if Sir Henrie Benefield.

The lady Elizabeth with in doubt if Sir Henrie Benefield.

The gentle heart of the lady Elizabeth.

The gentle heart of the lady Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth with in doubt if Sir Henrie Benefield.

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The gentle heart of the lady Elizabeth.

ric Benefield.

Then he comming to the lord of Tame (who had proffered to him much friendship) desired to speake with him a word or two. Unto whome he familiarly said, he should with all his heart. Which when Sir Henrie standing by heard, he asked what the matter was. To whome the gentleman vther answered: So great matter Sir (said he) but to speake with my lord a word or two. Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise: My lord (quoth he) you haue bene alwaies my good lord, and so I beseech you to remaine. The cause why I come to you at this time, is to desire your honor, to binde me to declare vnto me whether anie danger is meant towards my mistresse this night, or no, that I and my poze fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certeinlie we will rather die, than the should secretlie and innocentlie miscarie. Marie (said the lord of Tame) God forbid that anie such wicked purpose should be wrought: and rather than it should be so, I with my men are ready to die at his foot also: and (so praised be God) they passed that dofull night, with no little heauinesse of heart. Afterwards passing ouer the water at Richmond, going towards Windsoze, his grace espied certein of his poze seruants standing on the other side, which were verie desirous to see him. Whome when he beheld, turning to one of his men standing by, he said; Ponder I see certein of my men, go to them and say these words from me: *Tantum uis.*

So the passing forward to Windsoze, was lodged there that night in the deane of Windsozes house, a place more meet in deed for a priest than for a prince. And from thence his grace was garded and brought the next night to maister Dorners house, where much people standing by the way, some presented to him one gift, and some another: so that Sir Henrie was greatlie moued therewith, and troubled the poze people verie soze, for shewing their loving hearts in such a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such like vile words. Besides, as he passed thorough the villages, the townesmen rang the bells, as being topfull of his comming, thinking verelie it had bene otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequelle proued after to the said poze men. For immediatlie the said Sir Henrie hearing the same, sent his souldiours thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise vncourteouslie misusing other some for their good will.

On the morrow his grace passing from maister Dorners (where was for the time of his abode there a strict watch kept) came to the lord of Tames house where he laie all night, being verie princelie intertained, both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Wherat Sir Henrie Benefield grunted, and was highlie offended, saing vnto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer to their doings in that behalfe; letting them to vnderstand that she was the queens maiesties prisoner, and no otherwise: abusing them therfore to take heed & beware of afterclaps. Wherat vnto the lord of Tame answered in this wise: that he was well aduised of his doings, being joined in commission as well as he, adding with warrant, that his grace might and should in his house be meretric. The next daie as he should take his iournie from Richmond towards Woodstocke, the lord of Tame, with an other gentleman being at tables, plateng, and dropping vie crownes, the lady Elizabeth passing by, staied & said the would see the game played out, which Sir Henrie Benefield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they plaing drop vie crownes; Come on saith he: I will

tarie saith she, and will see this game out.

After this, Sir Henrie went by into a chamber, where was appointed for his grace a chaire, two cushions, and a foot carpet verie faire and princelike, wherein presumptuously he sat, and called one Warwick his man to pull off his boots. Which as some as it was knowen among the ladies and gentles, euerie one mused thereat, & laughed him to scozne, obseruing his vndiscreet maners in that behalfe, as they might verie well. When supper was done, he called my lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraw themselves euerie one to his lodging, maruelling much that he would permit there such a companie, considering so great a charge committed to him. Sir Henrie (quoth my lord) content your selfe, all shall be bolded, your men and all. Pay my souldiours (quoth Sir Henrie) shall watch all night. The lord of Tame answered, It shall not need. Well said he, need or need not, they shall so do: mistrusting belike the companie, which God knoweth was without cause.

The next daie his grace took his iournie from thence to Woodstocke, where she was inclosed, as before in the tower of London, the souldiours garding and warding both within & without the wals, euerie daie to the number of three score, and in the night without the wals fortye, during the time of his imprisonment there. At length she had gardens appointed for his walke, which was verie comfortable to his grace. But alwaies when she did recreate his selfe therein, the doores were fast locked by, in as strict maner as they were in the tower, being at the least five or six locks betwene his lodging and his walks: Sir Henrie himselfe keeping the keyes, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him his gailor: and he kneeling downe, desired his grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of his officers. From such officers (quoth she) god Lord deliuer me. And now by the way as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawfull in so serious a storie to recte a matter incident, & yet not impertinent to the same: occasion here moueth, or rather inforceth me to touch briefelie what happened in the same place and time by a certein merie conceited man, being then about his grace: who noting the strict & strange keeping of his lady & mistres by the said Sir Henrie Benefield, with so manie locks & doores, with such watch and ward about him, as was strange and wonderfull, spied a goat in the ward where his grace was. And whether to refresh his oppressed mind, or to notifie his strict handling by Sir Henrie, either else both; he took it by on his necke, and followed his grace therewith as she was going into his lodging. Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, willing to let it alone. Unto whome the said partie answered: So by saint Marie (if it like your grace) will I not: for I can not tell whether he be one of the queens friends or no. I will carie him to Sir Henrie Benefield (God willing) to know what he is. So leauing his grace, he went with the goat on his necke, and caried it to Sir Henrie Benefield. Who when he saw him comming with it, asked him halfe angerlie what he had there. Unto whome the partie answered, saing: Sir (quoth he) I can not tell what he is, I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my ladies grace was walking, and what talke they had I can not tell. For I vnderstand him not, but he should seme to me to be some stranger, & I thinke verelie a Welshman, for he hath a white freese coat on his backe. And for so much as I being the queens subiect, and perceiuing the strict charge committed to you of his keeping, that no stranger should haue access to him without

Ladie Elizabeth garded and warded for starting as some.

A merie storie concerning the strict keeping of the lady Elizabeth.

The strictnes of Sir Henrie Benefield merelie noted.

sufficient licence, I have here found a stranger (what he is I can not tell) in place where his grace was walking; and therefore for the necessarie discharge of my dutie, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine as you see cause: and so he set him downe. At which his words sir Henrie seemed much displeased, and said: Well, well, you will neuer leave this geare I see: and so they departed.

Both to returne to the matter from whence we have digressed. After his grace had bene there a time the made sute to the counsell that she might be suffered to write to the queene, which at last was permitted. So that sir Henrie Benefield brought his pen, ink, and paper; and standing by his while she wrote (which he stricke observed) alwaies she being wearie, he would carie awaie his letters, and bring them againe when she called for them. In the finishing thereof, he would have bene messenger to the queene of the same. Whose request his gracedenied, saying one of his owne men should carie them, and that she would neither trust him nor none of his therein. Then he answering againe said; None of them durst be so bold (he itrowd) to carie his letters, being in that case. Yes (quoth she) I am assured I have none so dishonest that would denie my request in that behalfe, but will be as willing to serve me now as before. Well (said he) my commission is to the contrary; and I maie not so suffer it. His grace replied againe said; You charge me verie often with your commission, I praye God you maie tustle answer the cruell dealing you use towards me.

Then he kneeling downe, desired his grace to thinke and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queene to serve his maiestie, protesting that if the case were his, he would as willingly serve his grace, as now he did the queenes highnesse. For the which his answer his grace thanked him, desiring God that she might neuer have need of such servants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards him were not good nor answerable, but more than all the friends he had would stand by. To whom sir Henrie replied & said, that there was no remedie but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved his grace to saie, was for that he would not permit his letters to be caried foure or five daies after the writing thereof. But in fine he was content to send for his gentleman from the towne of Woodstocke, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carrying of his graces letters to the queene or no. And he answered; Yes sir, that I dare, and will with all my hart. Whereupon sir Henrie halfe against his stomache took them into him. Then about the eight of June came downe doctor Owen & doctor Wende, sent by the queene to his grace, for that she was sicklie; who ministering to him, and letting his blood, tarried there and attended on his grace five or six daies. Then she being well amended, they returned againe to the court, making their good report to the queene and the counsell of his graces behauior and humblenesse towards the queenes highnesse. Which his maiestie hearing, took verie thankfullie; but the bishops thereat repined, looked blacke in the mouth, and told the queene, they marvelled that she submitted not his selfe to his maiesties mercie; considering that she had offended his highnesse.

About this time his grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit his selfe to the queenes maiestie, which would be verie well taken; and to his great quiet and commoditie. Unto whome she answered, that she would neuer submit his selfe to them whome she neuer offended. For quoth she; I have offended and am guiltie, I then craue no

mercie, but the law, which I am certaine (quoth she) I should have had per this, if it could be proved by me. For I know my selfe (I thanke God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as cleare out of the perill of mine enemies, & then I am assured I should not so be locked and bolted by within walls and doores as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him. About this time was there a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen touching a marriage for his grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realme with his portion; some saying one thing, and some another.

A lord (who shall be here namelesse) being there at last said, that the king should neuer have any quiet common wealth in England, unlesse his head were stricken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered saying; God forbid that the king and maiestie should have that mind to consent to such a mischiefe. This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their owne countrie. From that daie the Spaniards neuer left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honor he should neuer obtaine, as he should in deliuering the ladie Elizabeths grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plaine and evident example of the good clemencie and nature of the king and his counsellors towards his grace (passed be God therefore) who moved their harts therein. Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton court.

But before his removing awaie from Woodstocke, we will a little staie to declare in what dangers his life was during this time she there remained. First thorough fire, which began to kinde betwene the doores & seeking under the chamber where she laye, whether by a sparke of fire, gotten into a cranie, or whether of purpose by some that meant his no good, the Lord doth know. Neuertheless a worshipfull knight of Oxfordshire, which was there toined the same time with sir Henrie Benefield in keeping that ladie (who then took by the doores and quenched the fire) verelie supposed it to be done of purpose. Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed, (if it be true) of one Paule Perrie a keeper of Woodstocke; a notorious ruffian and a butcherlike wretch, that he was appointed to kill the said ladie Elizabeth, who both saw the man being often in his sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time one of the priuite chamber, a great man about the queene, and chiefe darling of Stephan Gardiner, named maister James Ballet came to Bladenbyrge a mile from Woodstocke, with twelve or thirte priuite cotes, and sent for sir Henrie Benefield to come and speake with him. But as God would, which disposed all things after the purpose of his owne will; so it happened, that a little before the said sir Henrie Benefield was sent for by post to the counsell, leaving stric word behind him with his brother, that no man what soever he were, though coming with a bill of the queenes hand, or any other warrant, should have access to him before his returne againe. By reason whereof it so fell out, that maister Benefields brother comming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case approach in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violentlie to murder the innocent ladie. In the life of Stephan Gardiner we declared before, pag. 1787, how that the ladie Elizabeth, being in the tower, a writ came downe subscribed with certaine hands of the counsell for his execution. Which if it were certaine (as it is reported) Winchester (no doubt) was deuiser of that mischeifous drift. And doubtlesse the same

Counsell of the popish partye to marrie the ladie Elizabeth to a Spaniard.

wicked counsell given of the Lord Bishopper against the ladie Elizabeth.

Spaniards more favourable to ladie Elizabeth than some Englishmen.

Widowes sonne by ladie Elizabeth in the glasse window.

Ladie Elizabeth not suffered to come to the top of Cambride.

Ladie Elizabeth with her selfe in a milke-maid.

Ladie Elizabeth removed from Woodstocke to Hampton court.

Another conspiracie of murdres against ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth preferred by the lords present in the tower.

The cruell hearing of sir Henrie Benefield to the ladie Elizabeth reproved.

The letters of the ladie Elizabeth sent to the queene.

Doctor Owen and doctor Wende quene Maries physicians sent to the ladie Elizabeth.

The popish prelates repined against the ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth requested to submit his selfe to the queene.

Akthopell had brought his impious purpose that day to passe, had not the fatherlie providence of almighty God (who is ever stronger than the devill) stirred up master W. Iobges lieutenant at that time of the tower, to come in hault to the queene, to give certificate therof, & to know further hir consent touching hir sisters death. Whereupon it folowed, that at that denie was disappointed, & Winchesterers direct platforme which he said he had cast, through the Lords great godnes came to no effect. Where moreover is to be noted, that during the prisonment of this ladie and princeesse, one maister Edmund Cremaine was on the racke, and maister Smithwicke, and divers others in the tower were examined, and diverse offers made to them to accuse the gilliesse ladie, being in hir captivitie. Howbeit all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as the the same time lieng at Woodstocke had certeine intelligence, by the meanes of one John Gaier, who under a colozable pretence of a letter unto mistress Cleue from hir father, was let in, and so gaue them secrettie to understand of all this matter. Whereupon the ladie Elizabeth at hir departing out from Woodstocke, wrote these verses with hir diamond in a glasse window verie legible as here followeth:

Much suspected by me,  
Nothing proved can be;  
Quoth Elizabeth prisoner.

And thus much touching the troubles of ladie Elizabeth at Woodstocke. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Lame had labored to the queene, and became suretie for hir, to haue hir from Woodstocke to his house, and had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things readie in expectation of hir coming. But through the procurement either of maister Benefield, or by the doing of Winchester hir mortall enimie, letters came over night to the contrarie: whereby hir iourne was stopped. Thus this wretched ladie oppressed with continual sorrow, could not be permitted to haue recourse to aint friends she had; but still in the hands of hir enimies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a dolefull hart, fraught full of terror and thraldome. Whereupon no maruell, if the hearing vpon a time out of hir garden at Woodstocke, a certeine milkmaid singing pleasantlie, wished hir selfe to be a milkmaid as she was, saieing that hir case was better, and life more merrier than was hers in that state as she was.

Now after these things thus declared, to proceed further where we left before, sir Henrie Benefield and his soldiors, with the lord of Lame, and sir Rafe Champerleine, garding and waiting vpon hir, the first night from Woodstocke she came to Ricot. In which iourneie such a mightie wind did blow, that hir seruants were faine to hold down hir clothes about hir: in so much that hir hood was twice or thrise blownen from hir head. Whereupon she desirous to returne to a certeine gentlemans house there nere, could not be suffered by sir Henrie Benefield so to do: but was constrained under an hedge to trim hir head as well as she could. After this, the next night they iourneied to maister Doylers, & so to Colbyoke, where she laie all that night at the George: and by the waie comming to Colbyoke, certeine of hir graces gentlemen and yeomen met hir to the number of thre score, much to all their comforts, which had not sene hir grace of long season before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the queenes name immediatlie to depart the towne, to both their and hir graces no little heavinesse, who could not be suffered once to speake with them. So that night all hir men were taken from

hir sauing hir gentleman vsher, three gentlewomen, two gromes, and one of hir wardrobe, the soldiors watching and warding about the house, and the close that by within hir prison.

The next daie following, hir grace entered Hampton court on the backside, into the princes lodging, the doores being shut to hir: and she garded with soldiors, as before, laie there a fortnight at the least, per euer aint had recourse vnto hir. At length came the lord William Howard, who marriellous honourable used hir grace: whereat she took much comfort, & requested him to be a meane that she might speake with some of the counsell, to whom (not long after) came the bishop of Winchester, the lord of Arundell, the lord of Shrewsburie, and secretary Peter, who with great humilitie humbled the kniues vnto hir grace. She againe likewise saluting them, said: My lords (quoth she) I am glad to see you: for me it like I haue bene kept a great while from you desolatelie alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a meane to the king and queenes maiesties, that I maie be deliuered from prison, wherein I haue bene kept a long space, as to you my lords it is not unknowne.

When she had spoken, Stephan Gardiner the bishop of Winchester kniued doونه, & requested that she would submit hir selfe to the queenes grace, and in so doing he had no doubt but that hir maiestie would be good vnto hir. She making answer that rather than she would so do, she would lie in prison all the daies of hir life, adding that she craued no mercie at hir maiesties hand, but rather desired the law, if euer she did offend hir maiestie in thought, word, or deed. And besides this, in yelding (quoth she) I should speake against my selfe, and confesse my selfe to be an offender, which neuer was towards hir maiestie: by occasion thereof the king and the queene might euer hereafter conceiue of me an ill opinion: and therefore I saie my lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my prince. And so they departed, promising to declare hir message to the queene.

On the next daie the bishop of Winchester came againe vnto hir grace, and knieling doونه, declared that the queene maruelled that she would so stoutlie vse hir selfe, not confessing to haue offended: so that it should seeme the queenes maiestie wrongfullie to haue imprisoned hir grace. He saie (quoth the ladie Elizabeth) it pleaseth hir to punish me as she thinketh good. Well quoth Gardiner, hir maiestie willet me to tell you, that you must tell an other tale per that you be set libertie. Hir grace answered, that she had as leise be in prison with honestie and truth, as to be abroad suspected of hir maiestie: and this that I haue said, I will (saie she) stand vnto, for I will neuer belie my selfe. Winchester againe knielled down and said: Then your grace hath the vantage of me and other the lords for your long and wrong imprisonment. What vantage I haue (quoth she) you know, taking God to record I saie no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me, but God forgive you and me also. With that the reid knielled, desiring hir grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked by againe. A season nights after, the queene sent for hir grace at ten of the clocke in the night to speake with hir: for she had not sene hir in two yeares before. Yet for all that she was amazed at the sudden sending for, thinking it had bene worse than afterwards it proved, and desired hir gentlemen and gentlewomen to praise for hir, for that she could not tell whether euer she should see them againe or no.

At which time sir Henrie Benefield with mistress Clarencius comming in, hir grace was brought into the garden vnto a staires foot that went into the

Lord William Howard gentle and famous to ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth requested by Winchester to submit hir selfe to the queenes mercie.

Ladie Elizabeth standeth to be tried by the law.

Talks againe betweene Winchester & ladie Elizabeth. Ladie Elizabeth denied to confesse aint fault done to the queene.

Ladie Elizabeth sent for to the queene. Ladie Elizabeth brought to the queenes bedchamber.

Counsell of the papists to carrye the ladie Elizabeth to a Spaniard.

Checked counsell given of the Lord Howard against the ladie Elizabeth.

Spaniards hope favourable to ladie Elizabeth yet some Englishmen.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of fire.

Ladie Elizabeth in danger of hanging.

Another misprad of the hereticke ladie Elizabeth.

Ladie Elizabeth preferred the lords audience in her presence.



queenes lodging, hir graces gentlewomen waiting upon hir, hir gentleman vther and hir gromes going befoze with torches, where hir gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to staie all sauing one woman, mistresse Clarencius conducted hir to the queenes bedchamber where hir maiestie was. At the sight of whome hir grace kneeled downe, and desired God to preserve hir maiestie, not mistrusting but that she should trie hir selfe as true a subiect towards hir maiestie, as euer did anie, and desired hir maiestie euen so to iudge of hir: and said that she should not find hir to the contrarie, whatsoeuer report other wise had gone of hir. To whome the queene answered: You will not confesse your offense, but stand stoutlie to your truth: I praise God if mate to fall out. If it doth not, quoth the ladye Elisabeth, I request neither fauour no; pardon at your maiesties hands. Well said the queene, you stidie still perseuere in your truth. Welike you will not confesse but that you haue bene wrongfully punished. I must not saie so (if it please your maiestie) to you.

Why then (said the queene) belike you will to others. No, if it please your maiestie (quoth she) I haue borne the burthen, and must beare it: I humble beseech your maiestie to haue a good opinion of me, and to thinke me to be poor true subiect, not onelie from the beginning hitherto, but for euer, as long as life lasteth: and so they departed with verie set comfutable words of the queene, in English: but that she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that king Philip was there behind a cloth, and not sene, and that he shewed himselfe a verie friend in that matter, &c. Thus hir grace departing, went vnto hir lodging againe, and the seauenth night after was released of sir Henrie Benesfield hir gailor (as she feared him) and his soldiors, and so hir grace being set at libertie from imprisonment, went into the countrie, and had appointed to go with hir sir Thomas pope, one of queene Maries counsellors, and one of hir gentlemen vthers, master Sage, and thus stridlie was she looked vnto all queene Maries time. And this is the discourse of hir highnesse imprisonment.

Then there came to Lambeth, master Gerningham, and master Foxris gentleman vther, queene Maries men, who toke awate from hir grace mistresse Ashleie to the flet, and thre other of hir gentlewomen to the towre: which thing was no little trouble to hir grace, saing: that she thought they would fetch all awate at the end. But God be praised, shortly after was fetched awate Gardiner the rough the mercifull prouidence of the Lords godnesse, by occasion of whose opportune decesse (as is partly touched in this storie befoze, pag. 1705) the life of this excellent princesse, the wealth of all England, was preserved. For this is crediblie to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this onelie most principall marke bent all his deuises, to bring this our hapie and deere soueraigne out of the waie, as both by his words and doings befoze notified made sufficientlie appeare.

But such was the gracious and fauourable prouidence of the Lord, to the preservation not onlie of hir roiall maiestie, but also the miserable and woofull state of this whole Island, and poore subiects of the same, whereby the proud platforms and peruitous practices of this wretched Achitophell preuailed not: but contrariwise, both he, and all the snares and traps of his pernicious counsell laid against an other, were turned to a net to catch himselfe, according to the prouerbe: *Malum consilium consultiors pessimum*. After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also and dropping awate of other hir enemies, whereby by

little and little hir leopardie decreased, feare diminished, hope of comfort began to appeare as out of a darke cloud. And albeit as yet hir grace had no full assurance of perfect safetie, yet more gentle intertainment daily did grow vnto hir, till at length to the moneth of November, and seauententh daie of the same, thre yeares after the death of Stephan Gardiner, followed the death of queene Marie, as heretofore at large hath bene trulie declared. Although this historie following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the same maie here not vnaptlie be inserted, for that it doth discouer and shew forth the malicious hearts of the papists towards this vertuous queene our soueraigne ladye in the time of queene Maries hir sister, which is reported as a truely crediblie told by sundrie honest persons, of whome some are yet aliue, and do testifie the same. The matter thereof is this.

Some after the death of What and the troubles that happened to this queene for that cause: it fortuned one Robert Farrer a haberdasher of London, dwelling neere vnto Stetgate market, in a certaine mooring to be at the Rose tauerne (from whence he was seldome absent) and falling to his common drinke, as he was euer accustomed, and hauing in his companie thre other companions like vnto himselfe, it chanced the same time one Laurence Shritiffe grocer, dwelling also not farre from thence, to come into the said tauerne, and finding there the said Farrer (to whome of long time he had borne good will) sat downe in the seat to drinke with him, and Farrer hauing in his full cups, and not hauing consideration who were present began to talke at large, and namelie against the ladye Elisabeth, and said: What gill hath bene one of the chiefe doers of this rebellion of What, and befoze all be done, she and all the heretikes hir partakers shall well vnderstand of it. Some of them hope that she shall haue the crowne, but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headlesse, or be fried with fagots befoze she come to it.

The aforesaid Laurence Shritiffe grocer, being then seruant vnto the said ladye Elisabeth, & swoorne vnto hir grace, could no longer forbear his old acquaintance and neighbor Farrer in speaking so irreuerentlie of his mistresse, but said to him: Farrer, I haue loued thee as a neighbour, and haue had a good opinion of thee, but hearing of thee that I now heare, I desie thee: and I tell thee I am hir graces swoorne seruant, and she is a princesse, and the daughter of a noble king, and it euill becommeth thee to call hir a gill, and for thy so saing, I saie thou art a knaue, & I will complaine vpon thee. Do thy worst saie Farrer, for that I said, I will saie againe: and so Shritiffe came from his companie. Shortly after, the said Shritiffe taking an honest neighbour with him, went befoze the commissioners to complaine: the which commissioners sat then at Boner the bishop of Londons house beside Pauls, and there were present Boner then being the chiefe commissioner, the lord Spoybant, sir John Baker, doctor Perbshire chancelor to the bishop, doctor Storie, doctor Warpsfield, and others. The aforesaid Shritiffe coming befoze them, declared the manner of the said Robert Farrers talke against the ladye Elisabeth. Boner answered, peradventure you toke him worse than he meant. Psea my lord (saie doctor Storie) if you knewe the man as I do, you would saie that there is not a better catholike, nor an honestier man in the cite of London.

Well, said Shritiffe, my lord, she is my gracious ladye and mistresse, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is, should call so honorable a princesse by the name of a gill: and I saie yesternight in the court that my lord cardinall Pole meeting hir in

Talke betweene the queene and ladye Elisabeth.

Small comfort at the queenes hand toward hir sister.

King Philip thought to be a friend to ladye Elisabeth, but by Gods prouidence set at libertie. Sir Henrie Benesfield discharged.

Mistresse Ashleie sent to the flet. Thre gentlewomen of ladye Elisabeth sent to the towre. Note the wonderfull working of the Lords prouidence in sauing of ladye Elisabeth. Ladye Elisabeth deliuered by the death of Stephan Gardiner.

How the Lord here began to worke for ladye Elisabeth.

Note of a house belonging to the malignant hearts of the papists towards ladye Elisabeth.

How bishop Boner and doctor Storie hear with him that called a gentle ladye Elisabeth.

Note the vngodlike life of these catholikes.

Laurence Shritiffe, swoorne friend and seruant to ladye Elisabeth.

Robert Farrer running against ladye Elisabeth.

The part of a good reuile servant.

Ladye Elisabeth proclaimes queene the same daie that queene Marie died.

Robert Farrer complained of the commissioners, but not redress was had.

The Lord make Englande thankes full to him for his great benediction.

A name.

He meaneth his owne worke; not this volume, or anye part thereof.

the chamber of presence, kneeled downe on his knees and kissed his hand: and I saw also that king Philip meeting hir, made hir such obeisance that his knee touched the ground: and then (me thinketh) it were too much to suffer such a barlet as this is, to call hir gill, and to wish them to hop headlesse that shall wish hir grace to intoie the possession of the crowne when God shall send it vnto hir as in the right of hir inheritance. Yea? Staie there (quoth Woner.) When God sendeth it vnto hir, let hir intoie it. But trulie (said he) the man that spake the words that you haue reported, meant nothing against the ladie Elisabeth your mistresse, and no more do we: but he like an honest and zealous man feared the alteration of religion, which euerie good man ought to feare: and therefore (said Woner) good man go your waies home and report well of vs towards your mistresse, and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and indiscreet words, and we trust he will not do the like againe. And thus Shiriffe came awaie, and Farrer had a flap with a forsaile. Now that ye maie be fully informed of the aforesaid Farrer, whome doctor Storie praised for so good a man, ye shall vnderstand that the same Farrer, hauing two daughters, being handsome matdens, the elder of them for a summe of monie he himselfe deliuered vnto sir Richard Cholmeie to be at his commandement; the other he sold to a knight called sir William Goodolphin to be at his commandement: whome he made his lackie and so carried hir with him, being apparellled in mans apparell to Bullongne, and the said Farrer followed the campe. He also was a great and a horrible blaymer of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men, also a common drunkard. And now I referre the life of these catholiks to your iudgement, to thinke of them as you please.

But of this matter enough and too much. Now let vs returne where we left before, which was at the death of queene Marie. After whose decesse succeeded hir foresaid sister ladie Elisabeth into the right of the crowne of England: who after so long restraintment, so great dangers escaped, such bluerous stormes ouerblowne, so manie iniuries distressed and wrongs sustained by the mightie protection of our mercifull God, to our no small comfort and commoditie, hath bene exalted and erected out of thall to libertie, out of danger to peace and quietnesse, from dead to dignitie, from miserie to matresse, from mourning to ruling; blessed, of a prisoner made a princeesse, and placed in hir throne roiall, proclaimed now queene, with as manie glad hearts of hir subiects, as euer was ante king or queene in this realme before hir, or euer shall be (I dare saie) hereafter. Touching whose flourishing state, hir princelie reigne and peaceable gouernement, with other things diuerse and sundrie incident to the same, and especiallie touching the great stirres and alterations which haue happened in other forren nations, and also partlie among our felnes here at home, for so much as the tractation hereof requireth an huge volume by it selfe, I shall therefore deferre the reader to the next booke or section ensuing: wherein (if the Lord so please to susteine me with leaue and life) I maie haue to discourse of all and singular such matters done and atchued in these our latter daies and memoerie, more at large.

Now then after these so great afflictions falling vpon this realme, from the first beginning of queene Maries reigne, wherein so manie men, women, and children were burned, manie imprisoned and in prisons starued, diuerse criled, some spoiled of goods and possessions, a great number driven from house to house, so manie weeping eyes, so manie sobbing haris, so manie children made fatherlesse, so manie

fathers bereft of their wiues and children, so manie bereft in conscience, and diuerse against conscience constrained to recant; and in conclusion, neuer a good man almost in all the realme but suffered something during all the time of this bloudie persecution: after all this (I saie) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised) to the seventeenth of Nouember, which date as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ, rest from their carefull mourning, so it easeth me somewhat liketolfe of my laborious writing, by the death I meane of queene Marie, who being long sicke before vpon the said seuententh daie of Nouember, in the yeare aboue said, about thre or foure of the clocke in the morning, yielded hir life to nature, and hir kingdome to queene Elisabeth hir sister.

As touching the manner of whose death, some saie that she died of a timpanie, some by hir much sighing before hir death supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon hir counsell saing hir sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more readie consolation vnto hir, feared (as they said) that she toke some thought for the kings matresse hir husband, which was gone from hir. To whome she answering againe, In deed (said she) that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pearseth mine oppressed mind: but that that was the wound not crypelle to them. Albeit afterward she opened the matter more plainlie to mistresse Kise and mistresse Clarentius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of mistresse Kise himselfe) who then being most familiar with hir, and most bold about hir, told hir that they feared she toke thought for king Philips departing from hir. Not that onelie (said she) but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calis lying in my hart, &c. Which one supposing to be true, hath left this report:

*Hispani oppidulo amisso contabuit vxor,  
Quam cruciatus agro confecerat anxia cura.*

And here an end of queene Marie, and of hir persecution, during the time of hir misgouernment. Of which queene this trulie may be affirmed and left in storie for a perpetuall memorie: all or epitaph for all kings and queenes that shall succeed hir to be noted, that before hir neuer was read in storie of any king or queene of England since the time of king Alucius, vnder whom in time of peace, by hanging, beading, burning, and prisoning: so much christian blood, so manie Englishmens liues were spilled within this realme, as vnder the said queene Marie for the space of foure yeares was to be seene, and I beseech the Lord neuer may be seene hereafter.

Now, for so much as queene Marie, during all the time of hir reigne, was such a vehement aduersarie and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ Iesus and his gospell: for the which there be manie which do highlie magnifie and approue hir doings therein, reputing hir religion to be sound and catholike, and hir proceedings to be most acceptable and blessed of almighty God: to the intent therefore that all men may vnderstand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not onelie not proceed with hir proceedings; but contrarie, rather how his manifest displeasure euer wrought against hir, in plaging both hir and hir realme, and in subuerting all hir counsels and attempts, what soeuer she toke in hand: we will bestow a litle time therein, to perpend and surueie the whole course of hir doings and cheuances: and consider what successe she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall find neuer no reigne of any prince in this land, or any other, which had euer to shew in it (for the proportion of time) so manie arguments of Gods great wrath and displeasure, as was to be seene in the reigne of this queene Marie, &c.

Nouemb 17.  
queene Marie  
endeth.

Queene Elisabeth  
sabbeth begins  
neth hir  
reigne.

The manner of  
queene Maries  
death.

Marie  
toke thought  
for the losse of  
Calis.

\* Caeto.

More Eng-  
lish blood spilt  
in queene  
Maries time,  
than euer was  
in any kings  
reigne before  
hir.

The reigne of  
queene Marie  
how vnprof-  
perous it was  
both to hir &  
hir realme in  
all respects.

A note of a  
storie declar-  
ing the ma-  
nifest harts  
of the papists  
towards ladie  
Elisabeth.

Robert Far-  
rer of London  
a soie crime  
to ladie Eli-  
sabeth.

Laurence  
Shiriffe,  
sworne friend  
and seruant to  
ladie Eli-  
sabeth his mi-  
stresse.

Robert Far-  
rer raileth a-  
gainst ladie  
Elisabeth.

The part of a  
good trulie  
seruant.

Robert Far-  
rer complain-  
ed of to the  
commission-  
ers, but no  
redress was  
had.

\* I knowe.

from bishop  
Stuart and  
other who  
were with him  
that raised as  
great a noise  
as Elisabeth.

from the bi-  
shop of  
London.

Ladie Eli-  
sabeth  
was  
in  
the  
same  
date  
that  
she  
died.

The Lord  
God  
was  
in  
the  
same  
date  
that  
she  
died.

he meaneth  
that some  
booke; not  
as a volume  
- but part  
of it.

Queene Marie never had god successe in any thing she went about.

A god king alwaies maketh a flourishing realme.

Comparison betwene the reigne of Q. Marie and queene Elizabeth.

Samuel's reason, Acts 5.

Queene Marie prospered so long as she went not against the Lord.

Q. Marie's promise to the gospellers broken.

The ship called the great Harrie burned.

Q. Marie's marriage with a stranger. Q. Marie disappointed of her purpose in crowning king Philip. Q. Marie stopped of her will in restoring abbies lands.

whether we behold the shortnesse of his time, or the unfortunate event of all his purposes: who seemed neuer to purpose any thing that came luckilie to passe, neither did any thing frame to his purpose, what soeuer she took in hand touching his owne priuat affaires.

Of god kings we read in the scripture, in shewing mercie and pittie, in seeking Gods will in his word, and subuerting the monuments of idolatrie, how God blessed their waies, increased their honors, and mightie prospered all their proceedings: as we see in king Dauid, Salomon, Josias, Josaphat, Zecharias, with such others. Amalasses made the streets of Hierusalem to swim with the blood of his subjects, but what came of it the text doth testifie. Of queene Elizabeth, which now reigneth among vs, this we must needs saie, which we see, that in sparing the blood, not onelie of Gods seruants, but also of Gods enemies, hath doubled now the reigne of queene Marie hir sister, with such abundance of peace and prosperitie, that it is hard to saie, whether the realme of England felt more of Gods wrath in queene Maries time, or of Gods fauour and mercie in these so blessed and peaceable daies of queene Elizabeth.

Samuel's speaking his mind in the counsell of the Phariseis concerning Christes religion, gaue this reason, that if it were of God, it should continue, who soeuer said naie: if it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of queene Marie and hir Romish religion, that if it were so perfect and catholike as they pretend, and the contrarie faith of the gospellers were so detestable and hereticall as they make it, how commeth it then, that this so catholike a queene, such a necessarie pillar of his spouse the church continued no longer, till she had bitterlie rooted out of the land this hereticall generation? Yea how chanced it rather, that almightie God, to spare these poore heretikes, rooted out queene Marie so soone from hir throne, after she had reigned but onelie five yeares and five moneths?

Now further more, how God blessed his waies and inducers in the meane time, while she thus persecuted the true seruants of God, remaineth to be discussed. Where first this is to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crowne, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised hir faith to the Suffolke men, to mainteine the religion left by king Edward hir brother, so long God went with hir, aduanced hir, and by the means of the gospellers brought hir to the possession of the realme. But after that she breaking hir promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephan Gardiner, and had giuen ouer hir suppressione vnto the pope, by and by Gods blessing left hir, neither did any thing well thriue with hir afterward during the whole time of hir regment. For first incontinentlie the fairest and greatest ship she had, called great Harrie, was burned: such a vessel as in all these parts of all Europe was not to be matched.

When would the needs bing in king Philip, and by hir strange marriage with him, make the whole realme of England subject vnto a stranger. And all that notwithstanding, either that she did or was able to do, she could not bring to passe to set the crowne of England vpon his head. With king Philip also came in the pope and his popish masse: with whom also hir purpose was to restore againe the monks and nunnes vnto their places, neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the uttermost of hir abilitie: and yet therein also God stopt hir of hir will, that it came not forward. After this, what a dearth happened in hir time here in hir land, the like wherof hath not light-

lie in England bene scene, in so much that in sundrie places hir poore subjects were faine to feed of acorns for want of coine.

Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthie victorie and prouesse by them attained, let vs now see what valiant victorie was gotten in queene Maries daies. King Edward the first hir blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Dorset, in Dorsetshire, and else where: What a famous victorie in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular valor of king (no doubt) of Gods blessed hand rather than by any expectation of man? King Edward the third (which was the eleventh king from the conquest) by princelie puissance purchased Calis vnto England, which hath bene kept English euer since, till at length came queene Marie, the eleventh likewise from the said king Edward, which lost Calis from England againe: so that the winnings of this queene were verie small, that the losses were, let other men iudge.

Whereto the affaires of queene Marie haue had no great god successe, as you haue heard. But neuer worse successe had any woman, than had she in hir childbirth. For seeing one of these two must needs be granted, that either she was with child or not with child; if she were with child and did trauell, why was it not scene: if she were not, how was all the realme deluded? And in the meane while where were all the praiers, the solemn processions, the deuout masses of the catholike cleargie? Why did they not penance with God, if their religion were so goodie as they pretended? If their masses *Ex opere operato* be able to fetch Christ from heauen, & to reach downe to purgatorie, how chanced then they could not reach to the queens chamber, to helpe hir in hir trauell, if she had bene with child in deed? If not, how then came it to passe, that all the catholike church of England did so erre, and was so depelie deceived? Queene Marie, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficientlie admonish hir of Gods disfauor, prouoked against hir, would not yet cease hir persecution, but still continued more & more to reuenge hir catholike zeale vpon the lords faithfull people, setting fire to their poore bodies by dozens & halfe dozens together. Wherevpon Gods wrathfull indignation increasing more and more against hir, ceased not to touch hir more neare with priuat misfortunes and calamities.

For after that he had taken from hir the fruit of children (which chiefe and aboue all things she desired) then he bereft hir of that, which of all earthly things should haue bene hir chiefe staie of honour, and staie of comfort; that is, withdrew from hir the affection and companie euen of hir owne husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to hirselfe whole heapes of such ioy and felicitie. But now the omnipotent gouernour of all things, so turned the wheele of hir owne spinning against hir, that hir high buildings of such ioyes and felicities came all to a castell come downe, hir hopes being confounded, hir purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation: who seemed neither to haue the fauour of God, nor the hearts of hir subjects, nor yet the love of hir husband: who neither had fruit by him while she had him, neither could now intoy him whom she had married, neither yet was in libertie to marrie any other whom she might intoy. Marke here (christian reader) the woollfull aduersitie of this queene, & learne withall, what the Lord can do when mans wilfulness will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these faire admonitions would take no place with the queene, nor moue hir to reuoke hir bloudie lawes, nor to staie the tyrannie of hir priests, nor yet to spare hir owne subjects; but that

The victorie of king Edward the first in Scotland.

The all lordship of Q. Marie in losing of Calis.

The eleventh king from the conquest got Calis, and the eleventh againe lost it.

The ill fortune of queene Marie in hir childbirth.

Q. Marie reigned five yeares & five moneths. The shortnes of Q. Maries reigne noted.

Ex Simone Schardio de capto Calico, pag. 1968.

In admonitione vnto all christians vix.

Q. Maries desolate of her husband.

The death of cardmall Pole.

The ill fortune of Q. Marie in losing of her husband.

The description of cardmall Pole.

Abc. Fl. ex I.F. martyrologio.

The victorie  
of King Edward  
in the first  
in Scotland.

The ill lucke  
of Q. Marie  
in losing of  
Calis.

The eleventh  
king from the  
conquest got  
Calis, and the  
eleventh a-  
gaine after  
him lost it.

The ill lucke  
of queene  
Marie in her  
childbirth.

Q. Marie  
reigned five  
yeares & six  
monethes.  
The thirteenth  
of Q. Marie  
reigned.

Q. Marie  
second de  
Calis, 1568.

Q. Marie  
lost all child-  
ren.

Q. Marie left  
desolate of  
Philip her  
husband.

The ill lucke  
of Q. Marie  
with her hus-  
band.

The final end  
and death of  
Q. Marie.

The death of  
Cardinal  
Pole.

The descrip-  
tion of cardinal  
Pole.

Ex lib. ex lib.  
Caryologo.

that the poore servants of God were drayned dailie  
by heapes most pittifullie as sheepe to the slaught-  
er, it so pleased the heauenlie maiestie of almightie  
God, when no other remedie would serue, by death  
to cut hir off, which in hir life so little regarded the  
life of others: giuing hir throne, which she abused to  
the destruction of Christs church and people, to ano-  
ther, who more temperatlie and quietlie could guide  
the same, after she had reigned here the space of five  
yeares and six monethes. The shortnesse of which  
of king or queene since the conquest or before (being  
come to their owne government) sawe onelie in  
king Richard the third. Which reigne was so rough  
and rigorous, notwithstanding the shortnesse of the  
same, that it became a vertie spectacle to all christen  
dom; and the manner of dealing bled under hir go-  
uernment was so detestable, that as it was rare,  
so it raised by a rare report, even among strangers,  
whose heads being fuller of matter than their pens  
full of inke, wrote in tearmes bode enough of the  
mults and slaughters happening in hir unhappie  
daies: among whome I will set downe for a saie a  
few verses drayned out of an hundred and od, pre-  
sented to Henrie the French king of that name the  
second, touching the conquest of Calis, whereat for  
toy the French were raulted. Thus therfore he saith:

*Regina pacem nescia perpeti,  
Iam preta mare fœdera iam Dei  
Iram paret sibi imminentem,  
Vindicta & furia flagellum.  
Cives & hostes iam pariter suos  
Odio paret, & cinium & hostium  
Hirudo communis, cruorem  
Aequè auidè sciens vrinque.  
Huic luce terror Martis assonat,  
Diraq; cadus mens sibi conscia,  
Vmbraeq; nocturnæ quietem  
Terroris agitans figuris.*

These short verses were thus subscribed. La. B. Tc. 40

And thus much here, as in the closing vp of this  
stoie, I thought to insinuat, touching the unluckie  
and rufull reigne of queene Marie: not for anie de-  
traction to hir place and state totall, whereunto she  
was called of the Lord: but to this onlie intent and  
effect, that forsomuch as she would needs set hirselfe  
so confidentlie to worke and strue against the Lord  
and his proceedings, all readers and rulers not one-  
lie maie see how the Lord did worke against hir ther-  
fore, but also by hir maie be aduertised and learne  
what a perillous thing it is for men and women in  
authoritie, upon blind zeale and opinion, to stirre vp  
persecution in Christs church, to the effusion of chri-  
stian blood, least it proue in the end with them (as  
it did here) that while they thinke to persecute here-  
tiques, they stumble at the same stone as did the  
Jewes in persecuting Christ and his true members  
to death, to their owne confusion and destruction.]

Leaving queene Marie being dead & gone, you are  
to vnderstand and note, that the same evening, or (as  
some haue written) the next daie after the said queens  
death, Cardinal Pole the bishop of Romes legat  
departed out of this life, having bene not long afore  
made archbishop of Canturburie: he died at his  
house ouer against Westminster commonlie called  
Lambeth, and was buried in Christs church at Can-  
turburie. This cardinall was descended of the noble  
house of Clarence, that is to saie, of one of the youn-  
ger sonnes of Margaret countesse of Salisburie,  
daughter of George duke of Clarence, brother to  
Edward the fourth. So that hereby you haue a  
proof of the noblenesse of his birth, but how barba-  
rous he was of behaviour, and how unnatural in  
the course of his life (which blenished the honour of

his descent) it maie appeare by the order and maner  
of his visitation in Canturburie, with the condem-  
ning, taking vp, and burning both the bones and  
bookes of Bucer and Paulus Iragius, as also by the  
despitefull handling and madnesse of the papists to-  
wards Peter Martyrs wife at Wyford, taken vp  
from hir graue at the commandement of the said  
cardinall, and after buried in a dunghill: so that in  
his actions he shewed himselfe (as he is noted) ear-  
nest in burning the bodies of the dead. And for fur-  
ther testimonie of his crueltie, it shall not be imperti-  
nent out of maister Fox, here to aduise and set forth  
to the eyes of the world, the blind and bloudie arti-  
cles set out by cardinall Pole, to be inquired vpon  
within his diocess of Canturburie. Whereby it maie  
the better appeare what pokes and snares of fons  
and fruitlesse traditions were laid vpon the poore  
stocke of Christ, to intangle and oppresse them with  
lose of life and libertie. By the which wise men haue  
to see what godlie fruits proceeded from that catho-  
like church and see of Rome. In which albeit thou seest  
(good reader) some good articles insperfed withall, let  
that nothing moue thee: for else how could such poe-  
son be ministrred, but it must haue some honie to re-  
lish the readers tast:

Here follow the articles set forth by cardinall

Pole, to be inquired in his ordinarie visitation, mis-  
in his diocess of Canturburie.

30

Touching the cleargie.



Item, whether the diuine seruice in the  
church at times, daies and houres, be ob-  
serued and kept dulie or no.

Articles of  
the cardinall  
to be inquired  
in his visita-  
tion of Kent.

2 Item, whether the parsons, vicars,  
and curats, do comelie and decentlie in their maners  
and doings behaue themselves or no.

3 Item, whether they do reuerentlie and dulie mi-  
nister the sacraments or sacramentals or no.

4 Item, whether anie of their parishioners do die  
without ministracion of the sacraments, through the  
negligence of their curats or no.

5 Item, whether the said parsons, vicars or curats,  
do haunt taverns or alehouses, increasing thereby  
infamie and slander or no.

6 Item, whether they be diligent in teaching the  
mowines how to christen children in time of neces-  
sitie, according to the canons of the church or no.

7 Item, whether they see that the font be comelie  
kept, and haue holie water alwaies readie for chil-  
dren to be christened.

8 Item, if they do keepe a booke of all the names of  
them that be reconciled to the dutie of the church.

9 Item, whether there be anie priests, that late vni-  
lawfullie had women under pretended marriage, and  
hitherto are not reconciled, and to declare their  
names and dwelling places.

10 Item, whether they do diligentlie teach their  
parishioners the articles of the faith, & the ten com-  
mandements.

11 Item, whether they do decentlie obserue those  
things that do concerne the seruice of the church, and  
all those things that tend to a good and christian life,  
according to the canons of the church.

12 Item, whether they do deuoutlie in their prayers  
praise for the prosperous estate of the king and queens  
maiesties.

13 Item, whether the said parsons and vicars do  
sufficientlie repare their chancels, rectories, and vi-  
carages, and do keepe and mainteine them suffici-  
entlie repared and amended.

14 Item, whether anie of them do preach or teach  
anie erroneous doctrine, contrarie to the catholike  
faith and vnitie of the church.

15 Item,

15 Item, whether anie of them do saie the diuine seruice, or do minister the sacraments in the Englysh tong, contrarie to the vsuall order of the church.

16 Item, whether anie of them do suspiciouſlie keepe anie women in their houses, or do keepe companie with men suspected of heresies, or of euill opinions.

17 Item, whether anie of them that were under pretense of lawfull matrimony married, and now reconciled, do pryncipally resort to their pretended wiuues, or that the said women do pryncipally resort vnto them.

18 Item, whether they go decentlie apparelled, as it becommeth sad, sober, and discreet ministers, and whether they haue their crowns and beards shauen.

19 Item, whether anie of them do vse anie vnlawfull games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to slander and euill report.

20 Item, whether they do keepe residence and hospitalitie vpon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions, according to all the lawes ecclesiasticall.

21 Item, whether they do keepe the booke or register of christening, burying, and mariages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

*Touching the laie people.*

Articles of  
cardinal Pole  
to be inquired  
vpon touching  
the laitie.

**I**tem, whether anie manner of person, of what state, degree, or condition soeuer he be, do hold, mainteine, or affirme anie heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions, contrarie to the lawes ecclesiasticall, and the doctrine of the catholike church.

2 Item, whether anie person do hold, affirme, or saie, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the reall and substantiall presence of Christ: or that by anie manner of meanes do contemne and despise the said blessed sacrament, or do refuse to do reuerence or worship therevnto.

3 Item, whether they do contemne or despise by anie manner of means anie other of the sacraments, rites or ceremonies of the church, or do refuse or deny auricular confession.

4 Item, whether anie do absent or refrain, without bygent and lawfull impediment, to come to the church, and reuerentlie to heare diuine seruice vpon sundayes and holie daies.

5 Item, whether being in the church, they do not applie themselves to heare the diuine seruice, and to be contemplatiue in holie prayer, and not to walke, fangle or talke in the time of the diuine seruice.

6 Item, whether anie be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit incest, or be bawds and receiuers of euill persons, or be vehementlie suspected of anie of them.

7 Item, whether anie do blaspheme and take the name of God in vaine, or be common swearers.

8 Item, whether anie be perjured, or haue committed simonie or vsurie, or do still remaine in the same.

9 Item, whether the churches and churchyards be well and honestlie repared and inclosed.

10 Item, whether the churches be sufficientlie garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessarie, & whether they haue a rood in their church of a decent stature, with Marie and John, and an image of the patron of the same church.

11 Item, whether anie do withhold, or doth draw from the church anie manner of monie or goods, or that do withhold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars.

12 Item, whether anie be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of euill liuing, or do exercise anie lewd pastimes, especially in the time of diuine seruice.

13 Item, if there be anie that do practise or exer-

cise anie arts of magike, or necromancie, or do vse or practise anie incantations, sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehementlie suspected thereof.

14 Item, whether anie be married in the degrees of affinity, or consanguinity, prohibited by the lawes of holie church, or that do marie, the bannes not asked, or do make anie priuie contracts.

15 Item, whether in the time of Easter last, anie were not confessed, or did not receiue the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did vntreuerentlie behaue themselves in the receiuing thereof.

16 Item, whether anie do keepe anie secret conuenticles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion contrarie to the lawes.

17 Item, whether anie do now not duellie keepe the fasting and embyzing daies.

18 Item, whether the altars in the churches be consecrated or no.

19 Item, whether the sacrament be caried deuoutlie to them that fall sicke, with light and with a little sacring bell.

20 Item, whether the common scholes be well kept, and that the scholemasters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholike, and men of god and by right iudgement, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinarie.

21 Item, whether anie do take vpon them to minister the goods of those that be dead, without authoritie from the ordinarie.

22 Item, whether the poore people in euery parish be charitable prouided for.

23 Item, whether there do burne a lampe or a candle before the sacrament: and if there do not, that then it be prouided for, with expedition.

24 Item, whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in conuenient time.

25 Item, whether anie do keepe or haue in their custodie anie erroneous or vnlawfull books.

26 Item, whether anie do withhold anie monie or goods bequeathed to the amending of the high waies, or anie other charitable deed.

27 Item, whether anie haue put away their wiuues, or anie wiuues do withhold themselves from their husbands, being not lawfullie diuorced.

28 Item, whether anie do violat or breake the sundayes and holie daies, doing their daile labors and exercises vpon the same.

29 Item, whether the taneris or alehouses, vpon the sundayes and holie daies, in the time of masse, matins, and euen-song, do keepe open their doores, and do receiue people into their houses to drinke and eate, and thereby neglect their duties in comming to church.

30 Item, whether anie haue, or do depaue or contemne the authoritie or iurisdiction of the popes holiness, or the see of Rome.

31 Item, whether anie minstrels, or anie other persons do vse to sing anie songs against the holie sacraments, or anie other the rites and ceremonies of the church.

32 Item, whether there be anie hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duilie and tralie obserued and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordinglie.

33 Item, whether anie goods, plate, iewels, or possessions be taken away, or withholden from the said hospitals, and by whome.]

Thus you see of what a malignant nature the cardinal was: neuertheless, of more lenitie than many other popelings, sauing of the like lewd leuener of antichristianisme. For at what time two and twentie prisoners for their conscience were apprehended

Bishop Do-  
was letter to  
Martinall  
Bale, concern-  
ing the two  
and twentie  
prisoners as-  
sumed.

Bishop Do-  
was cruelle  
somewhat  
biased by the  
cardinal.



bended and sent by all together to London from Colchester (as maister Fox reporteth in his martyrologe) and conuicted before Boner then bishop of that see, the said Boner himselfe wrote to cardinal Pole concerning them, as you shall heare.

¶ A letter of bishop Boner to cardinal Pole.

**M**ay it please your good grace with my most humble obedience, reuerence and dutie, to vnderstand that going to London upon thursdate last, and thinking to be troubled with maister Germaines matter one lie, and such other common matters as are accustomed, inough to werie a right strong bodie, I had the date following to comfort my stomack withall, letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following I should haue sent thence two and twenty heretikes, indicted before the commissioners, and in deed so I had, and compelled to heare their charges as I did of the other, which both stood me in aboue twentie nobles, a summe of monie that I thought full euill bestowed. And these heretikes, notwithstanding they had honest catholike keepers to conduct and bring them vp to me, and in all the waie from Colchester to Stratford of the bow, vnto go quietlie, and obedientlie, yet coming to Stratford, they began to take heart of grace, & to do as pleased themselves, for there they began to haue their gard, which generallie increased till they came to Algate, where they were lodged saturday night.

And albeit I toke order, that the said heretikes should be with me verie earlie on saturday morning, to the intent they might quietlie come and be examined by me: yet it was betwene ten and eleven of the clocke before they would come, and no waie would they take, but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. Which thing I toke verie strange, and spake to sir John Oresham then being with me, to tell the maior and the shiriffes that this thing was not well suffered in the citie. These naughty heretikes all the waie they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort. A promise a plebe, and being entred into my house and talked withall, they shewed themselves desperate and verie obstinat: yet I vsed all the honest meanes I could, both by my selfe and other, to haue twome them, causing diuerse learned men to talke with them: and finding nothing in them but pride & wilfulnesse, I thought to haue had them all hither to Fulham, and here to giue sentence against them. Neuerthelesse, perceiving by my last doing that your grace was offended, I thought it my dutie before I anie thing further proceeded herein, to aduertise first your grace hereof, and knowe your good pleasure, which I beseech your grace I may do by this trustie bearer. And thus most humble I take my leaue of your good grace, beseeching almighty God alwaies to preserve the same. At Fulham, *rofridie Nativ. 1556.*

Your graces most bounden bedesman  
and seruant Edmund Boner.

By this letter of bishop Boner to the cardinal (saith maister Fox) is to be vnderstood, what goodwill was in this bishop, to haue the bloud of these men, and to haue past with sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinal somewhat (as it seemed) haue staied his feruent headnesse. Concerning the which cardinal, although it can not be

denied by his acts and writings, but that he was a professed enimie, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a papist: yet againe it is to be supposed, that he was none of the bloudie and cruell sort of papists, as may appeare, not by stating the rage of this bishop: but also by his sollicitous writing, and long letters written to Crammer, also by the complaints of certeine papists, accusing him to the pope to be a bearer with the heretikes, and by the popes letters sent to him upon the same, calling him vp to Rome, and setting frer Peter in his place, had not queene Marie by speciall intreatie made, kept him out of the popes danger. All which letters I haue (if need be) to shew: besides also, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, a little before his coming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was no lesse suspected at Rome: yea, and furthermore did there at Rome connect a certeine learned Spaniard from papisme to Luthers side: notwithstanding the pompe and gloie of the world afterward carried him away to please the papist thus as he did.

¶ And sith I haue waied thus far in portraying the said cardinal, I am willing to make you communitants of a report concerning him, uttered by Cutbert Tunstall bishop of Durresme, in a sermon which he made upon Palmesunday, in the yeare of our Lord 1539, before king Henrie the eight, treating upon these words of saint Paule to the Philipians, Cap. 2. *Hoc sentite in vobis, quod & in Christo Iesu, &c.* See the same word be in you, that was in Iesu Christ, &c. The ground of whose sermon standing upon obedience and disobedience, after he had discoursed at large therupon, he fell into these words in presence of the king, the nobles, and people.

And the bishop of Rome now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subject of this realme Reginald Pole, come of a noble bloud, and thereby the more arrant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from countrie to countrie, to stir them to warre against this realme, and to destroye the same, being his natie countrie. Whose pestilent purpose albeit the princes that he breaketh it vnto, haue in much abhominacion, both for that the bishop of Rome (who being a bishop should procure peace) is a stirrer of warre, and because this most arrant and unkind traitor is his minister to so diuelish a purpose to destroye the countrie that he was borne in, which anie heathen man would abhorre to do. But for all that without shame he still goeth on, exhorting therunto all princes that will heare him; who do abhorre to see such unnaturalnesse in anie man, as he shamelesse doth set forwards, whose pernicious treasons late secretlie wrought against this realme, haue bene, by the worke of almighty God so maruellouslie detected, and by his owne brother, without looking therefore so disclosed, and condigne punishment inkied, that hereafter (God willing) they shall not take anie more such part to the noisance of this realme.

¶ And where all nations of gentiles by reason & law of nature preferre their countrie before their parents, so that for their countrie they will die against their parents being traitors: this pestilent man worse than a pagan, is not ashamed to destroye if he could his natie countrie. And whereas Curtius a heathen man was content for saving of the citie of Rome where he was borne, to leape into a gaping of the earth, which by the illusions of the diuell it was answered should not be shut, but that it must first haue one; this pernicious man is content to run headlong into hell: so that he maie destroye thereby his natie countrie of England, being in that behalfe incomparable worse than anie pagan. And besides

Cardinal Pole a papist but no bloudie papist.

Cardinal Pole halfe suspected for a Lutheran at Rome.

Ab. Fl. &c. concione Cut. Tunstalli coram Hen. 8.

Cardinal Pole an arrant traitor.

Cardinal Pole a lecherous fellow and an impudent.

Cardinal Poles treasons detected by his owne brother.

Cardinal Pole no chrestian, but worse than a pagan.

Cardinal  
Doles un-  
kindnesse to  
king Henrie  
that brought  
him vp.

See more  
thereof before  
pag. 1134.

A traitor he  
knew, a trait-  
or he died.

The distri-  
bution of his  
goods.

Couching dis-  
tributions.

He is desir-  
ous that  
quene Marie  
should haue  
knowledge of  
this his last  
will.

besides his pestilent treason, his unkindnesse against  
the kings maiestie, who brought him vp of a child,  
and promoted both him, and restored his blood being  
attainted, to be of the pères of this realme, and  
gaue him monie pærelie out of his coffers, to find  
him honozable at studie, maketh his treason much  
more detestable to all the world, and him to be repur-  
ted more wild and cruell than anie tiger.

Thus much out of Cuthbert Tunstals sermon  
printed *Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum*, by Thoma-  
mas Werthelet, the yeare above named: Now it  
resteth to conclude this discourse concerning cardin-  
all Doles with a brieft epitome of his last will and  
testament, which he made not long before he let his  
life, wherein he professeth him selfe resolute to die in  
the same faith and obedience of the Romish church  
wherein he lived; willing & ordaining his bodie to  
be buried in his cathedrall church of Canturburie (as  
he termeth it) in the same chappell where the head of  
the most blessed martyr Thomas Becket, whilome  
archbishop of the said church was kept: with masses  
& dirges, &c. to be said for his soule, the soules of his  
parents, and of all the faithfull departed out of this  
life, &c.

As for patrimoniall goods, sith he had none wher-  
by he ought to haue had regard of his kindred, there-  
fore such goods as he had he willed to be distributed  
among such persons as had well deserved of him, and  
upon goodlie vices. He made one Alofius Priolus a  
Venetian his heire and executor of all his goods and  
chattels, as well within England as without, in  
Spaine, Italie, Rome, Venice, or elsewhere, &c. And  
for dilapidations, there is no reason (sith he) whie  
my successor in the see of Canturburie should demand  
anie thing, because I haue bestowed more than a  
thousand pounds within these few yeeres, in repa-  
ring & making better such houses as belonged to the  
said see, since I came to it (which was no long time  
by our computation.) The ouerscers and defend-  
ers of this his last will he made Nicholas archbi-  
shop of Exeter chancelor of England, Thomas bi-  
shop of Ely, his confine the lord Edward Hastings  
the kings chamberleine, sir John Borall the quenes  
secretarie, sir Edward Cordall master of the rolles,  
and master Henrie Cole his vicar generall in his  
spiritualties. All these he besought to giue quene  
Marie knowledge of this his last will, and with all  
reuerence to beseech hir, that what good will and fauor  
she shewed him in all causes and affaires whiles he  
was alieue; the same she would vouchsafe to exhibit  
and bestow upon him being dead, and graciouly  
prouide that all lets and impediments to the execu-  
tion of this his last will & testament might be remo-  
ued and utterly taken awaie: and to euerie one of  
his ouerscers for their paines taking herein, he  
gaue fiftie pounds a peece by will. This testament  
was subscribed with his owne hand, and signed with  
his owne seale, in presence of a number of witnes-  
ses there vndernamed. All which, with the tenor of  
his said last will at large, are remembred by Schar-  
dius in *epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando imperatore*.  
And thus much of cardinall Doles.

See pa. 865.

See pa. 1069.

Upon whose discourse presentlie ended, as hath  
bene done in the treatise of high constables at the  
duke of Buckingham's beheading, and of the lord  
protectors at the duke of Summersets suffering  
(in which two honozable personages those two offi-  
ces had their end) so here we are to infer a collection  
of English cardinals, which order ceased when Re-  
ginald Doles died. After which treatise ended, accord-  
ing to the purposed order, and a catalog of writers  
at the end of this quenes reigne annexed, it remaineth  
that quene Elizabeth shew hir selfe in hir tri-  
umphs at hir gracious and glorious coronation.

## Queene Marie.

The cardinals of England collected  
by Francis Thin, in the yeare of our  
Lord, 1585.



This cardinall Doles being the last cardin-  
all in England, and so likelie to be,  
as the state of our present time doth ear-  
nestlie wish; doth here offer occasion  
to treat of all such Englishmen as haue possessed  
that honor. Which I onelie do, for that I would  
haue all whatsoever monuments of antiquitie pre-  
served, least *Perdat memoria eorum cum sanitu*. Where-  
fore thus I begin.

Adrian the fourth of that name bishop of Rome  
(called before that time Nicholas Breakspeare)  
being borne in England about saint Albons (whome  
Onuphrius affirmeth to be borne in the towne of  
Malmesberie, in the dominions of saint Albons, in  
the dioces of Bath, somewhat like a stranger mis-  
taking the names of places and persons, as he often  
doth) was for the pouertie of his father (who after be-  
came a monk in saint Albons) not able to be main-  
teined here at learning. Whereupon he goeth into  
Frouince to the monastrie of saint Rufus, thereof  
in time he was made a canon, and after abbat of  
that house; but in the end misliked of the conent,  
they appealed him to Rome before Eugenius the  
third then pope: who for that time pacifieng the mat-  
ter betwene them, they did after fall at variance a-  
gaine, and so called him before the pope the second  
time. Eugenius seeing these continuall bialles,  
wearie to heare them, and fanozing this Nicholas,  
made them chose an other abbat, and appointed Ni-  
cholas to the bishopricke of Alba, and to the honor  
of a cardinall, sending him legat into Denmarke and  
Norwie: where he remained some yeares. But at  
length returning to Rome after the death of Euge-  
nius and his successor Anastasius, this Nicholas  
was aduanced from a cardinall to a pope, and called  
Adrian the fourth. Who died in the fifth yeare of  
Henrie the second king of England, in the yeare of  
Christ 1159.

Bosa, an Englishman and cardinall, was not  
that Bosa which was bishop of Exeter, of whome  
Beda maketh mention, lib. 4. cap. 13. and cap. 23. of  
his ecclesiasticall historie; where he saith that the  
same Bosa was made bishop of the same see, in the  
yeare of Christ 678. And therefore being long be-  
fore this Bosa, our cardinall could not be the same  
man, as some vnconsiderattie haue stidie mainte-  
ned. For this our Bosa was a cardinall deacon,  
and the nephew to pope Adrian the fourth before na-  
med; and intituled a deacon cardinall of the title of  
Cosma and Damian, in the yeare of Christ 1155,  
being after made a priest cardinall of the title of  
saint Prudentian, by pope Alexander the third, in the  
yeare of Christ 1163, before which he was cham-  
berleine to the church of Rome, being created to the  
first cardinalship and office of chamberleine by his  
uncle the said pope Adrian the fourth.

Robert Curson, a man excellentlie learned both  
in diuine & humane letters, comming from Rome,  
grew in such estimation, that in the end he became  
a cardinall, of whom we find recorded in this sort. At  
the taking of Dameta in Egypt, there was with  
Pelagius the popes legat, master Robert Curson  
an Englishman a most famous cleark, borne of a  
noble house, and cardinall of the church of Rome.

Stephan Loughton made priest cardinall, in the  
yeare of Christ 1213, and the fiftieth yeare of pope  
Innocent the third, of the title of saint Chrysogon,  
was archbishop of Canturburie, for whose cause and  
contention betwene king John and him, the realme  
of

An. Dom. 1588

An. Reg. 6

of  
sta  
da  
thi  
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Robert Sh-  
mer.  
Holmsted.  
Matt. Paris.  
1177.

Tachurus.  
Onuphrius.  
Matt. Parker.

Robert de  
Rothorne.  
Matt. Parker.  
Hen. of Lescell.  
Onuphrius.

Bernard de  
Languetelle.  
Matt. Parker.

Rough Astrat.  
Matthew  
Parker.  
Rice Ballocke.  
Onuphrius.

Bosa.  
Matt. Parker.  
Onuphrius.

Bernard.  
Matthew  
Parker.

Leonard  
Guerene.  
Matthew  
Parker.  
Onuphrius.  
William.  
Matthew  
Parker.  
Onuphrius.  
Walsingham.

Robert Cur-  
son.  
Matt. Parker.  
Matt. Paris.  
Holmsted.

Stephan  
Loughton.  
Matt. Parker.  
Matt. Paris.  
Holmsted.  
Onuphrius.

Walter Wint-  
redorne.  
Matthew  
Parker.  
Rice Truer.  
Onuphrius.

Walter Wint-  
redorne.  
Matthew  
Parker.  
Rice Truer.  
Onuphrius.

of England was long interdicted, the nobilitie was flaine, the king deposed, his kingdom made feodarie to Rome, and Pandolph the cardinall sent hither to receiue the crowne of St. John. This Stephan departed the world, in the twelue yeare of Henrie the third, and in the yeare of our redemption 1238.

Robert Somercoot a cardinall, a man well esteemed for his vertue and learning, a graue wyter, and well beloued of all men, departed from the vanities of this life, in the yeare of our saluation 1241, being the fise and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third.

Ancherus citizen and archdeacon of London, was made priest cardinall of the title of saint Maribus, by pope Urban the second, in the yeare that the world became fleshy 1262, and the yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, the foure and fortieth.

Robert de Kilwarbie, whome Onuphrius calleth Robert Wilerbie frier preacher, doctor of diuinitie, was remoued from the archbishopricke of Canturburie to be bishop of Portua, and afterward was made cardinall of saint Rufinian by pope Nicholas the third, in the yeare of Christ as some saie 1277, and as others haue 1278, or 1273: being about the first yeare of Edward the first of that name king of England; who died vnder the same pope Nicholas, in the yeare of Christ 1280, as hath Onuphrius.

Barnard de Anguiscelle was remoued from the archbishopricke of Arras, and made bishop of Portua and cardinall of saint Rufinian, being a bishop cardinall, and advanced to that principalltie by pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption 1291, being about the nineteenth yeare of the said Edward the first: whome Onuphrius much mistaking himselfe maketh a Frenchman: and Matthew Parker rightlie setteth him downe as an Englishman.

Hugh Attrat priest cardinall, of the title of saint Laurence in Lucina was created cardinall by pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare of our Lord 1281: he was also called Hugh of Eueham, and died at Rome in the yeare of Christ 1287, whilst the see was vacant, being about the fifteenth yeare of Edward the first.

Berard or rather Bernard a cardinall of Premana was advanced to the dignitie of a cardinall by Nicholas the fourth of that name bishop of Rome in the yeare (as I suppose) 1298, though some saie in the yeare 1288, the error whereof I gather to be in the printer.

Leonard Guercine bishop, cardinall of Alba was receiued to the scarlet hat and robe by pope Bonifacius the eight, in the yeare of Christ 1300, being the eight and twentieth of Edward the first.

William one of the order of the frier preachers doctor of diuinitie in Orford, priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, to which place he was adopted by pope Benedict the eleuenth, in the yeare 1303, being the one and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first, in which yeare he died in England.

Walter Winterborne (that came in place of William last before named) doctor of diuinitie of the order of frier preachers, confessor to Edward the first, and priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina, was by the said Benedict the eleuenth admitted to the college of cardinals in the yeare of Christ 1304, being the one and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first, which Walter suall time inioined that place. For going with other cardinals into France, & so into Italie, he died at Genoa or Gene, whose bodie being carried into England, was buried in the church of the frier preachers in the yeare of Christ 1305, being the three and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first.

Thomas Torze a frier preacher doctor of diuinitie of Orford, confessor to Edward the first, priest cardinall of the title of saint Sabina was created by pope Clement the first in the yeare of Christ 1305, being the three and thirtieth yeare of Edward the first, or (as saith Walingham) a little before Christmasse in the yeare of Christ 1306, who by him is also named Torza. This man (as hath Onuphrius) died in the fornicie he made as ambassado: into Italie to Henrie the seventh of that name emperor in the yeare 1311, & the seventh yeare of the popedom of Clement the first, who sent him in that ambassage: his bodie was carried into England, and buried at Orford in a monasterie of the frier preachers.

Simon Langham abbat of Westminster, treasurer of England, bishop of Elic and of Canturburie, and chancelor of England, was elected to the honoz of the purple hat and cardinall dignitie, in the yeare of our redemption 1368, being the two and fortieth yeare of king Edward the third. And here because I would not set it downe in a distinct place, as receiuing it for truth, sith by search I find it not so, that authoritie sooner they that wrote the same had to lead them to it: I will note an oversight passed the fingers of Fabian, Holinshed, and Grafton, all wyters of our age, who affirme that the bishop of Winchester, in the fise and fortieth yeare of king Edward the third, being a cardinall (for so I gather by the words and circumstance of the storie) with the bishop of Beanois likewise a cardinall, were put in commission by pope Gregorie the eleuenth to treat betwixt the king of England and France. But because I can not find in Onuphrius nor in Matthew Parker ante such cardinall set downe, I do not at this time embrace it, vntill I maie find better proofe thereof than the authoritie of Grafton, Fabian, and those before named; especiallie sith that he which was then bishop of Winchester in the said fise and fortieth yeare of Edward the third, and all they which were bishops of Winchester from the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, vntill the yeare of Christ 1404, in which Henrie Beaufort was bishop of Winchester, were neuer cardinals: the said bishops in orderlie succession thus named: Adam Deltic, William de Edington, William Wickham, and then Henrie Beaufort, who was a cardinall. But these wyters mistaking perchance the yeare of the king, and the name of the bishops see, in the fise and fortieth yeare of Edward the third (in which yeare John Thorstie was cardinall as after followeth) haue (in setting downe Winchester for Worcester committed a fault) so easie it is for the printer or ante other to misplace and misname the one bishopricke for the other.

John Thorstie bishop of saint Davids in Wales chancelor of England, bishop of Worcester, and after bishop of Exeter, was made cardinall by Urban the first then bishop of Rome (as I suppose) before the fise and fortieth yeare of Edward the third. This man surrendered his life in the yeare of our redemption 1374, being the eight and fortieth yeare of king Edward the third.

Adam priest cardinall of the title of saint Cecilia, was inuested with the dignitie of a scarlet hat in the yeare of our redemption 1378, about the first yeare of Richard the second. Holinshed mentioneth one Adam Elton to be a cardinall, who (considering the time when he liued) must needs be this man, of whome he writeth in this sort: Adam Elton well scene in all the tounes, was made a cardinall by pope Gregorie the eleuenth, but by pope Urban the first he was committed to prison in Genoa (in the yeare of our redemption 1383, being about the seventh yeare of Richard the second) and by contem-  
plation

Thomas Torze.  
Walingham.  
Nic. Trivet.  
Matthew Parker.  
Onuphrius.

Simon Langham.

John Thorstie.  
Holinshed  
and other  
authorz.

Adam.  
Onuphrius.  
Matthew Parker.  
Holinshed.

Byron the  
fourth pope of  
Rome.  
H. Parnus  
lib. 2, cap. 26.  
Onuphrius.  
Matt. Parker.  
Ranulph Higden.

Hofa.  
Matt. Parker.  
Onuphrius.

Robert Curzon.  
Matt. Parker.  
Matt. Paris.  
Matt. West.  
Holinshed.

Stephan Langham.  
Matt. Parker.  
Matt. Paris.  
Holinshed.  
Onuphrius.

platoon of the said king Richard, was taken out of prison, but not fullie deliuered, untill the daies of Boniface the ninth, who (in the yeare of our redemption 1389, about the thirteenth yeare of Richard the second) restored the said Adam to his former dignitie: all which Holinshed speaketh of him amongst the writers of England, except the yeares of the Lord which I haue added out of Onuphrius, and the yeares of the king which I haue ioined of my selfe. Which Onuphrius maketh this Adam to be bishop of London, and to die in Rome the third calends of Maie, in the yeare of our saviour 1397, being the one and twentieth of Richard the second, vnder Boniface the ninth pope of that name, and was buried in the place thereof he was intituled to the hono<sup>r</sup> of a cardinal.

Philip de  
Repindone.  
Onuphrius.  
Matthew  
Parker.

Philip de Repindone bishop of Lincolne and doctor of diuinitie, was by pope Gregorie the twelfth, then bishop of Rome, in the yeare of Christ 1408, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth created cardinal of the title of saint Perceus and Achilleus.

Thomas.  
Onuphrius.  
Matthew  
Parker.  
Liber Duncel.

Thomas bishop of Durham was made (as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our redemption 1411 by John the two and twentieth, commonlie called John the thre and twentieth) priest cardinal. Touching which matter there is no mention made in the life of Thomas Langley bishop of Durham, and living at this time that this Langley was a cardinal: for this Thomas Langley was made bishop of Durham in the yeare of our Lord 1406, and continued in that sex one and thirtie yeares, departing the world 1437, and so the creation of this Thomas bishop of Durham mentioned by Onuphrius and Matthew Parker bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1411 must needs fall in the life of this Thomas Langley bishop of Durham.

Robert.  
Onuphrius.  
Matthew  
Parker.

Robert bishop of Salisbury priest cardinal (although it be not shewed of what title) was preferred to that place by pope John the thre and twentieth in the yeare of our redemption 1411, being about the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, of whom Onuphrius writeth in this sort: *Roberti episcopi Sarisburiensis presbyteri cardinalis, & Egidij de campis presbyteri cardinalis gesta & exitus, quod nunquam Romanam curiam adierint, incerti & obscuri omnino sunt. Satis tamen constat, eos ante papa Martini electionem mortuos fuisse.*

Henrie  
Beaufort.

Henrie Beaufort, sonne vnto John of Gaunt and Batharine Swineford, being bishop of Winchester and chancelor of England, took the state of a cardinal (of the title of saint Eusebius) at Calis, being absent (as hath Matthew Parker) in the yeare of our redemption 1426: in the first yeare of king Henrie the first. He was called the rich cardinal of Winchester, being advanced to that hono<sup>r</sup> by Martine the third, commonlie called Martine the first then pope of Rome. This Henrie died vnder pope Nicholas the first in the yeare of Christ 1447: being about the six & twentieth yeare of the miserable reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Staf-  
ford.  
Onuphrius.  
Matthew  
Parker.

John Stafford bishop of Bath and Welles chancelor of England, after bishop of Canturburie, was created priest cardinal by Eugenius then bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1434: being the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Kempe.  
Holinshed.  
Polydor.  
Onuphrius.

John Kempe bishop of London, twise lord chancelor of England, bishop of Exeter, and after that archbishop of Canturburie, was by Eugenius the fourth then archbishop of Rome, made cardinal of the title of saint Sabina, as saith Holinshed, or theretofore by Onuphrius called Sabina: contrarie to Polydor, who in his thre and twentieth booke of the historie of England, affirmeth him to be cardinal.

ted by pope Nicholas the first. He died (as saith Onuphrius) in the yeare that the godhead was united to the manhood, to wit, one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, vnder pope Nicholas the first, which yeare of our Lord met with the five and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

Thomas Bourcher (borne of the noble house of the earles of Glouc<sup>r</sup>, being chancelor of England, bishop of Worcester, from thence removed to Ely, from that he advanced to the metropolitan see of Canturburie, and priest cardinal of the title of saint Siriacus in Theremis or the Baths) was honored with the scarlet hat and silver pillars, by pope Paule the second of that name, in the yeare that the second person in trinitie took upon him the forme of a seruant, one thousand foure hundred fiftie & six, being the first yeare of the reigne of the noble prince king Edward the fourth.

Thomas  
Bourcher.  
Onuphrius.  
Matthew  
Parker.  
Holinshed.  
Polydor.

John Morton bishop of Ely chancelor of England & archbishop of Canturburie, being priest cardinal of the title of saint Anastasius, was honored with a scarlet hat by Alexander the first of that name (then gouernour of the seat of Peter at Rome) in the yeare from the birth of Christ 1493, being the ninth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seauenth. He died as saith Onuphrius, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand and five hundred, being about the eight yeare of Alexander the first still pope of Rome, and the sixteenth yeare of the said Henrie the seauenth then king of England.

John  
Morton.  
Onuphrius.  
Matthew  
Parker.  
Polydor.  
Holinshed.

Christopher Wembzidge a gentleman borne, was archbishop of Exeter, & priest cardinal of the title of S. Paridis, was advanced to that scarlet dignitie by pope Julius the second, in the yeare that the virgin was deliuered of our saviour one thousand five hundred & eleuen, being the third yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eight. He died at Rome, (as saith Onuphrius) by poison, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie yeares (being the eleuenth yeare, when Leo the tenth did hold the sterne of the Romane bishopricke, & the first yeare when the said Henrie the eight did rule the scepter of England) and was buried at Rome in the church of the holie trinitie of the English nation.

Christopher  
Wembzidge.  
Matthew  
Parker.  
Onuphrius.

Thomas Wolseie the kings almoner, deane of Exeter, abbat of saint Albons, and of saint Austins, bishop of Lincolne, Winchester, and Exeter, chancelor of England: all which or all saue two he held at one time in his owne hands, was made priest cardinal of the title of saint Cecilia, wherevnto he was promoted by pope Leo the tenth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and fiftene, being the seauenth yeare of the reigne of the famous king Henrie the eight, of whom Onuphrius somethat mistaking the pronuntiation of his name thus writeth: *Thomas Wlcer ex oppido Sufforth diocesis Nordancensis, &c.* wherein like a stranger to our countrey he mistaketh both name, towne, place, and the prouince of Suffolke for the towne of Ipswich. For this cardinal Wolseie being descended of meane parentage, was borne in the towne of Ipswich now called Ipswich in the prouince or countie of Suffolke in the diocesse of the bishopricke of Exeter.

Thomas  
Wolseie.

John Fisher bishop of Rochester priest cardinal of the title of saint Vitalis, was (although he neuer came at Rome, nor for aie thing that I can learne was euer out of England) created cardinal at Rome, by Paule the third of that name, then wearing the triple crownd miter, and being bishop of Rome. But this Fisher neuer wore his scarlet hat: for after this high dignitie and before he might conuer his priestlie crowne with the same, he lost his head, in the yeare from which the angels sang at the birth of the Messiah one thousand five hundred thirtie and six,

John  
Fisher.

Reginald  
Pole.

Reginald  
Pole.

five, being the seaven and twentieth of the reigne of that king Henrie the eight, which deliuered his kingdome from all subiection to the bishop of Rome Clement the seauenth of that name.

Reginald Pole, noble borne, & young sonne to sir Richard Pole knight of the garter, by his wife Margaret countesse of Salisburie, daughter to George duke of Clarence brother to K. Edward the fourth, was made deacon cardinall of the title of saint Marie in Cosmeden, by pope Paule the third of that name, in the yeare that the mother of God brought forth the sonne of man 1536, being the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. This man legat of pope Julius the third, comming into England in the yeare of our Lord 1554, being the second yeare of queene Maries reigne, was after made bishop of Canturburie, on the five and twentieth of March, in the yeare of Christ 1556, being the third yeare of the reigne of the said queene Marie, and died the seauententh daie of Nouember, in the yeare of Christ 1558, being the last daie of the reigne of the said queene Marie, or rather the next daie erlie in the morning, at his house at Lambeth, and was honorable conueied to Canturburie, where he was buried. This man was the last English cardinall that liued and inioied that title of honour in England. For although the English cardinall which followeth were created after him, yet I suppose that he died much before him: but he liued not in England at the same time that cardinall Pole died, as farre as I can learne. Wherefore I still make this cardinall Pole the last English cardinall that was liuing in England.

Peter Peto, borne of an ancient familie, and one of the order of the frier minors obseruants (whome Onuphrius calleth *Anglicanorum*) was created cardinall by Paule the fourth of that name, chiefe bishop of Rome, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1557, being the fifth yeare of queene Marie. Besides this number of thirtie cardinals, there haue been manie other to the number of ten or more, before the time that pope Innocent the first of that name did weald the charge of the Romane bishopricke, as Matthew Parker late bishop of Canturburie a worthe antiquarie doth witnesse, and I my selfe haue obserued, besides those which Onuphrius and the said Matthew Parker (in the Latine booke of the archbishops of his owne see) haue recited. But because neither they nor I haue yet attained to their names, we must and do omit them: and yet it may be that these three which follow, named by Onuphrius being English names, were Englishmen, and part of the said number of ten cardinals, whose names we do not know, which three cardinals were Hugh Foliot, Peter Poxtiner, and Simon Bate. But because I cannot certeinly gather out of Onuphrius that they were Englishmen, I dare not presume so to make them, though in mine owne conceit I herelie suppose that they were borne in England: for in vncertaine matters I dare not set downe anie certaintie.

Wherefore to set end to this cardinals discourse, I will knit by this matter with one onelie note drawne out of Matthew Parkers beforesaid booke of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie, which is as followeth: That this number and remembrance of our cardinals is not so wonderfull as is that computation of the Romane bishops, which pope John the two and twentieth of that name hath gathered of his predecessors. For he doth recite that out of the order of saint Benet or Benedict (whereof himselfe was) there haue issued foure and twentie popes, 183 cardinals, 1464 archbishops, 3502 bishops, and abbats innumerable. Thus concluding (that of all these our English cardinals, with the description of their liues, I will more largelie intreat in my booke

intituled the Pantographic of England, containing the vniuersall description of all memorabill places and persons, aswell temporall as spirituall) I request the reader to take this in good part, till that booke may come to light. Thus much Francis Thin, who with the whole of George Ripley canon of Wyndlington, after the order of circulation in alchymicall art, and by a geometricall circle in naturall philosophie doth end this cardinals discourse, resting in the centre of Reginald Pole, the last liuing cardinall in England, by whose death the said Francis took occasion to pale about the circumference of this matter of the cardinals of this realme.]

Of such learned men as had writtten and did liue in the reigne of queene Marie there were manie, of whome no small number ended their liues also during that short time of hir reigne, some by fire, and others in exile. John Rogers borne in Lancashire, wrote diuerse treatises, translated the bible into English with notes, and published the same vnder the name of Thomas Mattheo, he suffred in Smithfield the fourth of Februarie, in the yeare 1555. Nicholas Ridley bishop first of Rochester, and after of London, suffred at Driford in the said yeare 1555. Hugh Latimer borne in Leicestershire, sometime bishop of Worcester, a notable preacher, and a most reuerend father, suffred at the same place, and in the same daie and yeare with bishop Ridley. John Hooper borne in Summerseithire, bishop first of Gloucester, and after of Worcester, suffred at Gloucester in the yeare of our Lord 1555. John Bradford, borne in Marcheshire, a notable towne in Lancashire, a sober, mild, and discret learned man, suffred at London the first of Iulie in the said yeare 1555.

Stephan Gardiner bishop of Winchester borne in the towne of saint Edmundsburie in Suffolke, of king Henrie the eighths counsell, and in king Edwards daies committed to ward within the tower, released by queene Marie, made lord chancelor, and so died a stout champion in defense of the popes doctrine, and a great enimie to the professours of the gospel. John Hilpot borne in Hamshire, sonne to sir Peter Hilpot knight, was archdeacon of Winchester, ended his life by fire in the yeare aforesaid 1555, the 18 of December, going then on the foure & fortieth yeare of his age. Thomas Cranmer borne in Notinghamshire, archbishop of Canturburie, a worthe prelat, in sundrie vertues right commendable, suffred at Driford the one and twentieth of March, one thousand, five hundred, fiftie and six. Richard Foxon knight, borne in Drifordshire, wrote diuerse treatises, and decessed at Strausburge the 17 of March 1556. John Poinet borne in Kent, bishop of Rochester first, & after of Winchester, decessed likewise at Strausburgh, about the tenth or eleuenth of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1556.

Robert Record a doctor of physike, and an excellent philosopher, in arithmetike, astrologie, cosmographie, and geometrie most skilfull, he was borne in Wales, descended of a good familie, and finally departed this life in the daies of queene Marie. Bartholomew Traheron descended of a worshipsfull house in the west parts of England, drane of Chichester, departed this life in Germanie, where he liued in exile, about the latter end of queene Maries reigne. Cutbert Tunstall, bishop first of London, and after of Durham, borne in Lancashire of a right worshipsfull familie, excellentlie learned, as by his workes it may appeare, doctor of both the lawes, departed this life in the yeare 1559. Richard Sampson bishop of Conetrie & Litchfield wrote certieue treatises, & departed this life 1555. Lucas Shepherd borne in Colchester in Essex, an English poet. Jane Doble daughter

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Christopher  
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Thomas  
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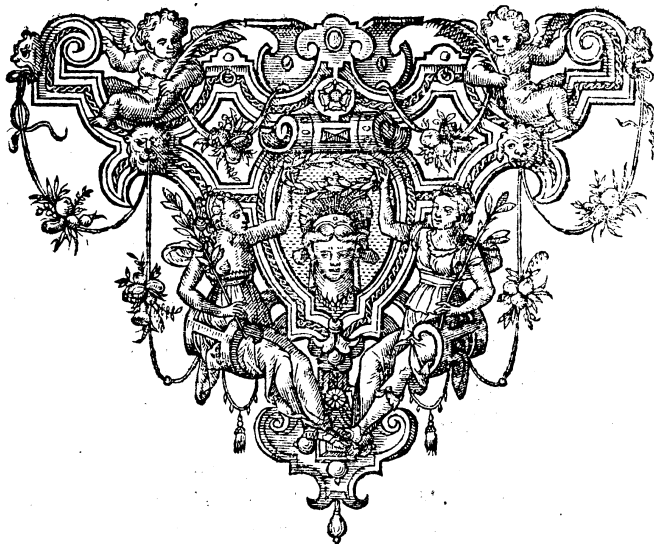
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daughter unto Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke, wrote diuerse things highlie to hir commendation, of whome yee haue heard moze before here in this historie; William Thomas a Welchman borne, of whome yee haue likewise heard how he suffered for treason; wrote the historie of Italie, and other things verie eloquentlie; James Wykes a doctor of diuinitie, John Standish a doctor likewise of the same profession, great defenders of the popes doctrine, as by their workes appeareth; William Perine a blacke frier by profession, and a doctor also of diuinitie, wrote in defense of the masse, and preached sermons which were printed of like stuffe; John Baret borne in Lin, a doctor of diuinitie, and sometime a Car-

melit frier, but reuolting from the popes religion, he became an earnest setter forth of the gospel, but euen so he fell off, and returned to his former opinions now in the daies of queene Marie; Henrie lord Stafford, sonne to Edward duke of Buckingham, amongst other things which he wrote, he translated a booke out of Latine into English, intituled *Principium potestatis differentia*, that is, The difference betwixt the two powers, which booke (as some thinke) was first compiled and set forth by Edward Fox bishop of Hereford; John Hopkins translated diuerse psalmes of the psalter into English meter, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the churches of England.

*Thus farre the troublesome reigne of Queene Marie the first of that name (God grant she may be the last of hir religion) eldest daughter to king Henrie the eight.*



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# The peaceable and prosperous regiment of blessed Queene Elisabeth, second daughter to king Henrie the eight.



After all the stormie, tempestuous, and blustering windie weather of queene Marie was overblowne, the darke some clouds of discontent disperfed, the palpable fogs and mists of most intollerable misery consumed, and the dashing showers of persecution overpast: it pleased God to send England a calme and quiet season, a cleare and lonelie sunshine, a quietest from former boyles of a turbulent estate, and a world of blessings by good queene Elisabeth: into whose gracious reigne we are now to make an happy entrance as followeth.

When true knowledge was had that queene Marie was deceased, who left hir life in this world the seventeenth daie of November, as is before mentioned in the latter end of hir historie: in the time of a parlement, the lords that were assembled in the upper house, being resolved according to the lawes of the land, to declare the ladie Elisabeth sister to the said queene to be verie true and lawfull heire to the crowne of England, sent immediatlie to the speaker of the parlement, willing him with the knights and burgesses of the neather house, without delaye to repaire unto them into the upper house, for their assents in a case of great importance. Who being come thither, after silence made (as the maner is) the archbishop of Yorke chancelor of England, whose name was Nicholas Beth, doctor in divinitie, stood up and pronounced in effect these words following.

The cause of your calling hither at this time, is to signifie unto you, that all the lords here present are certeinlie certified, that God this present morning hath called to his mercie our late sovereigne ladie queene Marie. Which hap as it is most beaue and gracious unto vs, so haue we no lesse cause another waie to reioice with praise to almighty God; so that he hath left unto vs a true, lawfull and right inheritance to the crowne of this realme, which is the ladie Elisabeth, second daughter to our late sovereigne lord of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and sister to our said late queene, of whose most lawfull right and title in the succession of the crowne (thanks be to God) we need not to doubt. Wherefore the lords of this house haue determined with your assents and consents, to passe from hence into the palace, and there to proclame the said ladie Elisabeth queene of this realme, without further tract of time. Whereto the whole house answered with euident appearance of ioy, God saue queene Elisabeth, long may queene

Elisabeth reigne ouer vs. And so this present parliament being dissolved by the act of God, the said lords immediatlie calling vnto them the kings and principall heralds at armes, went into the palace of Westminster, and directlie before the hall doore in the fore none of the same daie, after severall soundings of trumpets made, in most solemne maner, proclaimed the new queene, by this name and title: Elisabeth by the grace of God queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the great comfort and reioicing of the people, as by their maners and countenances well appeared. After which proclamation made at Westminster, the said lords, to wit the duke of Suffolke, the lord treasurer, the earle of Oxford, and diuerse other lords and bishops, with all speed repaired into the citie of London, where the like proclamation was made in the presence of them, and also of the lord maior and aldermen in their scarlet gowns, at the crosse in Cheape, with no lesse vniuersall ioy and thanksgiving to God of all the hearers. And so our most gracious sovereigne ladie queene Elisabeth began hir happy reigne ouer this realme of England, to the great comfort and gladnesse of all estates chrestianlike minded and disposed, upon the foresaid seventeenth day of November,

(lux hac venerabilis Angli,

Hæc est illa dies albo signando lapillo

said the poet) in the yeare after the creation of the world, five thousand, five hundred, twentie and five, after the birth of our saviour one thousand, five hundred, fiftie and eight; of the empire of Ferdinando the first emperor of Rome bearing that name, the first; in the twelue yeare of the reigne of Henrie the second of that name French king; and in the sixteenth yeare of the reigne of Marie queene of Scotland.

On wednesdaye the thre and twentieth of November, the queenes maiestie removed from Hatfield, vnto the Charter house in London, where she lodged in the lord Norths house: in which removing, and comming thus to the citie, it might well appeare how comfortable hir presence was to them that went to receiue hir on the waie, and likewise to the great multitudes of people that came abroad to see hir grace, shewing their reioicing harts in countenance and words, with hartie praises for hir maiesties prosperous estate and preservation: which no doubt were acceptable to God, as by the sequele of things it may certeinlie be believed, sith his diuine maiestie hath so directed hir doings, that if euer the commonwealth of this land hath flourished, it may rightlie be said, that in hir most happy reigne it hath bene most flourishing, in peace, quietnesse, and due administration of iustice, mixed with mercifull clemencie, so as those which cannot content themselves with the present

The ladie Elisabeth proclaimed queen.

The beginning of queene Elisabeths prosperous reigne.

The queenes removing from Hatfield.

The flourishing estate of this land vnder queene Elisabeth.

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sent state of things vnder his rule, no doubt they are such facious creatures, as will not rest satisfied with any kind of gouernement, be it neuer so iust and commendable. From the which sort of men the Lord deliuer his roiall maiestie, and all his true and louing subiects, and preserve him in long life to all our comforts, and continue him in such happie proceedings as he hath begun, to the end.

His grace remoueth to the tower.

His remouing to Summer-set house.

Abr. Flex manuscripto Hen. Tennant. The death of sir Thomas Cheine knight of the order, treasurer of his maiesties most honorable household, warden of the cinque ports, & of his highnesse priuile councell, whose pulles by the report of his surgeon laboured more than three quarters of an houre after his death, so strongly as though life had not bene absent from the bodie. By the report also of the same surgeon, he had the sweetest face of death to behold for one of his yeares that euer he saw, and died so quietlie and patientlie, that neither his face, mouth, eyes, hands, or feet were vncomelie vled in the chaunging of his life.

His house for service which proued him to be a louer of chualtrie.

The like is reported of cardinal wolseye when he was in the flour of his prosperitie.

But how manie be there now that will giue away the profits of their office to their seruants?

On mondaie the eight and twentieth of Nouember, about two of the clocke in the afternone, his grace remoued againe, and taking his chariot, rode from my lord Porths house alongst Warbican, and entring by Crilegate into the cite, kept along the wall to Bishops gate, and so by blanch Chapelon vnto Marke lane. At his entring into blanch Chapelon, the artillerie in the tower began to go off, continually shooting for the space almost of halfe an houre, but yet had made an end before his maiestie was advanced to Berkin church, and so with great ioie and pease of people, of whom all the streets were full as he passed, declaring their inward reioisings by gesture, words, and countenance, he entered the tower, where he continued till the sixt of December being mondaie, on the which daie, he remoued by water vnto Summer-set place in the Strond, where he arrived about ten of the clocke in the forenoone the same daie.

On thursdaie betwene two and three in the morning the eight of December 1558 in the first yeare of our soueraigne ladie queene Elisabeths reigne died in the tower of London, that honorable man sir Thomas Cheine knight of the order, treasurer of his maiesties most honorable household, warden of the cinque ports, & of his highnesse priuile councell, whose pulles by the report of his surgeon laboured more than three quarters of an houre after his death, so strongly as though life had not bene absent from the bodie. By the report also of the same surgeon, he had the sweetest face of death to behold for one of his yeares that euer he saw, and died so quietlie and patientlie, that neither his face, mouth, eyes, hands, or feet were vncomelie vled in the chaunging of his life.

For twentie yeares before his departure, he kept in his stable continually winter and summer twentie great horses at the least, and eight or nine geldings, besides sixtene or seuentene geldings which were kept at grasse, and had in a readinesse furniture for them all to serue in the field; and no one of the same horses or geldings but he was able and readie for any man at armes to serue vpon. Beside this he kept so bountifull a house, and was so liberrall and good to his men, that well was that noble mans son, gentlemen sonne, or other that might happen to be preferred into his seruice. And againe, the number of his seruants to whom he gaue liueries were 205, wherof in household were sir scoze, besides strangers that were daile comming and going. And his seruants had no iust cause, either for lacke of great wages trulie paid them euery quarter, and boordwages euerys fundae, or plentie of meat and drinke, & lodging on good featherbeds to lue out of order. And such commoditie as might by chance fall within the jurisdiction of his office of wardenrie, being a thing fit for his men, he neuer turned the same to his owne vse, but alwaies gaue it them. Whether this realme hath not lost a worthy subiect, and speciallie his men a good maister, let all men iudge that knew him.

Before his departure out of this world, he seemed to haue a great care for his men, thinking least without some provision for them, they would after his death run at randon and lue disorderlie, which like a noble man he prevented after this liberrall sort as followeth. In his last will and testament, to some he

gaue annuities during life, and to others a whole yeares wages after his death; but both to the one sort and the other he provided that all things which he ought them might be paid: and also so long as they vled themselves like honest men, and were not retelined in seruice, they should haue meat, drinke, and lodging at his house, till his sonne now lord Cheine came to his lawfull age, which was the space of three yeares, in no lesse or worse maner than they were wont and accustomed to haue in his life time. In his last will he also remembred some of his friends, as well those of nobilitie and worship, as others, some with one gift and some with an other, desiring them to assist his executors for the performance of his last will.

His wit, experience, courtesie, and valiantnesse in seruice was such, as king Henrie the eight, and his children, to wit, king Edward the first, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth vled him as one of all their priuile councell, and was treasurer of all their honorable households during his life. He was brought up in king Henrie the seuenths house, & was one of his benchmen. So that it appeareth before he died, he had serued three kings, and two queenes. His trust was such to all these princes, that he euer liued towards them *sine macula*, seruing in the court three scoze yeares. And although he bare this great saile, yet prouided he to paie euery man iustlie that he ought them. His bountifullnesse, liberrallitie, and courtesie to diuerse noble men, gentlemen and others, attending in the court was such, that they were euer glad to haue him there amongst them; and his stoutnesse & halitie courage was such, and so well known to the Frenchmen, as they both feared and loued him wonderfullie. In the end he was so worthy a gentleman, and such a necessarie member in the commonwealth, as his want cannot but be lamented of all good and true English hearts. But the almightie must be serued when his god will and pleasure is.

The thirtieth of December being tuesdaie, the corpes of queene Marie was right honorable conueied from his manor of St. James, vnto the abbey of Westminster. His picture was laid on the coffin, apparessed in his roiall robes, with a crowne of gold set on the head thereof, after a solemne manner. In the abbey was a rich and sumptuous hearle prepared and set up with tow, and richlie decked with penons, baners, and scutcherions, of the armes of England and France, vnder which hearle the corpe rested all that night, and the next daie it was brought into the new chappell, where king Henrie the seuenth lieth, and was interred there in the chappell on the north side.

The foure and twentieth of December, being the euen of the natiuitie of our Lord, was a solemne obsequie kept in the abbey church of Westminster, for Charles the seuenth late emperor, who departed this life in September last, the one and twentieth of this same moneth, in the monastrie of St. Justus in Castile, being then of age about eight and fiftie yeares, hauing gouerned the empire before he renounced the same a sir and thirtie yeares; and his kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, Naples, Sicill, and others, about fortie yeares.

Sporeouer in this yeare 1558 there died two of the said emperors sisters, that went with him into Spaine, after he had resigned the empire, to wit, Charles the seuenth late emperor, who departed this life in September last, the one and twentieth of this same moneth, in the monastrie of St. Justus in Castile, being then of age about eight and fiftie yeares, hauing gouerned the empire before he renounced the same a sir and thirtie yeares; and his kingdoms of Castile, Arragon, Naples, Sicill, and others, about fortie yeares.

1559. The legacie of the republic and gospel in English.

The queene remoueth from Westminister to the tower by water.

The queene remoueth from the tower to the new chappell.

The queene remoueth from the tower to the new chappell.

The queene remoueth from the tower to the new chappell.

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The queene remoueth from the tower to the new chappell.

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caried not long after him, in so much that king Whilp did celebrate the exequies in the towne of Wustels, of his father the emperor, of his aunt Marie quene of Hungarie, and of his wife Marie quene of England, in this present moneth of December subsequente, after the most pompous and solemne manner.

On sundate the first of Januarie, by vertue of the quenes proclamation, the English letanie was read accordingly as was used in hir grates chapel in churches through the citie of London. And likewise the epistle and gospel of the daie began to be read in the same churches at masse time in the English tong, by commendment given by the lord maiors, according to the tenour of the same proclamation, published the thirtieth of the last month. On Thursday the twelfth of Januarie, the quenes maiestie removed from hir palace of Westminster by water unto the tower of London, the lord maiors and aldermen in their barge, and all the citizens with their barges decked and trimmed with targets and banners of their mysteries accordingly attending on hir grace.

The bachelers barge of the lord maiors company, to wit, the mercers had their barge with a foist trimmed with three tops, and artillerie aboard, gallantly appointed to wait upon them, shooting off lastlie as they went, with great and pleasant melodie of instruments, which played in most sweet and heavenly manner. Hir grace that the bridge about two of the clocke in the after none, at the still of the ebbe, the lord maiors and the rest following after hir barge, attending the same, till hir maiestie took land at the prime staires at the tower wharfe: and then the said lord maiors with the other barges returned, passing through the bridge againe with the fload, and landed at the wharfe of the three cranes in the Chintrie. Upon Saturday, which was the fourteenth daie of Januarie, in the yeare of our Lord God 1558, about two of the clocke at after none, the most noble and christian prince, our most dread soueraine ladie Elisabeth, by the grace of God quene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. marched from the tower, to passe through the citie of London toward Westminster, richly furnished, and most honourable accompanied, as well with gentlemen, barons, and other the nobilitie of this realme, as also with a notable traine of goodly and beautiful ladies, richly appointed.

At hir entring the citie, she was of the people received marvellous inticlie, as appeared by the assemblies praier, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender words, and all other signes, which argued a wonderful earnest love of most obedient subjects towards their soueraine. And on the other side, hir grace by holding by hir hands, and merrie countenance to such as stood farre off, and most tender and gentle language to those that stood nigh unto hir grace, did declare hirselfe no lesse thankfullie to receive hir peoples good will, than they lovinglie offered it unto hir. To all that wished hir grace well, she gaue heartie thanks; & to such as bad God saue hir grace, she said againe God saue them all, and thanked them with all hir hart. So that on the other side there was nothing but gladnesse, nothing but praier, nothing but comfort. The quenes maiestie reioiced marvellouslie to see that so exceedingly shewed towards hir hir grace, which all good princes haue ever desired, & meant to earnest love of subjects, so euidentlie declared euen to hir graces owne person, being caried in the midst of them.

The people againe were wonderfullie ransied with the loving answers and gestures of their prince, like to the which they had before tried at hir first

comming to the tower from Hatfield. This hir graces loving behaviour preconceiued in the peoples heads, upon these considerations was then throughly confirmed, and in deed implanted a wonderful hope in them touching hir worthie government in the rest of hir reigne. For in all hir passage she did not onelie shew hir most gracious loue toward the people in generall, but also priuatlie if the baser personages had either offered hir grace any flowers, or such like, as a signification of their good will, or moued to hir any sute; she most gentle, to the common reioicing of all the lookers on, and priuat comfort of that partie, staied hir chariot, and heard their requests. So that if a man would saie well, he could not better fearne the citie of London that time, than a stage, wherein was shewed the wonderful spectacle of a noble hearted princeesse towards hir most loving people, and the peoples exceeding comfort in beholding so worthie a soueraine, & hearing so princelike a voice, which could not but haue set the enemie on fire, with the vertue is in the enemie allwaie commended, much more could not but inflame hir natural, obedient, and most loving people, whose weale leaneth onelie upon hir grace, and hir government.

Thus therefore the quenes maiestie passed from the tower, till she came to Fenchurch, the people on each side ioyouslie beholding the sight of so gracious a ladie their quene, and hir grace no lesse gladlie noting and obseruing the same. Here unto Fenchurch was erected a scaffold richly furnished, whereon stood a noise of instruments, and a child in coslie apparell, which was appointed to welcome the quenes maiestie in the whole cities behalfe. Against which place when hir grace came, of hir owne will she commanded the chariot to be staied, and that the noise might be appeased, till the child had uttered his welcoming oration, which he spake in English as here followeth;

O peerlesse soueraine queene,  
Behold what this thy towne  
Hath thee presented with,  
at thy first entrance heere:  
Behold with how rich hope  
she leades thee to thy crowne,  
Behold with what two gifts,  
she comforteth thy cheere.  
The first is blessing tooings,  
which manie a welcome saie,  
Which praie thou maist doe well,  
which praie thee to the skie.  
Which wish to thee long life,  
which blesse this happie daie,  
Which to thy kingdome heapes  
all that in tooings can lie.  
The second is true hearts,  
which loue thee from their root,  
Whose sure is triumph now,  
and ruleth all the game,  
Which faithfulness haue woone,  
and all vnto truth driven out,  
Which skip for ioy, when as  
they heare thy happie name.  
Welcome therefore o queene,  
as much as heart can thinke,  
Welcome againe o queene,  
as much as tooing can tell;  
Welcome to ioyous tooings,  
and hearts that will not shrink;  
God thee preferue we praie,  
and with thee euer well.

At which words of the last line, all the people gave a great shout, wishing with one assent as the child had said. And the quens maiestie thanked most heartlie both the citie for this hir gentle receiving at the first, & also the people for confirming the same.

¶ t t t t t.

The citie of  
London a  
stage for the  
time of this  
solemnitie;

A scaffold set  
up at Fenchurch  
church with  
melodie, &c.

These verses  
were uttered  
by a child to  
the quene  
who gaue good  
care to them.

Here was noted in the queenes maiesties countenance, during the time that he child spake, besides a perpetuall attentiuensse in his face, a marvellous change in looke; as the childs words either touched his person, or the peoples tongues and hearts. So that the with reioicing visage did euidentlie declare that the words toke no lesse place in his mind, than they were most heartlie pronounced by the child, as from all the hearts of his most heartie citizens. The same verses were fastened vp in a table vpon the scaffold, and the Latine thereof likewise in Latine verses in another table, as hereafter inscrib:

The verses in  
Latine which  
the child utter-  
ed to<sup>y</sup> quene  
in English.

Vrbs tua quæ ingressu dederit tibi mînera primo,  
O regina parem non habitura, vide.  
Ad diademata tuum, se spe quam dînite missas,  
Quæ auro latuit des tibi dona, vide.  
Munus habes primum, linguas bona multa precantes,  
Quæ te quàm laudant, eum pia vota sonant,  
Felicemque diem hunc dicunt, tibi sa cula longa  
Optant, & quicquid deniq; longa potest.  
Altera dona feres, vera, & tui ianantia corda,  
Quorum gens ludum iam reget una tuum.  
In quibus est infracta fides, falsumq; perosa,  
Quæq; tuo audit o nomine læta salis.  
Grata venis iocitur, quantum cor concepit vltum,  
Quantum lingua potest dicere, grata venis.  
Cordibus infractu, linguæq; per omnia latas  
Grata venis : saluam te velis esse Deum.

Now when the child had pronounced his oration, and the queenes highnesse so thankfullie had receiued it, she marched forward toward Gratiours street, there at the vpper end before the signe of the eagle; the citie had erected a gorgeous and sumptuous arch as here followeth. A stage was made which extended from the one side of the street to the other, richly baited with battlements containing three ports, and ouer the middlemost was aduanced thre severall stages in degrees.

A great stage  
arched and  
verie sumptu-  
ous at Grati-  
ous street.

Upon the lowest stage was made one seat roiall, wherein were placed two personages, representing king Henrie the seventh, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of king Edward the fourth; either of these two princes sitting under one clothy of estate in their seats, none otherwise divided; but that the one of them which was king Henrie the seventh, proceeding out of the house of Lancaster, was inclosed in a red rose, and the other which was quene Elizabeth, being heire to the house of Yorke, inclosed with a white rose, each of them roiallie crowoned, and decentlie apparelled, as apperteineth to princes, with scepters in their hands, and one davor surmounting their heads, wherein aptlie were placed two tables, each containing the title of those two princes. And these personages were so set, that the one of them joined hands with the other, with the ring of matrimonte percelued on the finger. Out of the which two roses spring two branches gathered into one, which were directed upward to the second stage or degreë, wherein was placed one representing the valiant & noble prince king Henrie the eight, which spring out of the former stocke, crowoned with a crowne imperiall, and by him sat one representing the right worthy ladie quene Anne, wife to the said king Henrie the eight, and mother to our most soveraigne ladie quene Elizabeth that now is, both apparelled with scepters and bladems, and other furniture due to the state of a king and quene, and two tables surmounting their heads, wherein were written their names and titles.

Vertuous  
queene Anne  
mother to gra-  
tious queene  
Elizabeth.

bread soueraigne ladie , crowned and appareled as  
the other princes were . Out of the fore part of this  
pageant was a standing for a child, which at  
the queens maiesties comming declared vnto hir  
the whole brining of the said pageant . The two  
sides of the same were filled with loud noises of mu-  
sicke . And all emptie places there of were furnished  
with sentences concerning vnitie , and the whole  
pageant garnished with red roses and white : And  
in the fore front of the same pageant , in a faire  
wreath, was written the name and title of the same,  
which was; The uniting of the two houses of Lan-  
caster and Yorke . This pageant was grounded  
vpon the queens maiesties name . For like as the  
long warre betwene the two houses of Yorke and  
Lancaster then ended , when Elizabeth daughter to  
Edward the fourth matched in marriage with Hen-  
rie the seventh, heire to the house of Lancaster : so  
sith that the queens maiesties name was Eliza-  
beth , & so far as the is the onelie heire of Hen-  
rie the eight ; which came of both the houses , as the  
knitting up of concord : it was denisid, that like as  
Elizabeth was the first occasion of concord ; so the  
another Elizabeth , might mainteine the same a-  
mong hir subiects , so that vnitie was the end where-  
at the whole denise shot , as the queens maiesties  
name moued the first ground .

The pageant now against the quenes maiestie comming was adressed with children, representing the forenamed personages, with all furniture due vnto the setting forth of such a matter well meant, as the argument declared costlie and sumptuouslie set forth, as the beholders can beare witnesse. Now the quenes maiestie drew nere vnto the said pageant. And for so much as the noyse was great, by reason of the praise of people, so that the could scarcely beare the child which did interpret the said pageant, and hir chariot was palled so far forthward; that they could not well view the personages representing the kings & quenes aboue named: she required to haue the matter opened vnto hir, and what they signified, with the end of vntitie and ground of hir name, according as is before expressed. For the sight wherof hir grace caused hir chariot to be removed backe, and yet hardlie could she see, because the children were set somewhat with the furthest in. But after that hir grace had vnderstood the meaning thereof, she thanked the citie, praised the fairenelle of the woake, and promised that she would do hir whole endeavour for the continuall preservation of concord, as the pageant did import. The child appointed in the standing aboue named, to open the meaning of the said pageant; spake these woords vnto hir grace:

The two princes that sit,  
vnder one cloth of state,  
The man in the red rose,  
the woman in the white:  
Henrie the seauenth, and  
queene Elizabeth his mate,  
Byring of marriage,  
as man and wife vnite.  
Both heires to both their blouds,  
to Lancaſter the king,  
The queene to Yorke, in one  
the two houſes did knit:  
Of whome as heire to both,  
Henrie the eight did ſpring,  
In whoſe ſeate his true heire  
thou queene Elizabeth dooſt ſit.  
Therefore as ciuill warre,  
and thead of bloud did ceaſe,  
When theſe two houſes were  
vnited into one;  
So now that iarre ſhall ſtint,

The meaning  
of the page  
opened by  
speech of a  
child.

The conduct  
 a Cornhill  
 marked, and  
 a noise of lau  
 instruments  
 on the top of  
 the same.

The demise of the pageant is much to be regretted.



and quietnesse increase,  
We trust, & noble queene,  
thou wilt be cause alone.

The which also were written in Latine verses, and  
both drawn in two tables upon the fore front of the  
foresaid pageant, as hereafter overtie followeth:

*Hij quos iungit idem solium, quos annulus idem:  
Hac albente nitens ille rubente rosa:  
Septimus Henricus rex, regina Elizabetha,  
Scilicet huiusmodi gentis, uterque sua.  
Hac Eboracensis sanctissimi ille dederunt  
Connubio, & christi quo foret una domus.  
Excepit hos hanc copulam copula regum  
Octavum, magni regis imago potens,  
Regibus hinc succedens alio regique parenti,  
Patris iusta hanc Elizabetha tenet.*

Sentences placed therein concerning ynicite.

*Nulla concordia animis vobis domant.*

*Quia hanc, & illam, deum tu timor.*

*Discorde solum soluit, timor deus ligat.*

*Augustinus parit pace, magna belli causa.*

*Christi in laudibus formis tolluntur.*

*Regis pro nobis, & nobis, & nobis, & nobis.*

*Qui dicit pugnant, dicitur pugnant.*

*Disidentes principes, subditi, & nobis.*

*Principes ad pacem, natus non ad arma datus.*

*Filia concordie copia, neptis quies.*

*Disidentes respublica hostibus pater.*

*Qui idem tenent, dicitur tenent.*

*Regnum divisum facile dissolvitur.*

*Civitas contenti armis frustra tentatur.*

*Omnium gentium consensus firmat fidem, &c.*

These verses and other poetie sentences were  
drawn in bold places of this pageant, all tending  
to one end, that quietnes might be maintained, and  
all dissention displaced: and that by the queenes ma-  
iestie heire to agreement, and agreeing in name  
with hir, which tofore had loined those houses, which  
had bene the occasion of much debate and civil war  
within this realme, as mate appere to such as will  
search chronicles, but be not to be touched herein:  
onlie declaring hir graces passage through the ci-  
tie, and what promise the citie made therfore. And  
per the queenes maiestie came within hearing of  
this pageant, the sent certeine as also at all the o-  
ther pageants, to require the people to be silent. For  
hir maiestie was disposed to heare all that should be  
said unto hir.

When the queenes maiestie had heard the childes  
oration, and understood the meaning of the pageant  
at large, she marched forward toward Cornhill, al-  
waie received with like reioicing of the people. And  
there as hir grace passed by the conduit, which was  
curiously trimmed against that same time, with rich  
banners adorne, and a noise of loud instruments  
upon the top thereof, she spied the second pageant.  
And because she feared for the peoples noise, that she  
should not heare the child which did expound the same,  
she inquired what that pageant was per that she  
came to it; and there understood, that there was a  
child representing hir maiesties person, placed in a  
seat of government, supported by certeine vertues  
which suppressed their contrarie vices under their  
feet, and so forth, as in the description of the said pa-  
geant shall hereafter appere.

This pageant standing in the nether end of Corn-  
hill, was extended from the one side of the street to  
the other. And in the same pageant was devised thre  
gates all open, and over the middle part thereof was  
erected one chaire or seate roiall, with a cloth of e-  
state to the same appertaining; wherein was placed  
a child representing the queenes highnesse, with con-

sideration had for place convenient for a table, which  
contained hir name and title: and in a comelie  
weath artificiallie & well devised, with perfect sight  
and understanding to the people.

In the front of the same pageant was twitten the  
name and title thereof, which is: The seat of woethie  
gouvernance. Which seat was made in such artificiall  
manner, as to the appearante of the lookers on, the  
fore part seemed to haue no staie, & therefore of force  
was rated by liuelie personages, which personages  
were in number foure, standing and staing the fore-  
front of the same seat roiall, each having his face to  
the queene and people, thereof euerie one had a table  
to expresse their effects, which are vertues, namelie  
Pure religion, Loue of subiects, Wisedome and Ju-  
stice, which did tread their contrarie vices under  
their feet, that is to wit; Pure religion did tread up-  
on Superstition and Ignorance, Loue of subiects  
did tread upon Rebellion and Insolencie, Wisedome  
did tread upon Follie and Vaine glorie, Ju-  
stice did tread upon Adulation and Briberie. Each of  
these personages according to their proper names  
and properties, had not onlie their names in platine  
and perfect writing set upon their breasts easilie to be  
read of all: but also euerie of them was aptlie and  
properlie appareled; so that his apparell and name  
did agree to expresse the same person, that in title he  
represented.

This part of the pageant was thus appointed and  
furnished. The two sides over the two side posts was  
in them placed a noise of instruments, which imme-  
diatlie after the childes speech, gaue an heauenlie me-  
lodie. Upon the top or uppermost part of the said pa-  
geant, stood the armes of England, roiallie particu-  
latured with the proper beasts to uphold the same.  
One representing the queenes highnesse sat in this  
seat crowned with an imperiall crowne, and before  
hir seat was a convenient place appointed for one  
child, which did interpret and applie the said pageant,  
as hereafter shall be declared. Euerie void place  
was furnished with proper sentences, commending  
the seat supported by vertues, and defacing the vi-  
ces, to the better extirpation of rebellion, and to euer-  
lasting continuance of quietnesse and peace. The  
queenes maiestie appoaching nigh unto this pageant  
thus beautified and furnished in all points, caused hir  
charriot to be drawne nigh therunto, that hir grace  
might heare the childes short oration, which was this:

While that religion true,  
shall ignorance suppress,  
And with hir weightie foot,  
breake superstitions head:  
While loue of subiects shall  
rebellion distress,  
And with zeale to the prince,  
insolencie downe tread.  
While iustice flattering toongs,  
and briberie can deface,  
While follie and vaine glorie,  
to wisdom yeeld their hands:  
So long shall gouernment  
not swaue from hir right race,  
But wrong decaieeth still,  
and rightwisenesse vp stands.  
Now all thy subiects hearts,  
o prince of peerelesse fame,  
Do trust these vertues shall  
mainteine vp thy throne:  
And vice be kept downe still,  
the wicked put to shame;  
That good with good may ioy,  
and naught with naught may mone.

Which verses were painted upon the right side of the  
same pageant, and the Latine thereof on the left side

Lately woeth-  
manship and  
right com-  
mendable,

A proper me-  
tail,

How the pa-  
geant was  
appointed and  
furnished,

The queene  
draweth nere  
the pageant to  
heare the  
childes ora-  
tion.

The poetie  
planning the  
show set forth  
in colours,

Whither the  
showe set forth  
the pageant was  
directed,

The queene  
is desirous to  
know the  
meaning of  
euerie repre-  
sentation,

The meaning  
of the pageant  
opened by the  
speech of a  
child.

These verses  
written in La-  
tin.

These verses  
written in La-  
tin.

These verses  
written in La-  
tin.

These verses  
written in La-  
tin.

The same  
verses in La-  
tine painted  
on a table.

In another table, which were these here following:

*Qua subnixæ altè solio regina superbo est,  
Effigiem sanctæ principis alma refert,  
Quam civilis amor fulcit, sapientia firmat,  
Iustitia illustrat, religioque beat,  
Vana superstitio & crassa ignorantia frontis  
Pressa sub pura religione iacent.  
Regis amor domat effrænos animosque rebelles,  
Iustus adulantes domitorosque terret.  
Cum regit imperium sapiens, sine luce sedebunt  
Stultitia, atque huius nomen inanis honor.*

The ground  
or morall of  
the pageant.

Beside these verses, there were placed in euery bold come of the pageant, both in English & Latine, such sentences as advanced the seat of governance vpholden by vertue. The ground of this pageant was, that like as by vertues (which do abundantly appeare in hir grace) the quenes maiestie was established in the seat of government: so the shuld sit fast in the same, so long as the imbraced vertue, and held vice vnder foot. For if vice once got vp the head, it would put the seat of gouernement in perill of falling. The quenes maiestie when she had heard the child, and vnderstood the pageant at full, gave the child also thanks therfore, & most grationlie promised hir good income for the maintenance of the said vertues, and suppression of vices, and so marched on, till she came against the great conduit in Cheape, which was beautified with pictures and sentences accordinglie, against hir graces comming thither. Against Shopper lane end was extended from the one side of the street to the other, a pageant which had three gates all open: ouer the middlemost whereof were erected three seuerall stages, whereon sat eight children, as hereafter followeth. On the vppermost one child, on the middle three, on the lowest four, each bearing the proper name of the blessing that they did represent, written in a table, & placed above their head.

The quenes  
promise with  
thanks to the  
cittie.

A pageant at  
Shopper lane  
end.

In the forefront of this pageant, before the children which did represent the blessings, was a conuenient standing cast out for a child to stand, which did expound the said pageant vnto the quenes maiestie, as was done in the other before. Euery of these children were appointed and appareled, according vnto the blessing which he did represent. And on the forepart of the said pageant was written in latine letters the name of the foresaid pageant in this manner:

The inscripti-  
on fixed or set  
vpon the front  
of the said pa-  
geant.

The eight beatitudes expressed in  
the first chapter of the gospell of  
saint Matthew, applied to our  
loueigne ladie queene Elisabeth.

Ouer the two side parts was placed a holle of instruments. And all the bold places in the pageant were furnished with prettie sayings, commending & touching the meaning of the said pageant, which was the promises & blessings of almighty God, made to his people. Before that the quenes highnesse came vnto this pageant, she required the matter somewhat to be opened vnto hir, that hir grace might the better vnderstand, what should afterward by the child be said vnto hir. Which so was, that the child had there erected the pageant with eight children, representing the eight blessings touched in the first chapter of saint Matthew. Whereof euery one vpon iust considerations, was applied vnto hir highnesse, and that the people thereby put hir grace in mind, that as hir god doings before had giuen iust occasion, why that these blessings might fall vpon hir, that so if hir grace did continue in hir godnesse as she had entered, she should hope for the fruit of these promises due vnto them that do exercise themselves in the blessings: which hir grace heard marvellous grationlie, and requited that the charriot might be removed towards

The meaning  
of the pa-  
geant.

the pageant, that she might better perceiue the childes words, which were these, the quenes maiestie giuing most attentiu care, and requiring that the peoples noise might be staid. The verses were as followeth:

*Thou hast bene eight times blest,  
O queene of worthie fame,  
By meekenesse of thy spirit,  
when care did thee beset,  
By mourning in thy griefe,  
by mildnesse in thy blame,  
By hunger and by thirst,  
and iustice couldst none get.  
By mercie she wd, not felt,  
by cleannesse of thine heart,  
By seeking peace alwayes,  
by persecution wrong.  
Therefore trust thou in God,  
for he hath help thy smart,  
That as his promise is,  
so he will make thee strong.*

When these words were spoken, all the people wished, that as the child had uttered, so God would strengthen hir grace against all hir aduersaries, whome the quenes maiestie did most gentle thanke for the so louing wish. These verses were painted on the left side of the said pageant, and other in Latine on the other side, which were these here insuing:

*Qui lugent dolores sunt, qui mitia resant  
Pectora, multa soli iugera culta metent:  
Iustitiam glorians sitiensque replebitur: ipsum  
Eas hominum puro corde videre Deum:  
Quem alterum miseret, Dominus miserabitur huius  
Pacisam quisquis, filium ille Deum:  
Propter iustitiam quisquis patietur habebitque  
Demissam mentem calice regna capit.  
Eius hominum generi terram, mare, sidera, vniuersum  
Omnipotens, horum quisque beatus erit.*

Besides these, euery bold place in the pageant was furnished with sentences, touching the matter and ground of the said pageant. When all that was to be said in this pageant was ended, the quenes maiestie passed on forwards in Cheapside. At the standarde in Cheape, which was dyed faire against the time, was placed a noise of trumpets, with banners and other furniture. The crosse likewise was also made faire, and well trimmed. And nere vnto the same, vpon the porch of saint Peters church dore, stood the waits of the cittie, which did giue a pleasant noise with their instruments, as the quenes maiestie did passe by, which on euery side cast hir countenance, and wished well to all hir most louing people. Some after that hir grace passed the crosse, she had espied the pageant erected at the little conduit in Cheape, and incontinent required to know what it might signifie. And it was told hir grace, that there was placed Time. Time, quoth she: And time hath brought me hither. And so forth the whole matter was opened to hir grace, as hereafter shall be declared in the description of the pageant.

But in the opening, when hir grace vnderstood that the bible in English should be delivered vnto hir by Truth, which was therein represented by a child: she thanked the child for that gift, and said, that she would oftentimes read ouer that booke, commending sir John Barrat, one of the knights which held by hir canopie, to go before, and to receive the booke. But learning that it should be delivered vnto hir grace done by a filken lace, she caused him to state, and so passed forward till she came against the aldermen in the high end of Cheape before the little conduit: where the companies of the cittie ended, which began at church, & stood along the streets, one by another inclosed with railles, banded with cloths, and themselves well appareled with manie rich

The quenes  
grace  
time  
care  
childes  
words.

The seuerall  
companies of  
the cittie then  
there in full  
hears at the  
quenes com-  
ming.

The child gl-  
adly a thou-  
sand marks to  
the quene in  
a purse.

The child  
all his  
grace  
and childen.

The brrie  
words of the  
quene utte-  
red to the legd  
maior, &c.

The child  
and crosse in  
Cheape  
and and  
and.

A pageant of  
a square pro-  
portion, and  
what things  
the same had  
represented  
in it.

A pageant  
erected at the  
little conduit  
in Cheape.

Republica  
maior.

The quene  
promised the  
cittie officers to  
read ouer the  
bible.

Republica  
maior.

1559.

The queene  
lately attende  
ne care to the  
jollye boyes.

An. Reg. 1.

The queene  
lately attende  
ne care to the  
jollye boyes.

The queene  
lately attende  
ne care to the  
jollye boyes.

The queene  
lately attende  
ne care to the  
jollye boyes.

The queene  
lately attende  
ne care to the  
jollye boyes.

The queene  
lately attende  
ne care to the  
jollye boyes.

The queene  
lately attende  
ne care to the  
jollye boyes.

The queene  
lately attende  
ne care to the  
jollye boyes.

The queene  
lately attende  
ne care to the  
jollye boyes.

rich farrers, and their liuerie hoods upon their shoul-  
ders in comelic and seemelic maner, hauing befoze  
them sundrie persons well appareled in silks and  
chins of gold: as wilters and garders of the said  
companies, besides a number of rich hangings, as  
well of tapistrie, arras, cloths of gold, silver, velvet,  
damaske, sattin, and other silks plentifullic hangd  
all the waite, as the queenes highnesse passed from the  
tower thorough the citie.

Out at the windowes and penthouses of emerie  
house did hang a number of rich and costlie banners  
and streamers, till his grace came to the upper end of  
Chape. Where by appointment, the right worship-  
full master Ranulph Cholmelie recorder of the citie,  
presented to the queenes maiestie a purse of crim-  
son sattin, richlie wrought with gold, wherein the ci-  
tie gaue vnto the queens maiestie a thousand marks  
in gold, as master recorder did declare byselite vnto  
the queens maiestie, whose words tended to this end;  
that the lord maior, his brethren, and communalitie of  
the citie, to declare their gladnesse and goodwill to-  
wards the queenes maiestie, did present his grace  
with that gold, desiring his grace to continue their  
god and gracious queene, and not to eschewe the va-  
lue of the gift, but the mind of the giuers. The queens  
maiestie with both his hands toke the purse, and an-  
swered to him againe maruellous pitillie; and so pi-  
thille, that the standers by, as they imbraced intirelie  
his gracious answer, so they maruelled at the cou-  
ching thereof, which was in words truelie reported  
these. I thanke my lord maior, his brethren, and you  
all. And whereas your request is that I should conti-  
nue your good ladie and queene, be ye assured, that  
I will be as good vnto you, as euer queene was to  
his people. No will in me can lacke, neither do I  
trust shall there lacke anie power. And persuaue  
your selues, that for the safetie and quietnesse of you  
all, I will not spare (if need be) to spend my blood,  
God thanke you all. Which answer of so noble an  
hearted princeesse, if it moued a marvellous shout &  
reioysing, it is nothing to be maruelled at, sith both the  
hailnesse thereof was so wonderfull, and the words  
so iointlie knit.

When his grace had thus answered the recorder,  
he marched toward the little conduit, where was e-  
rected a pageant with square proportion, standing di-  
rectlie befoze the same conduit, with battlements ac-  
cordingle. And in the same pageant was aduanced  
two hilles or mounteins of convenient height. The  
one of them being on the nozthy side of the same page-  
ant, was made cragged, barren, and stonie, in the  
which was erected one tre, artificallie made, all wi-  
thered and dead, with branches accordingle. And vnder  
the same tre at the foot thereof sat one in home-  
lie and rude apparrell: crouchedlie, and in mourning  
maner, hauing ouer his head in a table, written in  
Latine and English, his name which was *Ruinosa res-  
publica*, A decayed commonweale. And vpon the same  
withered tre were fixed certein tables, wherein  
were written proper sentences, experssing the causes  
of the decaye of a commonweale. The other hill on  
the south side was made faire, fresh, greene and beau-  
tiful, the ground thereof full of flowers and beantie,  
and on the same was erected also one tre, verie fresh  
and faire, vnder the which stood bysight one fresh per-  
sonage well appareled and appointed, whose name  
also was written both in English and Latine, which  
was, *Respublica bene instituta*, A flourishing common-  
weale.

And vpon the same tre also were fixed certein  
tables containing sentences, which experssed the cau-  
ses of a flourishing commonweale. In the middle  
betwene the said hils, was made artificallie one  
hollow place or caue, with doore and locke inclosed,

out of the which, a little befoze the queenes highnesse  
comming thither, issued one personage, whose name  
was Time, appareled as an old man, with a sieth in  
his hand, hauing wings artificallie made, leading a  
personage of lesser stature than himselfe, which was  
finelie and well appareled, all clad in white silke, and  
directlie ouer his head was set his name and title in  
Latine and English, *Temporis filia*, The daughter of  
Time. Which two so appointed, went forwarde  
toward the south side of the pageant. And on his  
brest was written his proper name, which was  
*Veritas*, Truth, who held a booke in his hand, vpon the  
which was written *Verbum veritatis*, The word of truth.  
And out of the south side of the pageant was cast a  
standing for a child, which should interpret the same  
pageant. Against whome when the queenes maiestie  
came, he spake vnto his grace these sweet words:

This old man with the sieth,  
old father Time they call,  
And his daughter Truth,  
which holdeth yonder booke:  
Whome he out of his rocke,  
hath brought forth to vs all,  
From whence this manie yeares  
she durst not once out looke.  
The ruthfull wight that sits  
vnder the barren tree,  
Resembleth to vs the forme,  
when common weales decaye:  
But when they be in state  
triumphant, you may see  
By him in fresh attire,  
that sits vnder the baie.  
Now sith that Time againe,  
his daughter Truth hath brought,  
We trust o' worthie queene,  
thou wilt this truth imbrace,  
And sith thou vnderstandst,  
the good estate and naught,  
We trust wealth thou wilt plant,  
and barrennes displace.  
But for to heale the fore,  
and cure that is not seene,  
Which thing the booke of truth,  
doth teach in writing plaine:  
Shee doth present to thee  
the same, o' worthie queene,  
For that, that words doo flie,  
but written doth remaine.

When the child had thus ended his speech, he re-  
ceiued his booke towards the queenes maiestie, which a  
little befoze Truth had let downe vnto him from the  
hill, which by sir John Barrat was receiued, and de-  
liuered vnto the queene. But shee as soone as she had  
receiued the booke, kissed it, and with both his hands  
held by the same, and so laid it vpon his brest, with  
great thanks to the citie therefore: and so went for-  
ward towards Paules churchyard. The former mat-  
ter which was rehearsed vnto the queenes maiestie,  
was written in two tables, on either side the page-  
ant eight verses, and in the midst, these in Latine:

*Ille, vides falcem leuia qui sustinet vncam,  
Tempus est, cui stat filia vera comess  
Hanc pater excessu deductam ruperonit  
In lucem, quam non viderat ante diu.  
Qui sedet a leuia cultu male tristis inepto  
Quem duris cretens cantibus orbis oblit,  
Nos monet effugie qua sit respublica, quando  
Corruit, at contra quando beata viget.  
Ille docet iuuenis forma spectandus, amictus  
Scitius, aeterna laurea fronde virens.*

The sentences written in Latine and English  
vpon both the trees, declaring the causes of both  
estates, and first of a ruinous commonweale were  
these:

*Veritas temporis  
filia, expounded  
to the queene.*

*The interpreta-  
tion of the  
pageant deli-  
uered in speech  
to the queene  
by a child.*

*The queene  
receiveth Ver-  
bum Dei, kiss-  
eth it, and  
laiceth it in  
his lap.*

these: Want of Gods feare, disobedience to rulers, blindnesse of guides, biberie in magistrats, rebellion in subiects, ciuill discord, flattering of princes, vnmmercifulnesse in rulers, vnthankfulnesse in subiects. Causes of a flourishing commonweale are these: Feare of God, a wise prince, learned rulers, obedience to officers, obedient subiects, louers of the commonweale, vertue rewarded, vice chastened.

The meaning  
in these of  
this pageant.

The matter of this pageant dependeth of them that went before. For as the first declared his grace to come out of the house of vnitie, the second that he is placed in the seat of gouernement staide with vertues, to the suppression of vice; and therefore in the third, the eight blessings of almighty God might well be applied vnto him: so this fourth now is, to put his grace in remembrance of the state of the commonweale, which Time with Truth his daughter doth reueale: which Truth also his grace hath received, and therefore cannot but be mercifull and carefull for the good gouernement thereof. From thence, the queenes maiestie passed toward Pauls churchyard, and when she came ouer against Pauls schole, a child appointed by the scholemaster thereof, pronounced a certeine oration in Latine, and certeine verses, which also were there written as followeth:

A schole of  
Pauls utter-  
eth an ora-  
tion in Latine  
to the queene.

Laus Elisabe-  
the regni iugum  
subeuntis.

Ad Anglorum  
genem brevis  
adhortatio.

Quenam pre-  
stabit Elisabe-  
tha suo regimi-  
ni.

Philosophus ille diuinus Plato inter multa praeclare ac sapienter dicta, hoc posteris proditum reliquit; Rempublicam illam feliciss. fore, cui princeps sophia studiosa, virtutibusq; ornata contingerit. Quam si verè dixisse censeamus (ut quidem verissimè) cur non terra Britannica plaucèret? cur non populus gaudium atque latitiam agitare? Immo, cur non hunc diem, albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notaret? Quo princeps talis nobis adest, qualè priores non viderunt, qualèq; posteritas haud facile cernere poterit, dotibus quum animi, tum corporis vndiq; felicissima. Casti quidem corporis dotēs ita apertae sunt, ut oratione non egeant. Animi verò tot tantq; vix ne verbis quidem exprimi possint. Hec nempe regibus summis orta, morum atq; animi nobilitate genus exasperat. Huius pectus Christi religionis amore flagrat. Hec gentem Britannicam virtutibus illustrabit, clypeoq; iustitiae teget. Hac literis Graecis & Latinis excimia, ingenioq; praeopollens est. Hac imperante pietas vigebit, Anglia florebit, aurea saecula redibunt. Vos igitur Angli tot commoda accepturi, Elisabetham reginam nostram celeberrimam ab ipso Christo huius regni imperio destinatam, honore debito prosequimini. Huius imperijs animo libentissimo subditi estote, vobisq; tali principe dignos praebete. Et quoniam pueri non viribus sed precibus, officium praestare possunt, nos: alumni huius scholae ab ipso Coeto olim templi Paulini decano extructae, teneras palmas ad caelum tendentes Christum Opt. Max. precaturi sumus, ut tuam celsitudinem annos Nestoreos summo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat; matremq; pignoribus charis beatam reddat. Amen.

Anglia nunc tandem plaudas, latere, resulta,  
Presto iam vita est, praesidiumq; tibi.  
En tuas spes venit, tua gloria, lux, decus omne  
Venit iam, solidam qua tibi praestat opem.  
Succurreretq; tuis rebus qua pessum abiere,  
Perdita qua fuerant hac reparare volet.  
Omnia flore bunt, redeunt nunc aurea saecula,  
In melius surgent qua cecidere bona.  
Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidam,  
Cuius in accessu commoda tot capies.

Salue igitur dicas, imo de pectore summo,  
Elizabeth regni non dubitanda salus,  
Virgo venit, veniatq; optes comitata deinceps,  
Pignoribus charis, laeta parens veniat.  
Hoc Deus omnipotens ex alto donet olympo,  
Qui caelum & terram condidit atq; regit.

Which the queenes maiestie most attentiuely hearkened vnto. And when the child had pronounced, he did kisse the oration which he had there faire written in paper, and deliuered it vnto the queenes maiestie, which most gentlie received the same. And when the queenes maiestie had heard all that was there offered to be spoken, then his grace marched toward Ludgate, where she was receiued with a noise of instruments, the fore front of the gate being finelie trimmed vp against his maiesties coming. From thence by the way as she went downe toward Fleetbridge, one about his grace noted the cities charge, that there was no cost spared. His grace answered, that he did well consider the same, and that it should be remembered. An honorable answer, worthy a noble prince, which may comfort all his subiects, considering that there can be no point of gentleness, or obedient loue shewed towards his grace, which she doth not most tenderly accept, and graciously deie. In this manner, the people on euery side retolling, his grace went forward towards the conduit in Fleetstrat, where was the first and last pageant erected in forme following.

From the conduit, which was beautified with painting, vnto the northside of the street was erected a stage, unbattled with foure towers, and in the same a square plat rising with degrees; and vpon the hypermost degree was placed a chaire, or seat roiall, and behind the same seat, in curious artificiall manner was erected a tree of reasonable heighth, and so farre aduanced aboue the seat, as it did well and seemelie shadowe the same, without indamaging the sight of anie part of the pageant: and the same tree was beautified with leaues as Greene as art could deuise, being of a conuenient greatnesse, and containing therebpon the fruit of the date. And on the top of the same tree in a table was set the name thereof, which was a palme tree, and in the aforesaid seat of chaire was placed a seemelie and meet personage richlie appareled in parlement robes, with a scepter in his hand, as a queene, crowned with an open crowne, whose name and title was in a table fixed ouer his head, in this sort: Deboza the iudge and restorer of the house of Israel: Iudic. 4. And the other degrees on either side were furnished with six personages, two representing the nobilitie, two the cleargie, & two the communalitie. And before these personages was written in a table: Deboza with his estate consulting for the good gouernment of Israel. At the feet of these, and the lowest part of the pageant was ordeined a conuenient roome for a child to open the meaning of the pageant. When the queenes maiestie drew neare vnto this pageant, and perceived, as in the other, the child ready to speake; his grace required silence, and commanded his chariot to be remoued higher, that the might plainlie heare the child speake, which said as hereafter followeth:

Iabin of Canaan king,  
had long by force of armes  
Opprest the Israelites,  
which for Gods people went:  
But God minding at last  
for to redresse their harmes,  
The worthie Deboza  
as iudge among them sent.  
In warre she through Gods aid,  
did put his foes to flight,

And

With  
the fan

The mozt  
fine foyeald  
pageant.

A pageant  
Fleetstrat  
described.

The children  
of Christs  
hospital stand  
in the  
Duns  
sims.

\* Willing to  
the queenes  
maiestie no  
doubt.

How tolling  
the queene  
was to heare  
the child  
speake.

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bir g  
fineli  
bion,

Temple bar  
joined with  
Dunmago, &  
the grants.

And with the dint offword  
the band of bondage braist.  
In peace she, through Gods aid,  
did alwaie mainteine right,  
And iudged Israell  
till fortie yeares were past.  
A worthie president,  
o worthie queene thou hast,  
A worthie woman iudge,  
a woman sent for staie:  
And that the like to vs  
indure alwaie thou maist,  
Thy louing subiects will  
with true harts and toongs praie.

Which verses were written upon the pageant, &  
the same in Latin also fired in the face of the people:

*Quando Dei populum Canaan, rex prestat Iuben,  
Mittitur a magno Debora magna Deo:  
Qua populum eriperet, sanctum seruaret Iudan,  
Milite qua patrio frangeret hostis opes.  
Hac Domino mandante Deo lectissima fecit  
Famina, & aduersos contudit ense viros.  
Hac quater denos populum correxerat annos  
Iudicio, bello strema, pace grauis:  
sic, o sic populum belloque & pace guberna,  
Debora, sis Anglis Elisabeta tuis.*

The boie places of this pageant were filled with  
pretie sentences concerning the same matter. The  
ground of this last pageant was, that for somuch as  
the next pageant before had set before hir graces eyes  
the flourishing and desolate states of a common-  
weale, he might by this be put in remembrance to  
consult for the worthie gouernement of hir people,  
considering God oftentimes sent women noble to  
rule among men, as Debora, which gouerned Israell  
in peace the space of fortie yeares: and that it beho-  
ueth both men and women so ruling to tise aduise of  
god counsell. When the queenes maiestie had pas-  
sed this pageant, she marched toward Temple bar.  
But at St. Dunstons church, where the children of  
the hospitall were appointed to stand with their go-  
uernours, hir grace perceiuing a child offered to make  
an oration vnto hir, staied hir chariot, and did cast vp  
hir eyes to heauen, as who should saie; I here see this  
mercifull worke toward the poore, whome I must in  
the middell of my roialtie needs remember: and so  
turned hir face toward the child, which in Latine pro-  
nounced an oration to this effect: That after the  
queenes highnesse had passed through the cite, and  
had scene so sumptuous, rich, and notable spectacles  
of the citizens, which declared their most hartie re-  
ceiuing, and solous welcomming of hir grace into  
the same: this one spectacle yet rested and remained,  
which was the eneralsting spectacle of mercie vnto  
the poore members of almightie God, furthered by  
that famous and most noble prince king Henrie the  
eight hir graces father, created by the cite of Lon-  
don, & aduanced by the most godlie & vertuous prince  
king Edward the first, hir graces deare and louing  
brother, doubting nothing of the mercie of the  
queenes most gracious clemencie, by the which they  
may not onelie be relieved and helped, but also staied  
and defended: and therefore incessantlie they would  
praie and crye vnto almightie God, for the long life  
and reigne of hir highnesse, with most prosperous  
victorie against hir enemies.

The child after he had ended his oration, kist  
the paper wherein the same was written, & reached  
it to the queenes maiestie, which receiued it grati-  
ouly, both with words and countenance, declaring  
his gracious mind toward their reliefe. From thence  
hir grace came to Temple bar, which was welled  
finelie with the two images of Cogmagog the Al-  
bion, & Cozincus the Hyton, two giants, big in sta-

ture, furnished accordingly, which held in their hands  
about the gate, a table, wherein was written in La-  
tine verses the effect of all the pageant which the cite  
before had erected, which verses were these insuing:

*Ecce sub aspectum contemplaberis vno  
(O princeps populi sola columna tui)  
Quicquid in immensa possum perspexeris urbe,  
Qua cepere omnes vnus hic arcus habet.  
Primus se solo regni donauit auiti,  
Heres quippe tui vera parentis eras.  
Suppressis vitijs, domina virtute. Secundus,  
Firmans sedem regia virgo tuam.  
Tertius ex omni posuit te parte beatam,  
Si, qua cepisti pergere velle, velis.  
Quarto quid verum, res publica lapsa quid esset,  
Que florens staret te docuere tui.  
Quinto magna loco monuit te Debora missam  
Calidum, in regni gaudia longa tui.  
Perge ergo regina, tua spes vnica gentis,  
Hac postrema urbis suscipe vota tue.  
Vive diu, regnaq; diu, virtutibus orna  
Rem patriam, & populi spem tueare tui.  
sic o sic petitur calum, sic stur in astra:  
Hoc virtutis opus, cetera mortis erunt.*

Which verses were also written in English me-  
ter, in a lesse table as hereafter plainelie followeth:

Behold here in one view,  
thou maist see all that plaine,  
O princeesse vnto this  
thy people th' onlie staie:  
What eachwhere thou hast scene  
in this wide towne, againe,  
This one arch whatsoeuer  
the rest conteind, dooth faie.  
The first arch as true heire  
vnto thy father deere,  
Did set thee in thy throue  
where thy grandfather sat.  
The second did confirme  
thy seat as princeesse heere,  
Vertues now bearing swaie,  
and vices bet downe flat.  
The third, if that thou wouldst  
go on as thou began,  
Declared thee to be  
blessed on euerie side.  
The fourth did open truth,  
and also taught thee when  
The commonweale stood well,  
and when it did thence slide.  
The fift, as Debora  
declard thee to be sent  
From heauen, a long comfort  
to vs thy subiects all.  
Therefore go on o queene,  
on whom our hope is bent,  
And take with thee this wish  
of thy towne as small.  
Liue long, and as long reioice,  
adorning thy countie  
With vertues, and mainteine  
thy peoples hope of thee.  
For thus, thus heauen is woone,  
thus must thou perle the skie,  
This is by vertue wrought,  
all other needs must die.

On the Sunday was appointed by the cite a house  
of singing children, and one child richlie attired as a  
poet, which gaue the queenes maiestie his farewell  
in the name of the whole cite by these sweet words:

*As at thine entrance, O prince of high renowne,  
Thou wast presented with  
toongs and hearts for thy faier:*

Quinque arcus  
quam significa-  
tionem impli-  
catis sententis.

what the ar-  
ches signifie.

The citie  
farewell to the  
queene going  
out at Temple  
barre.



So now sch' thou must needs  
depart out of this towne,  
This citie sendeth thee  
firme hope and earnest praier.  
For all men hope in thee,  
that all vertues shall raine,  
For all men hope that thou  
none error wilt support,  
For all men hope that thou  
wilt truth restore againe,  
And mend that is amisse,  
to all good mens comfort.  
And for this hope they praie,  
thou maist continue long,  
Our queene amongst vs here,  
all vice for to supplant,  
And for this hope they praie,  
that God maie make thee strong,  
As by his grace puissant,  
So in his truth constant.  
Farewell o' worthie queene,  
and as our hope is sure,  
That into errors place,  
thou wilt now truth restore:  
So trust we that thou wilt  
our soueraigne queene endure,  
And louing ladie stand,  
from henceforth euermore.

While these words were in saleng, and certelie  
wishes therein repeated for maintenance of truth,  
and rooting out of error, he now and then held by  
hir hands towards heauen, and willed the people to  
saie, Amen. When the child had ended, she said; We  
ye well assured I shall stand your good queene. At  
which saleng, hir grace departed forth through Tem-  
plebarre toward Westminster, with no lesse show-  
ing and crying of the people, than she entered the  
citie with a noise of ordinance which the tower shot  
off at hir graces entrance first into Towerstreet.  
The child's saleng was also in Latine verses writ-  
ten in a table verie faire which was hanged up there:

The last  
words of the  
queene to the  
citie by waie  
of promise.

Carmen valedic-  
torium a puero  
recitatum.

O regina potens, quum primam urbem ingredereris,  
Dona tibi linguas fida, corda dedit.  
Discedenti etiam tibi nunc duo munera mittit,  
Omnia plena fides, vota, plena precum.  
Quippe tui spes est in te, quod prouida virtus  
Rexerit, errore nec locum ullus erit.  
Quippe tui spes est, quod in verum omni reduces  
Solatura bonas, atum mala tollis, opes.  
Hac spe freti, orant, longum ut regina gubernes,  
Et regni exindus crimina cuncta tui.  
Hac spe freti orant, diuina ut gratia fortem  
Et vera fides te velit esse basin.  
Iam regina vale, sicut nos spes tenet una,  
Quod vero inducto, perditus error erit:  
Sic quos speramus quod eris regina benigna  
Nobis per regni tempora long a tui.

Thus the queenes highnesse passed through the ci-  
tie, which without anie forreigne person, of it selfe  
beautified it selfe, and receiued hir grace at all places  
as hath bene before mentioned, with most tender o-  
bedience and love, due to so gracious a queene and  
soueraigne a ladie. And hir grace likewise of hir side  
in all hir graces passage, shewed hir selfe generallie  
an image of a worthy ladie and gouernour. But pri-  
uatie these especiall points were noted in hir grace,  
as signes of a most princelike courage, whereby hir  
louing subjects maie ground a sure hope for the rest  
of hir gracions poynts hereafter.

About the nether end of Cornhill toward Cheape,  
one of the knights about hir grace had espied an an-  
cient citizen, which wept, and turned his head backe,  
and therewith said this gentleman; Wonder is an al-  
derman (for so he' learned him) which weepeth, and

Certain notes  
of the queenes  
in this  
great miracle.

turneth his face backward; how maie it be inter-  
preted that he so doth, for sorrow, or for gladnesse:  
The queens maiestie heard him, and said, I warrant  
you it is for gladnesse. A gracious interpretation of  
a noble courage, which would turne the doubtfull to  
the best. And yet it was well knowne, that as hir  
grace did confirme the same, the parties cheare was  
moued for verie pure gladnesse for the sight of hir  
maiesties person, at the beholding whereof he took  
such comfort, that with teares he expressed the same.  
In Cheape side hir grace smiled, and being thereof  
demanded the cause, answered, for that she heard one  
saie, Remember old king Henrie the eight. A natu-  
rall child, which at the verie remembrance of hir fa-  
thers name, took so great a toy, that all men maie  
well thinke, that as she reioiced at his name whome  
his realme doth hold of so worthie memorie: so in  
hir doings she will resemble the same.

When the cities charge without parcialitie, and  
onlie the citie was mentioned vnto hir grace, she  
said it should not be forgotten. Which saleng might  
moue all naturall Englishmen hartlie to their due  
obedience and intierneesse to their so good a queene,  
which will in no point forget anie parcell of dutie lo-  
uingly shewed vnto hir. The answer which hir grace  
made vnto maister recorder of London, as the hea-  
rens know it to be true, with melting hearts heard  
the same: so maie the reader thereof conceiue what  
kind of stomach and courage pronounced the same.

What more famous thing doe we read in ancient  
histories of old time, than that mightie princes haue  
gentlie receiued presents offered them by base and  
low personages. If that be to be wondered at (as it  
is passinglie) let me see ante witer that in anie prin-  
ces life is able to recount so manie pfects of this  
vertue, as hir grace shewed in that one passage the-  
rough the citie.

How manie nosegales did hir grace receiue at  
poore womens hands: How oftentimes said the hir  
chariot, when she saw anie simple bodie offer to  
speake to hir grace: A branch of rosemarie giuen hir  
grace with a supplication by a poore woman about  
Fleetbridge, was scene in hir chariot till hir grace  
came to Westminster, not without the marvellous  
wondering of such as knew the presenter, and no-  
ted the queens most gracious receiuing and heaping  
the same. What hope the poore and needie maie loke  
for at hir graces hand, she as in all hir iourne conti-  
nuallie, so in hir hearkening to the poore children of  
Christ's hospitall with etes cast by into heauen, did  
fullie declare: as that neither the wealthier estate  
could stand without consideration had to the pover-  
tie, neither the povertie be duly considered, but  
they were remembered, as commended vnto vs by  
Gods owne mouth.

As at hir first entrance she as it were declared  
hir selfe prepared to passe through a citie that most  
intierlie loued hir: so she at hir last departing as it  
were bought hir selfe by promise, to continue good  
ladie and gouernour vnto that citie, which by outward  
declaration did open their loue vnto their so louing  
and noble prince. In such wise, as the hir selfe won-  
dered the same. But because princes be set in their  
seat by Gods appointing, and therefore they must  
first and chiefly tender the glorie of him, from whom  
their glorie cometh: it is to be noted in hir grace, that  
for so much as God hath so wonderfullie placed hir  
in the seat of gouernement ouer this realme, she in  
all hir doings shewed hir selfe most mindfull of  
his goodnesse: and mercie shewed vnto hir. And among  
all other, two principall signes thereof were noted  
in this passage. First in the tower, where hir grace  
before she entered hir chariot, lifted up hir eyes to  
heauen, and said as followeth.

The

In religio  
p. p. p. p.  
queene  
birth as  
the was.

Hir coron  
on at we  
minster.

Hir  
Dimmo  
bright  
champion  
of the

The top  
maior  
don seru  
the quee  
sporell

3 part

**O** Lord almightie and everlasting  
God, I giue thee most hartie  
thanks, that thou hast bene so  
mercifull vnto me, as to spare me  
to behold this ioufull daie. And I acknow-  
ledge that thou hast delt as wonderfullie  
and as mercifullie with me, as thou did-  
dest with thy true and faithfull seruant  
Daniell thy prophet; whome thou deliue-  
rest out of the den from the crueltie of the  
greddie and raging lions: euen so was I  
ouerwhelmed, and onlie by thee deliuered.  
To thee therefore onlie be thanks, honoz,  
and praise, for euer: Amen.

The second was the receiuing of the bible at the li-  
tle conduit in Cheape. For then hir grace had lear-  
ned that the bible in English should there be offered:  
She thanked the citie therefore, promised the reading  
thereof most diligently, and incontinent comma-  
nded that it should be bzought. At the receipt where-  
of, how reuerendie did the wissh both hir hands take  
it, kisse it, and laie it vpon hir brest, to the great  
comfort of the workers on: God will vndonbteble  
perfesue for to wisshie a prince, which at his honoz so  
reuerendie taketh hir beginning. For this sateng  
is true, and wisshen in the boke of truth; He that  
first sebeth the kingdome of God, shall haue all o-  
ther things cast vnto him. Now therefore all Eng-  
lish hearts, and hir naturall people must needs prasse  
Gods mercie, which hath sent them so wisshie a  
prince, and prate for hir graces long continuance  
amongst vs. On fundaie the five and twentieth  
of Ianuarie, hir maiestie was with great solemn-  
tie crowned at Westminster in the abbete church  
there, by doctor Whglethorpe bishop of Carleill. She  
dined in Westminster hall, which was richlie hong,  
and euerie thing ordered in such rofall manner, as to  
such a regall and most solemnne feast appertained.

In the meane time, whylest hir grace sat at dinner, sir Edward Dimmocke knight, hir champion by office, came riding into the hall in faire complet armour, mounted vpon a beautifull courser, richly trapped in cloth of gold, entered the hall, and in the midst thereof cast downe his gantlet: with offer to fight with him in hir quarell, that should denie hir to be the righteous and lawfull quene of this realme. The quene taking a cup of gold full of wine, dranke to him thereof, and sent it to him for his fee together with the couer.

Now after this, at the serving vp of the wafers; the lord maior of London went to the cupbord, and filling a cup of gold with ipocrasse, bare it to the queene; and kneeling before hir toke the same, and the receiuing it of him, and drinking of it, gaue the cup with the couer vnto the said lord maior for his fee, with cup and couer weighed sixtē ounces Trole weight. Finally, this feast being celebrated with all roiall ceremonies, and high solemnities, due and in like cases accustomed, toke end with great ioy and contentation to all the beholders. On Wednesday the five and twentieth of Januarie the parliament began, the queenes maiestie riding in hir parliament robes, from hir palace of Whitehall, vnto the abbey church of Westminster, with the lords spirituall and tempozall, attending hir likewise in their parliament robes. Doctor Cox sometime scholemaster to king Edward the first, and now latelie returned from the parties of beyond the seas, where

during the daies of queene Marie he had liued as a banished man, preached now before the estates there assembled in the beginning of the said parliament. In this parliament, the first fruits and tenths were restored to the crowne, & also the supreme government over the state ecclesiasticall, which queene Marie had given to the pope. Likewise the booke of common praier and administration of the sacraments in our mother tong was restored.

10 But before this good worke was agreed vpon,  
there was much debating about matters touching  
religion, and great studie on both parties imployed,  
the one to retaine still, the other to impugne the doc-  
trine and faction which before in queene Maries time  
had bene establisshed. But speciallie here is to be  
noted, that though there lacked no industrie on the  
papists side, to hold fast that which they most crue-  
lie from time to time had studied, and by all means  
practised to come by: yet notwithstanding, such  
20 was the providence of God at that time, that for  
lacke of the other bishops, whom the Lord had taken  
awaie by death a little before, the residue that there  
were left coulde do the lesse: and in verie deed, God  
be praised therefore, did nothing at all in effect; al-  
though yet notwithstanding there lacked in them  
neither will nor labor to do what they could, if their  
cruell abilitie there might haue serued. But name-  
lie amongst all others, not onelie the industrious  
courage of doctor Storie, but also his words in this  
30 parlement are worthie to be knowne of posteritie,  
who like a stout and furious champion, of the popes  
side, to declare himselfe how lustie he was, and what  
he had and would do in his masters quarell, thame-  
ned not openlie in the said parlement house to burst  
out into such impudent sort of words, as was wonder-  
ful to all good eares to heare, and no lesse worthie of  
hissorie.

The summe of which his shamelesse talke was vt-  
tered to this effect . First beginning with himselfe ,  
40 he declared , that whereas he was noted commonlie  
abroad , and much complained of , to haue bene a  
great doer , & a better fowth of such religion , orders , &  
proceedings , as of his late soueraigne that dead is  
quene Marie were set fowth in this reime , he denied  
nothing the same : professing moreover that he had  
done nothing therein , but that both his conscience  
did lead him therevnto , and also his commission did  
as well then command him , as now also doth dis-  
charge him for the same : being no lesse readie now  
50 also to do the like , and moze , in case he by this quene  
were authorized likewise , and commanded therevnto .  
Wherefore as I see (saith he ) nothing to be at-  
tained of ; so lesse I see to be soze for : but rather saith  
that he was soze for this , because he had done no  
moze than he did , and that in executing those lawes ,  
they had not bene moze beement & severe . Where-  
in he said , there was no default in him , but in them ,  
whome he both oft and earnestlie had exhorted to the  
same ; being therefore not a little grieved with them ,  
60 for that they labored onlie about the yong and little  
spizgs and twigs , while they should haue stroken at  
the root , and cleane hane rooted it out : &c . And con-  
cerning his persecuting and burning them , he de-  
nied not , but that he was once at the burning of an  
erawet ( for so he termed it ) at Arxbridge , where he  
lost a fagot at his face as he was singing psalmes ,  
and set a wine bush of thorns vnder his feet , a little  
to picke him , with manie other woords of like effect  
In the which woords he named moreover like Philip  
Hobbie , and an other knight of Kent , with such o-  
ther of the richer and higher degre , whome his coun-  
sell was to plucke at , & to bring them vnder *Coram*  
wherein (saith he) if they had followed my aduise , they  
had they done well and wisely . This oz much like  
W h b b b . was

The first  
fruits and  
tithes restor-  
ed to the  
crowne.

Abr. Fl. ex  
Iohan. Foxi  
martyrologio.

Doctor Stor-  
rie imprudent  
and farocic.

The words  
of doctor Stea-  
rie in the pa-  
lement house.

This mar:  
tyr burnt at  
Arbridge  
was maister  
Denleig.

was the effect of the shamelesse and tyrannicall excuse of himselfe, more mete to speake with the voice of a beast, than of a man. Although in this parlement some diuersitie there was of iudgement and opinion betwene parties: yet notwithstanding through the mercifull godnesse of the Lord, the true cause of the gospell had the vpper hand, the papists hope was frustrat, and their rage abated: the order and proceedings of king Edwards time concerning religion was reuiued againe, the supremacie of the pope abolished, the articles and bloudie statutes of queene Marie repealed: blasphemie, the furious fierbrands of cruell persecution, which had consumed so manie poore mens bodies, were now extinct and quenched.]

A motion made in the parlement house to the queene touching marriage, &c.

Whereouer in the time of this parlement, a motion was made by the common house, that the queenes maiestie might be sued vnto, to grant hir graces licence to the speaker, knights, citizens & burgesses, to haue access vnto hir graces presence: to declare vnto hir matter of great importance, concerning the state of this hir graces realme. The which petition being moued to hir grace, she most honozable agreed and consented thereto, and assigned a daie of hearing. When the daie came, the speaker & common house resorted vnto hir graces palace at Westminster called the White hall. And in the great gallerie there, hir grace most honozable shewed hir selfe ready to heare their motion and petition. And when the speaker had solemnlie and eloquentlie set forth the message (the principall matter wherof most spectallie was to moue hir grace to marriage) whereby (to all our comforts) we might inioine (as Gods pleasure should be) the roiall issue of hir bodie to reigne ouer vs, &c. The queenes maiestie after a little pause made this answer following, as nere as I could beare the same awaie (saith Grafton.)

The queenes answer to the former motion of the parlement house.

Rich. Grafton.



I haue god cause, so doe I giue to you my hartie thanks for the good zeale and care that you seme to haue as well toward me, as to the whole state of your countrie. Your petition I gather to be grounded on thre causes, and mine answer to the same shall consist in two parts. And for the first I saie vnto you, that from my years of vnderstanding, knowing my selfe a seruitor of almightie God, I chose this kind of life, in which I doe yet liue, as a life most acceptable vnto him, wherein I thought I could best serue him, and with most quietnesse doe my duetie vnto him. From which my choise, if either ambition of high estate offered vnto me by marriages (whereof I haue records in this presence) the displeasure of the prince, the eschewing the danger of mine enemies, or the avoiding the perill of death (whose messenger the princes indignation was no little time continuallie present before mine eyes, by whose meanes if I knew or doe sussepect, I will not now vtter them, or if the whole cause were my sister hir selfe, I will not now charge the dead) could haue drawen or dissuaded me, I had not now remained in this virgins estate wherein you see me. But so constant haue I alwaies continued in this my determination (that although my words and youth maie seme to some hardlie to agree together) yet it is true, that to this daie I stand free from anie other meaning, that either I haue had in times past, or haue at this present. In which state and trade of liuing therewith I am so thoroughly acquainted, God hath so hitherto

The queenes maiestie esteemeth no life so glorious as to serue God.

The queenes maiestie hath no mind to marrie.

preserued me, and hath so watchfull an eye vpon me, and so hath guided me and led me by the hand, as my full trust is, he will not suffer me to go alone. The manner of your petition I doe like, and take in good part: for it is simple, and containeth no limitation of place or person. If it had bene otherwise, I must haue misliked it verie much, and thought in you a verie great presumption, being vnfit and altogether vnmeet to require them that may command, or those appoint whose parts are to desire, or such to bind and limit whose duties are to obeye; or to take vpon you to draw my loue to your likings, or to frame my will to your fancies. A guerdon constrained, and a gift freele giuen can neuer agree. Neuerthelesse, if anie of you be in suspect, that whensoever it maie please God to incline my hart to that kind of life, my meaning is to doe or determine anie thing therewith the realme maie haue iust cause to be discontented; put that out of your heads. For I assure you (what credence my assurance maie haue with you I can not tell, but what credit it shall deserue to haue, the sequelle shall declare) I will neuer in that matter conclude anie thing that shall be prejudiciall vnto the realme. For the weale and god safetie whereof, as a god mother of my countrie, I will neuer shun to spend my life. And whensoever my choise maie light vpon, he shall be as careful for the preservation of the realme as you, I will not saie as my selfe: for I cannot so certainlie promise of another, as I doe surelie know of my selfe, but as anie other can be. And albeit it doth please almightie God to continue me still in this mind, to liue out of the state of marriage: it is not to be feared, but he will so worke in my hart, and in your wisdoms, that as god prouision may be made in convenient time, whereby the realme shall not remaine destitute of an heire that may be a fit gouernor, and peraduenture more beneficiall to the realme than such offspring as may come of me. For though I be neuer so careful for your well doings, and mind euer so to be: yet may mine issue grow out of kind and become vngenerous. And for me it shall be sufficient, that a marble stone declare that a queene, hauing reigned such a time, liued and died a virgine. To make an end, I take your comming to me in god part, and giue vnto you effrons my hartie thanks, more yet for your zeale, god will, and god meaning, than for your message and petition.

And for the second part, I saie vnto you, that for feare of persecution in queene Maries daies were fled the realme, and liued in voluntarie exile, now that all persecution ceased by the gracious clemencie of this noble princeesse queene Elisabeth, they returned with all convenient speed home into their native countrie, giuing to almightie God most humble thanks for that his mercifull deliuerance, in sending them a gouernor, that not onelie permitted libertie of conscience, but also was ready to aduance religion, and command free exercise of common prayer, preaching, and administration of the sacraments, according to the right institution of the primitive churches. Fridaie the seauenteenth of Februarie, one of maister Hummings seruants (that was also one of the takers of fresh fish for the prouision of the queenes house) was set on the pillorie in Cheapside in the fish market ouer against the kings head, hauing a baton of smelts hanging about his necke, with a paper on his forehead written: For buyeng smelts for twelue pence the hundred, and selling them againe for ten pence the quarter. He stood so likewise on the eighteenth and the twentieth daie of the same moneth, euery one of those thre daies from nine of the clocke till twelue. The last daie he should haue had one of his eares slit, if

I most certainly answer of a most certainly promise.

Preachers at the pulpit.

The pulpit at the Houses of Parliament.

The queenes promise to her father.

The queenes words touching an hallowed part of the motion.

The returne of the prisoners from exile.

The best leaue of each side to be chosen for this conference.

One set on the pillorie, and under paines of death to be chosen for this conference.

The persons chosen for the conference.

if by great fate made to the countcell by the lord maior of London, he had not bene pardoned and released out of prison. This penance was assigned to him by the quenes owne appointment, when to his grace his trespass was revealed. Whereby she gaue a taile to the people of a zealous mind to haue iustice duly ministred, and faults accordinglie punished, namelie of those which vnder pretense of his graces authoritie should go about to wrong and oppresse his louing subiects.

This yere in the Easter holidais on the mondaie preached at the Spittle doctor Will, on the tuesday doctor Cor, & on the wednesday doctor Horne: the first was his maiesties chapleine, the other two had remained at Geneva, and in other places beyond the seas all quene Maries time. On tuesday maister Samson made the rehearsall sermon: but when the lord maior and aldermen came to their places in Paules churchyard, the pulpit doore was locked, & the keye could not be heard of. Whereupon the lord maior felt for a smith to open the locke, which was done; and when the preacher should enter the place, it was found verie filthie and uncleane. Whereupon the verger that had the custodie of the keye, which opened the doore of the place where the prelat and other vsed to stand at the sermon time, would not open the doore; but the gentlemen with a forcible broke it open; and so came in to heare the sermon. This disorder chanced by reason that since Christmaste last past there was not a sermon preached at Paules crosse, by meanes of an inhibition sent from the countcell vnto the bishop of London, that he should admit no preacher, because of the controuersie betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie that were now returned into the realme, from the parties of beyond the seas.

The last of March the parlement yet continuing, was a conference begun at Westminster concerning certaine articles of religion betwixt the bishops and other of the clergie on the one part, and certaine learned preachers of whome some had bene in dignitie in the church of England before that time on the other part. The declaration of the proceeding therein, and the cause of the breaking vp of the same conference by default and contempt of certaine bishops, parties of the said conference was published in a little treatise, and imprinted by Richard Jug and John Catwood printers to the quenes maiestie, as here followeth. The quenes most excellent maiestie, having heard of diuersitie of opinions in certaine matters of religion amongst sundrie of his louing subiects, and being verie desirous to haue the same reduced to some goodlie & christian concord, thought it best by the aduise of the lords, and other of his priue counsell, as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtfull, as also for the knowlege of the verie truth in certaine matter of difference, to haue a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, & to confer together their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement.

And hereupon by his maiesties commandement certaine of his priue counsell declared this purpose to the archbishop of Yorke (being also one of the same priue counsell) & required him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choise of eight, nine, or ten of them: and that there should be the like number named of the other part: and further also declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matters should be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as soon as possible might be agreed vpon. And then after certaine daies past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there was appointed by each of the bishops, to whome he had imparted this matter, eight persons, that is

to saie, foure bishops, and foure doctors, who were content at the quenes maiesties commandement to shew their opinions; and (as he termed it) render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned; and that speciallie in writing, although he said they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute vpon them.

It was hereupon fullie resolved by the quenes maiestie, with the aduise aforesaid, that according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts; for avoiding of much altercation in words; and that the said bishops should, because they were in authoritie and degree superiours, first declare their minds and opinions in the matter, with their reasons in writing: and the other number being also eight men of good degree in scholes, and some hauing bene in dignitie in the church of England, if they had anie thing to saie to the contrarie, should the same daie declare their opinions in like manner. And so each of them should deliuer their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improved therein, and the same to declare againe in writing at some other convenient daie, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fullie agreed vpon with the archbishop of Yorke, and also signified to both parties. And immediatlie hereupon, diuerse of the nobilitie and states of the realme, understanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certaine matters, thereupon (the court of parlement consequentlie following) some lawes might be grounded: they made earnest meanes to his maiestie, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them of the nobilitie, and others of the parlement house, for the better satisfaction and inabling of their owne iudgements, to treat and conclude of such lawes as might depend hereupon.

This also being thought verie reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fullie agreed vpon, and the daie appointed for the first meeting to be the fridaie in the forenoone, being the last of March at Westminster church, where both for good order, and for honour of the conference, by the quenes maiesties commandement, the lords and others of the priue counsell were present, and a great part of the nobilitie also. And notwithstanding the former order appointed, and consented vnto by both parts, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, alleging that they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so onelie recited out of the booke, said their booke was not readie then written: but they were prouided to argue and dispute, and therefore would for that time repeat in speech that which they had to saie vnto the first proposition. This variation from the order, and speciallie from that which themselves had by the said archbishop in writing before required, adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing; but to subuersion of the hearer, seemed vnto the quenes maiesties counsell somewhat strange: & yet was it permitted without anie great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not faile but put it in writing; and according to the former order, deliuer it to the other part. And so the said bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed doctor Cole deane of Paules, to be the utterer of their minds, who partly by speech onelie, and partly by reading of authorities written, and at certaine times being informed of his colleagues what to saie, made a declaration of their meanings, & their reasons to their first proposition. Which being ended, they were asked by the priue counsell, if anie of

Order taken for quene conference, and regard had of the bishops according to their dignitie.

The daie for the first meeting of this conference appointed.

The bishop of Winchester was one of the proceeding mistaken but yet in fine followed notwithstanding the contrarie prouided.

The manner of their first entrance into this conference.

most excellent  
not answer of  
most excellent  
not princelie

the pulpit  
was locked  
and the keye  
could not be  
heard of

The quenes  
counsell house  
where God  
deliuer his  
art.

The quenes  
lords  
being an helpe  
shall the last  
art of their  
ration.

The reforme  
the protestants  
from  
the.

The bishop  
of Winchester  
was one of the  
proceeding  
mistaken but  
yet in fine  
followed  
notwithstanding  
the contrarie  
prouided.

he set on  
the pillow;  
to what part  
ment the  
same by his  
one mouth  
poured  
in.

The persons  
of the  
conference  
were here  
appointed.

them had ante more to be said: and they said, No. So as then the other part was licenced to shew their minds, which they did according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded in a booke written, which after a praier & invocation made most humble to almighty God, for the indowing of them with his holie spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholike church, builded upon the scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinalie read by one Robert Horne bachelior in divinitie, late deane of Duresme.

Afterwards  
bishop of win-  
chester.

And the same being ended with some likelihood, as it seemed that the same was much allowable to the audience: certeine of the bishops began to saie contrarie to their former answer, that they had now much more to saie to this matter. Wherein although they might have bene well reprehended for such manner of cavillation, yet for avoiding of any mistaking of orders in this colloquie or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to saie: it was both ordered, and thus openlie agreed upon of both parts in the full audience, that upon the morrow daie following, the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also if they could, and first read the same, and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same. And being read, ech of them should deliver to other the same writings. And in the meane time the bishops should put in writing, not onelie all that which doctor Cole had that daie uttered: but all such other matters as they ante otherwise could thinke of for the same: and as sone as they might possible, to send the same booke touching that first assertion to the other part, and they should receive of them that writing which master Horne had there read that daie, and upon mondaie it should be agreed what daie they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition.

These assen-  
bles on the  
mondaie ac-  
cording to  
appointment.

Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assemble quietlie dismissed. And therefore upon mondaie, the like assemble began againe at the place & houre appointed: and there (upon that sinister or disordered meaning is not yet fullie knowne, though in some part it be understood) the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues, and especiallie Lincolne, refused to exhibit or read, according to the former notorious order on fridaie, that which they had prepared for the second assertion. And the rebpon by the lord keeper of the great seale, they being first gentlie and favourablie required to keepe the order appointed; and that taking no place, being secondlie as it behoued, pressed with more earnest request: they neither regarding the authoritie of that place, nor their owne reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterlie refused that to do. And finally being againe particularlie euertie of them apart, distinalie by name, required to understand their opinions therein: they all saving one (which was the abbat of Westminster, having some more consideration of order and his dutie of obedience than the other) utterlie and platnelie denied to haue their booke read, some of them more earnestlie than others, and some other more vndiscreetlie and vnreuerentlie than others.

The stub-  
borne-  
ness of the  
aduerse part  
an occasion to  
dissolve this  
assemble.

Whereupon giving such example of disorder, stubbornesse and selfewill, as hath not bene scene and suffered in such an honourable assemble, being of the two estates of this realme, the nobilitie and the commons, besides the presence of the quenes maiesties most honourable priuie counsell, the same assemble was dismissed, and the godlie and most christian purpose of the quens maiestie made frustrate. And afterwards for the contempt so notoriouslie made, the bishops of Winchester and Lincolne, ha-

uing most obstinatelie both disobeyed common authoritie, and varied manifestlie from their owne order, and speciallie Lincolne (who shewed more solie than the other) were condignelie committed to the tower of London, and the rest (saving the abbat of Westminster) stood bound to make daile their personall apperance before the counsell, and not to depart the cite of London and Westminster, untill further order were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

The three propositions whereupon  
conference was determined to haue  
bene at Westminster.

1 **I**t is against the word of God, and the custome of the ancient church, to vse a tong unknowne to the people, in common praier, and the administration of the sacraments.

2 **E**uerie church hath authoritie to appoint, take awaie, and change ceremonies and ecclesiasticall rites: so the same be to edification.

3 **I**t cannot be proued by the word of God, that there is in the masse offered by a sacrifice propitiatorie for the quicke and the dead.

30 The names of such as had conference in the propositions aforesaid.

The B. of Winchester.	D. Scorie B. of Chiche.
The bishop of Lichfield.	Doctor Cor.
The bishop of Chester.	Paisier Whitehed.
The bishop of Caerleill.	Paisier Griadall.
The bishop of Lincolne.	Paisier Horne.
Doctor Cole.	Paisier doctor Sands.
Doctor Harpesfield.	Paisier Gess.
Doctor Langball.	Paisier Elmer.
Doctor Chedese.	Paisier Felwell.

The bishops and doctors sat on the one side of the quere at a table for them prepared, & the other leaued men sat at another table on the other side of the same quere. And at the upper end thereof at another table sat the quenes maiesties counsell, desirous to haue scene some good conclusion of the said conference, although (as ye may perceiue by that which is aboue recited) it came to small effect. In this meane time, a treatie of peace, which had bene in hand the last yeare, first at Lile, and after at the abbeie of Cercampe, a thre leagues from Dorens, betwixt the two kings of Spaine and France, was now renewed againe, and the deputies were appointed to meet at *Chasteau Cambresie*, a six leagues distant from Cambraie. For the king of Spaine, the duke of Alua, the prince of Orange, the bishop of Arras, Rigomes de Silua earle of Mellito, monsieur Willigius Zwilchem, knight and president of the priuie counsell in the low countries, who neuertheless came not, because he was letted by sicknesse. For the French king there came the cardinall of Lozaine, the constable, the marshall of saint Andreu, the bishop of Orleans, and Claude de Aubespine, the said kings secretarie. For the quene of England, the bishop of Elie, the lord William Howard baron of Effingham lord chamberleine to the said quene, doctor Nicholas Wotton deane of Canturburie and Porke.

For the duke of Sauoie, there were the earle of Stropiana, & the president of Asti. And as a meane or mediatrix betwene the parties, there was Chyrtierna dutchesse of Lozaine, with hir sonne the yong duke, which dutchesse, as well here, as before at Cercampe,

Louisco  
concordance.  
The articles  
of the peace  
betweene the  
quenes ma-  
iestie and the  
French king.

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Sir John  
Halon.

A general  
peace betweene  
the kings of  
France and  
Spaine.

The peace  
proclaimed.

Articles and  
conditions  
subscribed for  
a time.

The lords  
wentworth  
arrested and  
acquitted.

A treatie of  
peace betweene  
the kings of  
Spaine and  
France.

The deputies  
of committes  
were appoint-  
ed for the  
princes.

A subsidie  
granted of  
monies by  
the commons  
and burgesses  
of the



campe, trauelled most earnestlie to doo good betwixt the parties, and to bring them to a small accord, whose enduo; therein was to the great good liking & contentation of all the said parties. After that this treatie had continued a long time, and now rest; nothing to staie them fro concluding a generall peace, but onelie the article touching Calis, at length that matter was also accorded by a speciall treatie betwixt the quenes maiestie of England, & the french king, Guido Caualcanti a gentleman of Florence being the meane to bring the same to effect. The substance of which articles was, that Calis should rest in the frenchmens hands, for the terme of eight yeres, and at the end of that terme, they couenanted to render the same: or else for default, to forfeit vnto the quenes highnesse the summe of five hundred thousand crownes; and for suretie hereof, to deliuer foure hostages, such as hir maiestie should thinke sufficient. And in case the towne were not deliuered at the end of the said eight yeres, though the monie were paid according to the couenants: yet notwithstanding the right and title to the said towne and countrie adioining, should alwaies remaine and be reserved vnto the crowne and realme of England. It was farther concluded also, that a peace should be signed and had betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, such fortresses to be rased as had been built and made by the Scots and french on the borders towards England, as Haimouth and others.

Sir John Hason knight, secretaire for the french toing, was sent ouer in post with instructions vnto the English commissioners, after whose comming, within two or thre daies, a generall peace was concluded betwixt all the parties, the articles whereof not touching England, we haue of purpose omitted. But now after the conclusion of this peace, the said sir John Hason returned in post with the same: and so there vpon, the seuenth of Aprill, the said peace was proclaimed; to wit, betwixt the quenes maiestie on the one part, and the french king on the other, their realmes, dominions, and subiects; and likewise betwixt hir said maiestie and the king Dolphin and quene of Scots his wife, their realmes, dominions, and subiects. This proclamation was made by Carter Poyreie king at armes, accompanied with thre other heralds, & five trumpetors: the lord maior of London & the aldermen in their scarlet gowns being also present, & riding in companie of the said heralds.

The same time also was another proclamation made vnder the quenes hand in writing, inhibiting, that from thenceforth no plaies nor interludes should be exercised, till Allhalloves tide next ensuing. Upon saturdaye the two and twentieth of Aprill, the lord Wentworth, late deputie of Calis, was arrested at Westminster, vpon an indictment of treason found against him, in the late quene Maries daies, for the losse of Calis: but he was acquitted by his peers, the lord marquesse of Northampton sitting that daie as chiefe steward of England, vnder the cloth of estate. The eight of Maie, the parlement brake vp; in which parlement, beside other things before recited, concluded, and passed in the same; a subsidy was granted to the quenes highnesse, of two shillings eight pence the pound of moueable goods, and foure shillings of lands, to be paid at two seuerall payments, of euerie person spirituall and temporal, towards the better furnishing of hir maiestie with monie, for the necessarie charges which she was presentlie occasioned to susteine, finding the treasure of the realme greatly consumed, and the reuenues of the crowne sore diminished, and the same crowne much indebted, by taking vp of notable summes of monie by waie of loan upon interest, as well in the daies of hir brother k. Edward, as hir sister quene

Marie. The fourteenth of Maie being Whitsundae, the seruice in churches began according to the booke of comon praier, set forth and established in this last parlement, correspondent to that which was used in the daies of hir brother king Edward. Upon saturdaye the second of Iulie, the citizens of London set forth a muster before the quenes maiestie at Greenwich in the parke there, of the number of 1400 men, whereof 800 were pikers, armed in fine cosselets, foure hundred shot in shirts of male, with morians, & two hundred halbarders armed in Almaine riuets: these were furnished forth by the crafts and companies of the citie. To euerie hundred two wiffers were assigned, richlie appointed and appareled for the purpose. There were also twelue wardens of the best companies mounted on horsebacke in coats of blake velvet, to conduct them, with drums and fifes, and six ensignes, all in serkins of white sattin of Bridges, cut and lined with blake sarsenet, and caps, hosen, 20 and scarfs according. The sergant Marston, capitaine Constable, and capitaine Sanders, brought them in order before the quenes presence, placing them in battell arraie, euen as they should haue fought; so as the shew was verie faire, the emperours and the french kings ambassadors being present.

In this moneth also, the archbishop of Poike, the bishops of Elie, London, and others, to the number of thirtene or fouretene, being called before the quenes counsell, and refusing to receive the oath touching hir maiesties supremacie, and other articles, were deprived from their bishopricks: in whose roones and places, first for cardinall Pole, succeeded doctor Matthew Parker, archbishop of Cantuarie. In the place of Ives, succeeded doctor Pong. In stead of Boner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London. For Hopton, Thurlbie, Tunstall, Pates, Christoferston, Peto, Coats, Horgan, Feacie, White, Dglethorpe, &c. were placed doctor John Parkhurst in Norwich, D. Cor in Elie, Jewell in Salisbury, Pilkenton in Duresme, doctor Sands in Worcester, master Wolnam in Westchester, Wentam in Couentrie and Lichfield, David in S. Danies, Allie in Excester, Hoine in Winchester, Scobie in Hereford, Bess in Carleill, Bullingham in Lincolne, Scamler in Peterburie, Bartlet in Bath, Cest in Rochester, Barlow in Chichester, &c. In like maner, were diuerse deans, archdeacons, parsons, & vicars, removed from their benefices, and some of them committed to prison in the Tower, Fleet, Marshalsea, and Kings bench.

Afterward, about the same time were commissioners appointed to visit in euerie diocese within the realme, for the establishment of religion, according to the order appointed by act and statute, passed and confirmed in the last parlement. For London were appointed sir Richard Sackuill knight, Robert Horne doctor of diuinitie, doctor Huic a ciuillan, and master Sauage; who calling before them diuerse persons of euerie parish, sware them to inquire and make presentment accordinglie, vpon certaine instructions draue and deuised, for the better accomplishment and execution of that which they had in charge. Furthermore, about the same time, by vertue of an act established in parlement, all such religious houses as were againe erected and set vp, were now suppressed, as the abbeies of Westminster, the houses of the nuns and brethren of the Sion and Shene, the blacke friers of Greenwich, &c. And on the twelfe of August being saturdaye, the high altar in Pauls church, with the rood & the images of Marie and John, standing in the rood loft, were taken downe, & the prebendaries and petie canons commanded to wear no more their graie amises, but to vse onelie a surplice in seruice time. This was done by command

John Stow. A muster at Greenwich by the citizens of London in presence of the quene.

Bishops deprived and others succeeded. John Fox.

Commissioners sent abroad for establishment of religion.

Religious houses suppressed. Images taken downe and burned in the streets.

Articles touching the peace between the quene and the french king.

Sir John Hason.

General peace between the kings of France and Spain.

The peace proclaimed.

Plays and interludes forbidden.

Lord Wentworth arrested.

Treatie for peace between the kings of Spain and France.

The deputies or commissioners appointed for the princes.

Subsidie granted to the quene.

Diuerser po-  
pish reliques  
consumed  
to ashes.

Ex L.S. 1113.  
Churches in  
London stru-  
ken & broken  
by tempest.

An obsequie  
for the French  
king, Henrie  
the second, in  
whose time  
Calis was  
lost.

The manner  
of the obsequie

The chiefe  
mourners at  
this obsequie.

Six bishops  
receiue the  
communion.

Ex L.S. pa. 114.  
Ambassadors  
from Swe-

dement of doctor Grindall, newlie elect bishop of London, doctor Paie, then also newlie elected deane of Paules, and other the commissioners then appointed. Also on the euen of saint Bartholomew, the day and morrow after, were burned in Paules churchyard, Cheapside, and diuerse other places of the citie of London, all the roods and other images of churches; and in some places, the coopes, vestments, and altar clothes, bookes, banners, sepulchers, and rood lofts, were likewise committed to the fier, and so consumed to ashes.

¶ The first of September about midnight, fell a great tempest at London, in the end wherof, a great lightning, with a terrible clap of thunder strake the spire (being stone) of the steeple of Alhallowes church in Bzedstræt, about a ten foot beneath the top, out of the which fell a stone that flew a dog, and ouerthrew a man plaing with the same dog, and the spire of the steeple was so perished, that not long after the same was taken downe with lesse charges to the parish, than the repairing would haue cost. And at the same instant, by the same tempest, one of the southdozes of S. Dionise church in Fenchurchstræt, with the doze of the reuetsrie of the same church, were both stricken through and broken.]

¶ Upon Fridaie the eight of September, was kept in Paules church of London a solemne obsequie for Henrie, the second of that name, king of France, who departed this life, about the tenth of Julie last past, of a wound receiued the 29 of June, in running at tilt in a solemne iusts holden at Paris, in honor of the marriage celebrated betwixt his sister the ladie Margaret of France, and Philibert duke of Sanote. He was stricken on the viser with a lance, as he ran against the counte de Montgomerie: the spits entering by the sight of his headpiece, & persing through his eie into his head, so perished his bzaine, that there was no meane to saue his life.

The obsequie for him was kept in vertie solemne wise, with a rich hearse, made like an imperiall crowne, fastened with great pillars, and covered with blacke velvet, with a balence fringed with gold and richlie hanged with scutclions, pennons, and banners of the French kings armes, without anie lights. And on the bare was laid a rich pall of cloth of gold, with a coat armor of the armes of France, and a cress with an imperiall crowne standing vpon the heere: doctor Parker archbishop of Canturburie elect, doctor Warlow bishop of Chichester elect, and doctor Scozie bishop of Hereford elect, executing at the dirge of this euening song in English, they sitting in the bishop of Londons seat, in the vpper quere, in surplices, with doctors hoods about their shoulders. The chiefe mourner was the marquesse of Winchester, lord tresuroz, assisted with ten other lords mourners, with all the heralds in blacke, and their coat armours vppermost.

On the morrow being saturday, & ninth of September, a sermon was preached by doctor Scozie, in place of doctor Grindall bishop of London, who being appointed to preach that sermon, was letted by sicknesse. After the sermon, six of the lords mourners receiued the communion with the bishops, which bishops were in copes and surplices, onelie at the ministracion of the said communion. Which being finished, there was a great dinner kept in the bishop of Londons palace by Paules, where the mourners apparelled them, and so ended the solemnitie of the said erequies. The bishops had blacke gobones given them, and eight blacke coats a peece for their seruants, at the quenes charges.

¶ About the last of September, John duke of Finland, second sonne to Gustabus king of Swethen, was sent by his father to treat a marriage for his el-

dest brother Ericus, with the quenes maiestie of England: he arrived at Harwich in Essex, and was thers honorablie receiued and intertained by the erle of Oxford, which said erle, and the lord Robert Dudley, with a goodlie band of gentlemen and yemen, conuied him to London, where he was receiued of diuerse knights and gentlemen of the court, on the first of October, and was with his traine of about the number of fiftie persons well horsed, conuied to the bishop of Winchesters place in Southwiche, where he was lodged during his abode here, and removed from thence two daies before Easter home wards, and sped on his message as may appeare by that which followeth, taken out of *Iohannes Lewenclaj comment. de bellis Moscorum.*

Ericus king of Swethen, sonne of Gustabus late king of the said kingdome, hauing committed to prison his brother John duke of Finland, whom a little before he had imploied into England on an ambassage to the quenes maiestie, whom he sued to for marriage, and had his sute reiected; againe the second time solicited hir maiestie in the same sute notwithstanding, to his great dishonor, and (as it fell out) his iust disgrace. He attempted the same matter with the yongest daughter of Philip Lantgraue of Hannecken, at whose hand (hauing the second time bene reiected of hir maiestie here) the matter being knowne there, he also not onelie receiued a deniall, but the ladie was by hir father bestowed vpon Adolfe duke of Han Holf, vncle of Frederike king of Denmarke, then enemie of the said Ericus. Thus farre Iohannes Lewenclaj.]

¶ Cuthbert Tunstall was translated from London to Durham, after the death of cardinal Wolfele, of whome (besides that which Holinshed in this booke reporteth) I will saie a little, he being so reuerend a prelat; as the managing of the princes affaires by him doth well witness, and this present age can yet well remember. This man (being of a mild condition) was borne at Bachaford in Richmondschire, and (as Leland hath left in writing that he heard) the base sonne of one Tunstall an ancient gentleman: whose ancestors (as I haue read) came into England with the conquerour, attending on him as his bar bar, for which cause he beareth in his armes three combes as a note to posteritie of the original of his gentrie. Which bishop although he is supposed to haue bene base borne (as manie noble capteins and other the valiant persons of the two: lo haue bene, wherof sir hundred examples as hath the pouerbe might be produced) yet was he not base in learning, eloquence, grauitie, and honorable calling both in spirituall & tempozall affaires: both in seruice of the prince and in charge of his church. For (besides manie other offices that he exercised) he was maister of the rols: sundrie time ambassadoz to foreine princes, bishop of London, and from thence (by vertue of Clement the seuenth his bulles to B. Henrie the eight in the yeare 1530, the five & twentieth of March) advanced to the see of Durham, and (by the kings letters) elected thereinto the yeare before said. In the which function he behaued himselfe, as the worthinesse of the estate required, and as the doctrine of the church in those daies would permit; of which I meane not to intreat, neither of his fall or rising: but will onlie meddle with more tempozall accidents, as one that hath not bene accustomed to die his pen in the blood of mens consciences, nor in the opinions of religion.

Wherefore to omit all such things, I saie of this bishop, that he was a man singularlie learned (as Caius fearmeth him *Literatissimus*) in the Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine tonges; and did not onelie erect sumptuous buildings for the mind and inward man (in furnishing when he was bishop of London a li-

The quenes  
maiestie sued  
vnto out of  
Denmarke  
about ma-  
riage.

Iohannes  
Lewenclaj.  
Fr. Thim.  
Description  
and commo-  
dation of bi-  
shop Tunstall

The armes  
of Tunstall

Tunstall  
bare office

Buildings  
founded by  
Tunstall, &c.

Tunstall de-  
pined from  
his bishop-  
ricke.

Tunstall re-  
loped.

Tunstalls  
death.

Mat. Par. in a Ch.  
Cant. ca.  
Wal. Warham.

Buildings  
founded by  
Cusnell, &c.queene  
the first  
out of  
marke  
it ma-  
e.Cusnell be-  
placed from  
the bishop-  
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reclauj.  
Thin.  
scription  
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tion of bi-  
p CusnellCusnell re-  
bap.he armes  
Cusnell.Cusnell  
bap.anball  
re office.in a ch.  
Cant. ca.  
Waham.

barle in Cambridge, with manie notable both writ-  
ten and printed booke: compiling also manie other  
bookes, aswell of diuinitie as of other sciences, wher-  
of at this daie his artifice like is of great estimati-  
on throught Europe) but did also for the flesh & out-  
ward man build from the ground a most beautifull  
porch or gatehouse (with a chapell annexed thereon-  
to) of faire stone in the castell of Durham, withall  
adding vnto the said castell certeine gates with iron  
bars and portcullises supported with strong walles  
of stone on each part for the moze strength against  
the enimie: not forgetting to make a water-con-  
duit for the ease of waſhing (and to serue the other of-  
fices in the house) on the left side of the entrance in-  
to the said castell. To which these sumptuous deeds  
(for they are verie heroically) may be added the gate-  
house built at Alnewike, and the tolbooth in the mar-  
ket of Durham all of stone, with the rest of the hou-  
ses of office next vnto the hinder part of the said  
tolbooth, which afterward (with other great liberali-  
ties) he gaue to the citizens of Durham.

Lastlie (at his owne charge) he new repaired with  
stoneworke the third part of Linbridge, which his  
predecessour Thomas Langley recovered against  
the maner of Newcastle: and which, others his pre-  
decessors (as occasion was offered therefore) did  
from time to time most stately repaire. In the end  
about the latter reigne of Edward the first (being  
by Rintan or Rintan, Penkile or Penkile, accu-  
sed, for that he somewhat fauoured the Romane reli-  
gion, and was not so forward in furthering of the  
gospel as that time required) he was for that cause  
deprived from his bishopricke, from all other eccle-  
siasticall government, and committed to the tower:  
where he remained all the time of R. Edward. After-  
ward (by the benefit of queene Marie) in the first  
yeare of hir reigne, he was reinuested into his see  
of Durham, which he possessed all the time of hir  
gouernement: during which he was not so feare  
an executor of the Romane canons against the pro-  
testants, as the other bishops of England were.

But he not continuing long (such are the incon-  
stancies of our estates & vncertainties of our trou-  
bles) he was againe (by the noble queene Elisabeth)  
deprived of his bishopricke, after disputation and con-  
ference had at Westminster: in which he defended  
the Roman religion, in the first yeare of the said E-  
lisabeth, about the truth of Christs gospel: and was  
committed to the thew Parker bishop of Cantur-  
burie, who vsed him verie honourable, both for the  
grauntie, learning and age of the said Tunstall. But  
he not long remaining vnder the ward of the said bi-  
shop, did shortly after the eighteenth of Nouember  
in the yeare 1559 depart this life at Lambeth, where  
he first receiued his consecration, being a man of  
such age, as that he attained to the number of foure-  
score & five years when he died. He was buried in the  
quere of the church of Lambeth, whose funerall ser-  
mon was done by Alexander Powell, then (a nob  
in the yeare 1586) deane of Poules. Who taking this  
theame to intreat vpon, Blessed are they which die  
in the Lord, did there deliuer such liberall & singular  
commendation of this man for his vertuous life, ler-  
ning, grauntie, and good seruice done to manie prin-  
ces of England, that more could not be said of anie  
man, being spoken trulie. Which force hath vertue,  
that we ought to commend it even in our enimies,  
ouer whose dead carcase in the said church of Lam-  
beth is laid a faire marble, in which is engrauen this  
epitaph of his, deuised by doctor Walter Haddon:

*Anglia Cuthbertum Tunstallum multa requirit,  
Cuius summa domi laus erat ita foris:  
Rhetor, arithmeticus, iuris consultus & equi,  
Legatusq; fuit, deniq; presul erat.*

*Annum satum, & magnorum plenus honorum,  
Vertitur in cineres aureus iste senex.*

This man was (as it should appeare in stories) full  
of contumacie and selfe will, vnto tractable he was and  
of nature rebellious. For saith maister Fox in the  
reigne of king Edward, being cast into the tower  
for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmasse  
thre yeares together, more worthe of some other  
place without the tower, if it had pleased God other-  
wise not to haue meant a further plague to this  
realme by that man. Whobest he was indued with  
such excellencie of learning, and that of sundrie sutes,  
that of the learned he is noted for a mirror of that  
age wherein he liued: and albeit a papist, yet not de-  
priuable of the praise which it pleased God to prouide  
for him (being an enimie vnto the truth, perhaps  
through feare as manie moze) by those rare and ma-  
nifold god means wherewith he was adorned. Insa-  
much that Leland, a man of a cleare iudgement and  
great insight to discern betwene substantiallie  
and superficialie learned, comparing this bishop  
Tunstall with profound Budeus, saith as foloweth:

*Qua te nostra canet Tunstalle Britannia laude?*

*An qua Budeum Gallia doctum fuit?*

*Candidus ille studet Græcam celebrare diuinum,*

*Græcorum celebras tu monumenta patrum.*

*Ille colit veteres intento pectore leges,*

*Sunt study leges cura diserta tui.*

*Ille rudes assis docuit cognoscere partes,*

*Tu numeros primus verba Latina loqui.*

*Gallia causidicum tecum dignare Britannum*

*Conferri, muen dignum uterq; notu.*

In this meane time, through controuersie raised  
betwixt the Scotch nobilitie, and the queene Dow-  
ger of Scotland, which chanced especiallie about  
matters of religion, certeine of the lords there mini-  
stering a reformation therein; and the queene resisting  
them to hir power, in purpose to mainteine the old  
popish religion, which some name catholike; diuerse  
companies of souldiers and men of war were sent  
out of France into Scotland to aid the said queene,  
where they were placed in diuerse townes and forts,  
to the high displeasure of the moze part of the Sco-  
tish nobilitie: who lothing to be oppressed with stran-  
gers in that sort, were forced to sue vnto the queene  
of England for aid to expell the French, who sought  
to subuert the ancient state of that realme, and to an-  
ner the same vnto the crowne of France.

Their sute was the better liked of, for that it was  
doubted, least the Frenchmen (vnder pretense of  
bringing an armie into Scotland to appease the  
Scots) might attempt some inuasion here in Eng-  
land, considering that by procurement (as was  
thought) of the duke of Guise, vncle to the queene of  
France and Scotland, a title should seeme to be pre-  
tended by his niece, the foresaid queene, as might be  
gathered by manifest coniectures of the vsurping of  
armes, and so forth. The names of the lords of Scot-  
land that made sute for aid against the Frenchmen  
at this season, were these: the duke of Chateau-  
leault, the earle of Arraine his sonne, the lord  
James prioz of saint Andrews, the earle of Argyle,  
the earle of Glenearne, the earle of Rothou, the  
earle of Southerland, the earle of Mounteith, the  
earle of Huntlie, the earle of Cathnes, the earle of  
Erroll, the earle Marhall, the earle of Morison, the  
earle of Cassils, the earle of Gleginton, the earle of  
Montros, the lord Keith, the lord Woid, the lord  
Dgletre, the lord Erskin, the lord Drummond, the  
lord Hume, the lord Wolfe, the lord Greyhoun, the  
lord Leuingston, the lord Somertwell, the maister of  
Lindseie, the maister of Spawell.

The queenes maiestie, with aduise of hir graces  
councell, considering of this weightie businesse, and  
withall

John Fox.

Collatio Budei  
& Cuthberti  
Tunstalli.Anno Reg. 2.  
Trouble in  
Scotland.Frenchmen  
sent into  
Scotland.The Scots  
sue to the  
queens mai-  
estie of Eng-  
land for aid  
against the  
French.The lords of  
Scotland that  
were confede-  
rat together  
against the  
French.

The queene's  
maiestie be-  
termineth to  
aid the Scots.

Sir William  
Winter vice-  
admirall.

1560

The lord  
Grey generall  
of the armie.

Sir James  
Croft.

The number  
of horsemen  
and footmen  
in the armie.  
The chiefeft  
in charge of  
this armie.

Dunglas.

A skirmish at  
Dunbar.

Two horsemen  
and one footman  
slaine.

Linton brygs.

Salt Preston.

withall foreseeing the malicious purpose of his ad-  
versaries, and how the queene of Scots was in  
France married and governed, so as she was not a-  
ble to use the libertie of his crowne, did thinke it best  
to prevent such mischiefs as might ensue, if timely  
remedie were not used, to displace such dangerous  
neighbours the Frenchmen, that began to nestle  
themselves thus strongly so nere at hand for no  
good purpose, as easilie might be ghesied. Whereupon  
was a power raised and sent forth both by sea & land,  
the duke of Norfolk being appointed generall, and  
sent into the north, for the direction thereof. And first  
maister William Winter, appointed viceadmirall  
of the queene's navie northwards, made saile toward  
Scotland, and waiting alongst the coast in Janua-  
rie, came into the Forth, & so to the road of Leith, and  
there cast anchor, as well to impeach the landing of  
such Frenchmen, as might hapilie be sent forth of  
France, to the aid of the French there, against the  
Scottish lords, named of the congregation; as also to  
keepe them that laie in Fife from bittels: and  
likewise to see that none of the Frenchmen by water  
should passe to or from Leith: but to watch them so,  
as they shuld not enjoy any commoditie that might  
come to either place by the same water.

Whereover, after that the armie by land was come  
together into the north parts, and had sojourned at  
Berwick and thereabouts, the lord Greie of Wiltton  
being appointed generall of the said armie, departed  
with the same out of the bounds of Berwick, and  
marched to Coldingham, where they incamped that  
night. Saturdaie the thirtieth of March, sir James  
Croft, and sir George Howard departed Berwick  
to the armie, with all the lances and light horsemen,  
containing the number of twelve hundred and fiftie  
horses. The number of the footmen amounted to a-  
bout six thousand in all. The chiefe governors of  
which armie were these: the lord Greie of Wiltton  
lieutenant generall, sir James Croft assistant with  
him in that charge, the lord Scrope lord marshall, sir  
George Howard generall of the men at armes and  
demi-lances, maister Barnabie Fitz Patrick his  
lieutenant, sir Henrie Persie generall of the light  
horsemen, Thomas Huggens esquier prouost mar-  
shall, Thomas Colver master of the ordnance, ma-  
ster William Pelham capitaine of the pioneers, Ed-  
ward Kandoll esquier, sergeant Major, master Tho-  
mas Burrough, master Cutbert Vaughan, master  
Williams, and master Cornwell corporals.

This saturday at night the armie incamping at  
Dunglas, the horsemen lodged in sundrie villages  
nere about. Sir James Croft laie that night at Co-  
bersteth, in the lard of Whitlakes house. Sundaie the  
last of March, the armie remoued from Dunglas,  
and marching by Dunbar, there issued out of the  
towne certeine horsemen and footmen, offering a  
skirmish: towards whome certeine of the English  
lances and pikollers, with certeine harquebutters,  
made forwards: but they kept themselves within  
their strength. Yet some of the English horsemen  
approched them so nere, that in skirmish two of  
the english horsemen, and one footman were slaine. The  
Englishmen received little damage, saving that  
Peter Spince, one of their horsemen was hurt there.  
This done, the armie marched on to Linton brygs,  
where the footmen incamped that night. The horse-  
men laie at Haddington, and in diuerse other small  
townes: and sir James Croft laie at Clarking-  
ton, west of Haddington, at the lard of Cockburns  
house.

Mondaye the first of Aprill, the campe remoued  
from Linton brygs unto salt Preston, and there in-  
camped. This evening sir James Croft, with diuers  
of the capitaines in his companie, met with the earle

of Arraine, the lord James prior of saint Andrews,  
the master of Harwell, sir William Kirkcaldie lard  
of Grange, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie  
with three hundred horse in their traine. After they  
were met and had saluted each other, they rode alto-  
gether unto salt Preston, where at the end of the  
towne, my lord Greie lord lieutenant met them, and  
embraced them, & so they lighted from their horses,  
and entered into communication for the space of an  
houre, and after toke leaue each of other, and so de-  
parted for that night.

Tuesday the second of Aprill, my lord Greie,  
sir James Croft, my lord Scrope, sir George Ho-  
ward, with diuerse of the capitaines, rode to Puckle-  
burgh church, and there taried the coming of the  
duke of Chateau le rault, for the space of full two  
houres: at length he came accompanied with his  
sonne, the earle of Arraine, the earles of Argyle,  
Glencarne, Southerland, Monteth, and Rothus, the  
lord James prior of saint Andrews, the lord Rulph-  
uen alias Rinen, the lord Ogletre, the lord Woid, the  
master of Harwell, the lard of Dymeston, the master  
of Lindseie, the bishop of Galloway, the abbat of  
saint Colmes inch, the abbat of Culros, the lard of  
Pettircow, the lard of Cunningham head, the lard  
of Grange, and diuerse others. They were two hun-  
dred horse in traine.

Upon the dukes approach, they all lighted on foot,  
as well on the one part as the other: and after cour-  
teous embracings, and gentle salutations, they en-  
tered into the house of one William Atkinson, nere  
to Andyshe church, and sat there in counsell the  
space of two houres, & then departed for that night.  
The armie laie still in campe at salt Preston, from  
mondaye, till saturday, Palmesundaye euen. On  
wednesdaye, the third of Aprill, my lord Greie,  
sir James Croft, and my lord Scrope, sir George  
Howard, sir Henrie Persie, and diuerse other cap-  
itaines and gentlemen, rode unto Pinkie, a house  
of the abbat of Dunfermes, distant a mile and a halfe  
from the campe, where the earle of Arraine, and the  
lord James Steward, with diuerse other noble men  
of Scotland meeting them, did conduct them into  
the said house, where they had long conference to-  
gether, which ended, they went to dinner, and after din-  
ner, they returned with my lord lieutenant to salt  
Preston, and viewed the English campe. Thurs-  
daie the fourth of Aprill, five pong gentlemen, ap-  
pointed to passe into England for pledges, & bound  
thither by sea, through contrarie winds were forced  
to come on land at salt Pannes. Their names were  
as follow.

The lord Claud Hamilton fourth sonne unto the  
duke of Chateau le rault, Robert Douglas halfe  
brother to the lord James Steward, Argebaud  
Campbell lord of Loughbennell, George Cream  
second sonne to the earle of Monteth, James Co-  
ningham sonne to the earle of Glencarne: they  
were brought by to salt Preston, and remained  
there that night. Saturdaie the first of Aprill, being  
Palmesundaye euen, the campe raised from salt  
Preston, and marched forwards, halfe a mile from  
Alderrike, beneath a crag, called Arthurs seat, the  
duke of Chateau le rault, the earle of Arraine, the  
earle of Argyle, the lord James prior of saint An-  
drews, and the rest of the noble men of Scotland,  
accompanied with two hundred horsemen, or there-  
abouts, and five hundred footmen, waited for the com-  
ing of the English armie. Whereupon the lord  
Greie, sir James Croft, the lord Scrope, sir George  
Howard, and sir Henrie Persie, repaired to them,  
and had conference there with the duke, and other of  
the Scottish lords that were in his companie: In the  
meane while the armie laied; but yet at length, the  
horsemen,

The duke of  
Chateau le  
rault and his  
companie.

The English  
and Scottish  
gentlemen  
met, embraced,  
and consule.

The Scottish  
pledges ap-  
pointed to  
passe into  
England.

A crag called  
Arthurs seat.

T Church-  
yard.  
The number  
of the English  
and French  
slaine.

Conference  
betweene the  
English and  
Scotch.

Sir Jam  
Croft, at  
George l  
ward, to  
take his  
queene.

My lord  
Greie met  
the French  
arm.

A charge as  
along with  
both parties.  
The French  
were repelled  
by the Eng-  
lishmen.

e earle of  
aine acco-  
rd with  
re of the  
orith  
ditte.

horsemen, the vanguard and battell, were com-  
manded to march forth, who accordingly passing  
forward along by the place where the duke & Sco-  
tish lords stood, held upon their waie, till they ap-  
proched nere to Letherke.

At their comming thither, Tromball, the quene  
regents trumpet, came to my lord lieutenant, and  
brought with him a safe conduct, given under his  
hand & seale, for the safe repaire of sir James Croft,  
sir George Howard, and sir others to accompanie  
them. Whereupon they preparing themselves to  
go to him (after they had talked with my lord lieuten-  
nant, and the duke Chatan le rsault) they departed  
towards Edenburgh; where the said quene as then  
laie within the castell. There went with them mai-  
ster Summerfet, maister Pelham, and foure other  
gentlemen. Whiles they were in conference with  
the quene, although an abstinence of all hostilitie  
by appointment taken betwixt my lord Greie and  
the said quene ought to haue ceased, the French  
men to the number of nine hundred, or a thousand  
shot, backed with five hundred cosselets and pikes,  
& about fiftie horsemen, were come forth of Leith,  
under the conduction of monsieur Dossell, and the  
counte d'Artigues, colonell of the French footmen.  
My lord Greie understanding thereof, came by to  
the hill, appointed an officer at armes called Rouge  
Crosse, to go vnto them; with commandement from  
him, that they should retire their forces forth of  
the field into the towne of Leith: for if it were not for  
the promise which he had made to the quene Dowager,  
he would cause them to depart, not much to  
their ease.

The herald doing his message, receiued answer,  
that they were vpon their maister and mistresse  
ground, and therefore mirant not to remoue from  
it. Rouge Crosse returning with this answer, was  
sent againe from my lord lieutenant, to command  
them eke to go their way backe to Leith: for if  
they did not, he would fuerlie send them awaie with  
a mischief. But scarce had the herald done this se-  
cond message, when the Frenchmen stepping forth,  
discharged a whole voloe of their shot into the field  
against my lord Greie and his companie. Here-  
upon, the Englishmen and they fell in skirmish,  
which continued for the space of foure houres and  
more, so hot & earnestlie maintained on both parts,  
that the like had not lightlie bene sene manie a  
day before. Yet at length, the Englishmen droue  
the French footmen over the hill, wan the crag from  
them, and put them from a chappell, where they had  
stod a great while, vsing it for a couert and safegard  
for them against the Englishmens shot.

Then the enimies that were in Leith shot off di-  
uerse peeces of their great artillerie out of the towne  
against the Englishmen, who on the other part  
brought forth two field peeces, and couered them  
with a troope of horsemen; and hauing planted them  
to some aduantage, discharged the same among the  
enimies: who perceiuing that, gaue place, & sudderlie  
the English demillances gaue a charge, brake in  
amongst them, and slue diuerse. To conclude, they  
were put from their ground, and forced to retire  
backe into Leith, being followed welnere to the  
verie gates of that towne. There were slaine in  
this skirmish of the French, about a seven score, and  
amongst them twelue men of name, beside some of  
them that remained prisoners. Of the English-  
men, there were also diuerse slaine, and manie hurt.  
But if the ground had bin knownen to the English-  
men, and what aduantage was offered to them by  
that presumptuous comming of the enimies so far  
from their hold, it was thought their whole power  
might easilie haue bene cut off, and utterlie distres-

sed. After that this skirmish was ended, and the  
Frenchmen diuen into Leith, the armie incam-  
ped at Letherke. The same daie the Scottish hos-  
tles were imbarcked to passe into England. To-  
wards eueniing, sir James Croft, and sir George  
Howard, returned from the quene regent, after  
they had spent a long time in talke with hir.

On sundae the seventh of Aprill, a new trench  
was cast beside the crag, and thereon two peeces of  
ordnance planted. The same daie, sir James Croft,  
sir George Howard, and sir Henrie Perrie, went  
againe vpon assurance, to talke with the quene  
Dowager. Mondae the eight of Aprill, the French-  
men shot at the English campe verie soe out of St.  
Nicholas steple, where there were two great pe-  
ces placed for to annoie them, although they did no  
great hurt. But the same night, the Englishmen  
cast a trench beyond the crag, and placed in the same  
trench certeine small peeces of artillerie, which  
went off the next daie against the enimies: and they  
likewise shot off againe at the Englishmen; and so  
likewise on wednesdaie the tenth of Aprill, on which  
daie, a great part of the carriages for the great ordi-  
nance, and diuerse bullets for the same, were landed,  
and much thereof remoued, and brought to the inner-  
most trench. Thursdaie the eleuenth of Aprill, the  
great ordnance was landed, and two peeces thereof  
mounted into their carriages.

The twelue of Aprill being god fridaie, a bullet  
of a great pece of ordnance, being shot out of Leith  
earlie in the morning, did light in the campe, and  
slue thre men. The same night, they were answer-  
ed againe with foure or five canons, and demica-  
mons. Saturdaie was spent in warding the tren-  
ches, and mounting the great artillerie. Sundae  
the fourteenth of Aprill, being Easter daie, the Eng-  
lishmen shot off in the morning all their great ordi-  
nance, and the Frenchmen answered them againe,  
and so they continued most part of that day, in shoo-  
ting one at another. The footmen also skirmished so,  
that diuerse were hurt on both parts. The same  
day, the pile of Blacknesse was surrendred to mas-  
ter Winter, vpon sight of the canon. There were  
within it eightene Frenchmen, who were brought  
awaie prisoners, and the house deliuered to maister  
James Hamilton. The same daie, nine French-  
men apparelled like women, came forth of Leith,  
and counterfeiting some like demeanour to the apa-  
rell wherein they were disguised, trained one of the  
English skouts within their danger, whome they  
tooke, and chopped off his head, which they set vpon  
the top of one of their church steeples.

Mondae the fifteenth of Aprill about none, there  
issued out of Leith a fiftie horsemen, and about fife  
hundred harquebussiers: who making to the new  
trenches, were vpon the Englishmen that warded  
in such wise vpon the sudden, before they could be  
brought into any order; that so entering the trenches,  
they slue and wounded no small number: and pos-  
sessed the trenches a while, stopped and closed the  
touch holes of thre peeces of the artillerie, toke mas-  
ter Maurice Barkeleie prisoner, and his ensigne. Mas-  
ter Brian Fitz Williams was soe wounded, and a  
soule sight there was. The alarm being brought  
to the campe, sir James Croft and other repaired to-  
ward the trench with all expedition, and perceiuing  
the Frenchmen to be maisters of one of the tren-  
ches, he called to capteine Vaughan, commanding  
him with his band to enter the trench, and to relieue  
those that were hardlie beset of the Frenchmen.

This was done with great manhood shewed by  
the said Vaughan and others, who entring the trench,  
repelled the enimies, and slue sixtene of them that  
were in the trench. Capteine Summerfet and cap-  
teine

The French  
men diuen in-  
to Leith.

Saint Ni-  
cholas Stee-  
ple planted  
with two  
great shot  
peeces.

Ordnance  
landed.

God fridaie  
to some bad  
fridaie.

Warre ma-  
chery no diffe-  
rence of time.

The pile of  
Blacknesse  
surrendred.

Nine French  
men in wo-  
mens appa-  
rell.

Bische mon-  
daie.

The French-  
men wain the  
trench.

Maister  
Barkeleie ta-  
ken prisoner.

The French-  
men repelled,  
and some of  
them slaine.

e duke of  
atcaule  
re and his  
pamie.

e English  
Scottish  
lemen  
e, embace,  
consult.

My James  
Croft, and sir  
George How-  
ard, went to  
talk with the  
quene.

My lord  
Greie met  
my lord  
lieutenant  
to the French-  
men.

I hope and  
long skir-  
mish betwix  
the parties.  
The French-  
men repelled  
the Eng-  
lishmen.

ye Scottish  
dges ap-  
peared to  
le into  
igland.

crag called  
thursdaie.

Church-  
men  
the English  
the French  
men.

reference  
were the  
English and  
cottish.



Maister Arthur Greie hurt in the shoulder.

A new supplie cometh to the arme, the capitaines names.

An hot alarm of an houres continuance.

Ordinance planted in trenches.

The bishop of Calence and his companie.

A skirmish of two houres continuance.

A new ordinance planted.

seine head with their hands followed them also, as they retired, and maister Arthur Greie, with certeine of his demilances, of whome he had the conductioun, suddenly came vpon them, and charging them with great courage, drave them into the towne, and made no small slaughter of them. In which charge maister Arthur Greie was shot through the shoulder. The great artillerie in Leith was not idle, during this skirmish, discharging to the number of an hundred shot, greatlie to the annoiance of the English, and hinderance of the service, which else might by them haue bene attained. This night the Englishmen drave backe their ordinance, which the Frenchmen had cloied with nailes and wires in the touch-holes, but the same were planted againe before daie. Moreover, our pioners cast a new trench along by the old chappell.

Tuesdaie the sixteenth of Aprill, a supplie of two thousand & two hundred footmen came to the campe, over whome were capitaines, sir Andrew Corbet, sir Robert Starleie, sir Thomas Hesketh, sir Arthur Spawling, sir Laurence Smith, maister Francis Tunstall, maister Edward Littleton, capitaine Caruell, Philip Sturleie, and David Morris. They were garded with five hundred horsemen: sir Rafe Sadler, sir Francis Leake, sir John Foster, and sir Nicholas Strange having charge to see them safetie conducted: who after they had brought them past all danger of enemies, left them in safetie by the waie, & were come a daie or two before them to the campe.

Wednesdaie the seventeenth of Aprill, it rained sore the more part of the daie; but yet the same night maister Winter caused diuerse of the shipboates, being verie well manned, to give a great alarm at the side of the towne towards the water, discharging manie basses and harquebussiers of Croke into the towne: the alarm was verie hot for the space of an houre. During this businesse there was a right pitifull crye made by the women and children within the towne. The pioners being applied in worke to make trenches, on Fridaie all daie at night they placed certeine peeces of the ordinance in the trenches beside the chappell.

Saturdaie the twentieth of Aprill, manie peeces were shot off out of the trenches into the towne. There issued notwithstanding out at the gates an hundred shot, which placed themselves in the holes of the bankes, to haile such of the Englishmen as came forth to offer the skirmish. All this daie also the pioners, both Scots and English were occupied in making of a new trench nere to the towne. Sir Gervis Clifton & capitaine Read with their bands garded them, and two hundred lances. The same daie the residue of the great ordinance with armout was brought on land. Sundaie the one and twentieth of Aprill, the bishop of Calence named Bonluc, accompanied with sir Hencie Perrie, and three hundred light horsemen came to Letherie: the lord lieutenant, sir James Croft, the lord Scrope, and sir Rafe Sadler met him at the further end of the ward that was set of purpose for his entring into the campe. After they had receiued him with salutations according vnto the manner, he was conducted by Rouge Crosse the officer of armes from the campe into Edinburgh, and so went vp to the castle to conferre with the queene Dowager. He was no sooner entred into the castle, but that there issued forth of Leith the number of two hundred Frenchmen about twelue of the clocke, and began a hot skirmish, which continued two houres, at the which diuerse were slaine on both parts.

The same night the lord lieutenant caused nine peeces of the great ordinance to be planted in the new trench: so that the next daie being mondaie,

the same peeces were shot off verie earlie, directed towards the steeple of saint Antonies church. And although those peeces laie a quarter of a mile off, the peeces of ordinance that laie in the same steeple were dismounted by them; and likewise those that laie in the steeple of saint Nicholas church; at the which diuerse peeces were hurt; and with this or so men, fire the peeces that laie in that steeple were also displaced; and a gunner slaine that stood at one of them, the peere and the gunner coming tumbling downe both together. In this church (as was reported) their store of vittels and munition was laid, so that batterie was made against the same all that daie, and a great pece of the church wall beaten downe, and the steeple defaced. The bishop of Calence, after he had talked with the queene Dowager, returned to commune with the lords of the congregation.

Tuesdaie the three and twentieth of Aprill, being saint Georges daie, the pioners Scottish and English were busilie applied in worke; about the casting of trenches to make a fort; and still the artillerie went off against the towne. Wednesdaie the foure and twentieth of Aprill about three of the clocke in the after none, there issued out of Leith seauentene horsemen, who offered the skirmish: and under the place called little London where they were busie in fortifying all that daie, there were four hundred of their shot were placed readie to breake out, if occasion serued. At length certeine of the English lances gaue a charge vpon their horsemen, who therewith retiring, drave the Englishmen within danger of their shot. But although the Frenchmen that daie shewed themselves verie vallant in skirmishing even in the face of the English artillerie: yet being now egerlie pursued by those lances, they were forced to retire without anie great hurt done to the Englishmen, although the skirmish continued nere hand two houres. In this last charge pong maister Hobone was hurt.

Thursdaie the five and twentieth of Aprill, the pioners laboured sore for the most part of the daie in finishing the new fort named Montpelham; to the gard thereof capitaine Gaughan was appointed gouernor, with twelue hundred soldiors. This fort was raised on the south side of the towne, the plot whereof was cast square, with foure bulwarks at euerie corner, and two battering peeces planted in places conuenient within the same. This thursdaie also, about five of the clocke in the after none, there issued out of Leith on the east side, seauentie or eightie horsemen, and two hundred harquebussiers, offering the skirmish, towards whome certeine of the English light horsemen roundlie made, and charging them, drave them backe to their footmen, who with their shot receiued the light horsemen so sharplie, that they were forced to retire. In which retire James Hamilton a Scottishman was taken prisoner, for the rescue of whome the horsemen made forward againe: but the enemies shot was so hot, that they were not able to recover him; but yet they slue two of the French horsemen in fight.

During the time of this skirmish, there was great shooting off with the great ordinance on both sides, & much hurt done as well to the English as French. This daie capitaine Perrie, and capitaine Haies, having charge of a troope of light horsemen under sir Hencie Perrie, and the lord of Orange were taken prisoners before Dunbar; and to the number of twentie or thirtie others were likewise taken or slaine the same time. The same night also, two thousand footmen with the pioners were sent to the other side of the towne, beyond the canon milles, where the pioners cast a trench for the safe lodging of

The artillerie from Leith to the sea.

A fire and towne was done.

The place of the artillerie.

A trench was from enemies.

Great ordinance was shot.

A skirmish.

A fire in Leith, and the English were taken and slain.

A fire in Leith, and the English were taken and slain.

the armie, which remoued the next day being fridaie, and the six and twentieth of Aprill from Lestrike dovine into the ballie by the said canon milles called the red Bzaies, nere to the riuer side on the south part of the towne of Leith. As the armie was thus remouing from Lestrike towards the said place called the red Bzaies, the Frenchmen within Leith shot off manie of their great peeces of artillerie, but without doing anie great hurt. As the armie was incamping, certeine of the enemies horsemen and footmen skirmished with the English lances and light horsemen a long time; there were two Frenchmen slaine and their horses also. In the time of this skirmish two canons were conueied and planted in the new trench, which discharged diuerse shots at the enemies.

Saturdaie the seauen and twentieth of Aprill, the great artillerie was planted aloft on the hill above the campe, within lesse than a carriers shot of the towne walles, and the pioners were set a worke to cast new trenches from the place where the same ordinance was lodged vnto Spontpelham, drawing so nere vnto Leith, as the harquebus might reach them that watched and warded within the greene bulworke. Where issued out of Leith vnder the west bulworke certeine of the Frenchmen, the which were chased into the towne by the lord of Orange and others. The French kept the same daie a trench which they had made without the towne, continuallie shooting at the Englishmen in the campe: but the same night the Englishmen wan that trench from them, slue diuerse of them therein, together with their scout. And this done, they gaue a great alarm to the towne both by land and water, the shipboates shooting off against the towne verie hottie, and they within the towne likewise at the Englishmen. The same night was the great ordinance planted, and maister Parkham hurt. On sondaie the eight and twentieth of Aprill the said great ordinance went off, and shot continuallie the more part of that daie. The bishop of Valence departed the same daie towards Berwikke: and this night sir George Howard that had bene sent backe to Berwikke, to signifie to the duke of Norfolkke the state of the siege, returned with sir Richard Lee, being conducted with five hundred horsemen.

Mondaye the nine and twentieth of Aprill, the peeces of the great artillerie were occupied in shooting off verie hottie, and the French likewise shot off theirs, and comming forth of the towne skirmished with the Englishmen. This night the pioners made new trenches toward the south bulworke. Tuesdaye the last of Aprill was spent in shooting off the great artillerie into the towne. About five of the clocke in the after none, a sudden fire was raised within the towne, which hugelie increased and continued the most part of that night. At the beginning when it first appered, the English ordinance was shot off to the place where the fire was, which shot together with helpe of the wind, and being verie great at that present, did maruellouslie augment the same fire: yet neuertheless the French at that present time offered a skirmish, and continued the same nere hand for the space of two houres, manned their walles, and made the best provision they might for doubt of some assault. It was indeed appointed, that certeine bands should make an alarm to the towne: in so much that capteine Laughan with diuerse of the soldiers of Spontpelham entred the ditch, and approaching the walles, discovered the height of them. And notwithstanding that the French did what they could to annoie them in the ditches with carrier shot, yet did capteine Laughan staie in the ditch a pretie while, and retired with his men without receiuing

anie great hurt.

Wednesdaye the first of Maie, the Frenchmen set by verie earlie in the morning their spaic poles in certeine bulworks, and fourtene ensignes: the which being discovered of them in the campe, they faluted them with a peale of great ordinance, and likewise the Frenchmen answered them againe, and so continued the most part of that daie. The same daie John Brian lieutenant to capteine Capell, wan a trench fro the French at the west side of the towne, and in despite of them kept it all that daie with the losse onelie of one man. Thursdaye the second of Maie, the pioners made the trenches for the artillerie to be planted in batterie. The night following they remoued and placed the same artillerie in the new trench: and the next morning being fridaie and the third of Maie, about foure of the clocke, the same batterie went off, and continued all that daie. In the after none of the same daie certeine Frenchmen issued out of the west bulworke, and skirmishing with the Englishmen on that side the water, returned without anie great hurt.

The night ensuing the pioners made a new trench by the citadell wherein they might lodge some shot, and capteine Laughan with diuerse of the bands in Spontpelham gaue two false assaults to the towne, entred the ditches, and biewed the flankers: whereupon the French shot off the same flankers, and manning their walles, shot off two or thre boles of their small artillerie, slaying and hurting to the number of twentie of the Englishmen. Among other, little Boston lost his life that night, and so at length the residue returned. Saturdaie the fourth of Maie, there were thre ensignes appointed to gard the new trenches, and towards night, when the ward should be releued, and the watch set, the Frenchmen that were in the trench vnder the citadell, made a sallie vpon the sudden. Whereupon the Englishmen that garded the said trench were constrained to abandon a great part thereof for a time: but yet the Englishmen effrons taking courage, laid to them afresh, repelled them againe, & droue them backe into their otone trenches, slue foure of them in sight, and hurt manie others. This was the lot of warre, to be overthorne by force of the enemye, as the poet saith:

*Qui Martem experti, per vim subiguntur ab hoste.*

Whilist this was in doing, the French had finished their bulworks and rampiers with carriers and harquebusers of Croke, as thicke as was possible, which went off without ceassing at the Englishmen, for the space of an houre and more. The English artillerie planted in the trenches did answer them againe continuallie, and the great peeces did much hurt among them, in sight of them that watched in the same trenches. The same night the Englishmen conueied two culuerings over the water to scowpe the mills: and before the breake of the daie they had burnt one of the same mills. Sundaie the fift of Maie earlie in the morning at the releuing of the watch, and entring of the ward, foure soldiers that belonged to the great ordinance issued out, and set fier on the other mill, which burnt verie outtragiouslie without ceassing, for the space of an houre or more. The French began to assemble towards the mill, in hope to haue quenched the fire, but they were deceived: for suddenlie the Englishmen cut two holes through their trenches, & placing in the same the two demiculuerings, shot them off at the Frenchmen, so that they were drouen to forsake the mill, and in their retire some of them were slaine.

This daie also, as foure French gentlemen came forth to discover the English trenches, capteine Head commanded one of his soldiers to shot at them, but through mishap his peece burst, and a shiner thereof

Spaie poles  
set by in  
Leith on  
Maie daie.

A trench  
wan from the  
French.

Capteine  
Laughan  
biewed the  
enemies flankers.

The French  
repelled by  
the English.

The mills  
burnt by the  
English and  
the French  
drouen from  
thence.

The enemies  
ordnance  
placed.

Skirmish,  
and what  
was done in  
the same.

Foot raised.

Skirmish.

A trench  
wand from the  
enemies.

The French  
repelled.

Great ordi-  
nance planted  
and charged.

The new fort  
called Spont-  
pelham.

Another  
skirmish.

Skirmish  
and  
approaching  
the fort of  
Ormeau and  
some other  
places.

James Ha-  
milton taken  
prisoner.

Prisoners  
taken and  
slaine.

Captaine  
Reades armie  
broken.

The earle of  
Argile with  
his armie  
commeth to  
Edenburgh.

The assault  
giuen to Leith  
the seauenty  
of Maie.

The hoisemen  
appointed to  
gard the field.

The English  
men repelled  
by the policie  
and deuises  
of the French.

The number  
slaine & hurt  
at the assault.

thereof sue out, and brake the arme of his said cap-  
taine. Mondae the first of Maie, the armie lieng qui-  
et all the morning, in the afternoon the English or-  
dinance on the further side the water began to shot  
off against the enimies verie hotlie, so continuing  
till night. This daie the earle of Argile, and diuerse  
other noble men of Scotland, came to Edenburgh  
with two thousand hoisemen and footmen, who hel-  
ed themselves in order of a muster, on the hill under-  
neath the castell. Which being perceined of the French  
within Leith, they shot off three great peces of artil-  
lerie at them, but (as God would haue it) without  
hurt, for two of the bullets lighted short, and the third  
did fall in a garden within the towne of Eden-  
burgh. The night insuing, the great ordinance in  
the Englishmens trenches and bulwarks continu-  
ed shooting on euerie side. And herewith commande-  
ment was giuen by the lord lieutenant, and the coun-  
cell, that the whole armie should be readie armed  
with their weapon and furniture according by mid-  
night.

In the morning by two of the clocke the seuenth  
of Maie being tuesdaie, diuerse bands passed forth  
towards the towne, and entering the ditches offered  
the scale: other capitaine with their men appoched  
the bulwarks, and other there were appointed to en-  
ter beside the mils. Beside the English bands com-  
manded thus to giue the assault, there were a thou-  
sand Scots ioined with them, whereof five hundred  
with capitaine Laughan, and such other capitaine as  
were commanded to attempt the bulwark next to  
Montpelham, and other five hundred went with such  
of the English capitaine as were commanded to as-  
sault the breach beyond the water. Moreover, as well  
the lances as light hoisemen were assigned to gard  
the fields; sir George Howard with the lances kee-  
ping betwixt the fort of Montpelham and the sea  
westward, and sir Henrie Perrie with the light  
hoisemen betwixt the campe and the sea eastward.  
The rest of the footmen that went not to the assault,  
were also appointed to gard the trenches and field, in  
such wise as was thought expedient. So that perfect  
direction was giuen in euerie behalfe by the lord  
lieutenant, and other of the counsell. And vpon war-  
ning giuen by capitaine Randall sergeant maior, such  
as had bene commanded to giue the assault in their  
seuerall appointed places, preased forward with cou-  
rage incough, and boldlie aduentured to cline the  
walls, & enter at the breaches, but yet their attempt  
wanted the wished successe: for that through the  
Frenchmens policie in stopping the current of the  
riuer that night, and other deuises for their owne  
safeguard, and the annoiance of the assailants: and  
what by reason of the vnfitnesse of the ladders, being  
too short by two yards and moze, the assailants were  
repelled. For during the whole time of the assault,  
which continued for the space of an houre and a halfe,  
the French shot off their flankers, and maintained  
their shot from the walls so thicke, that it seemed a  
verie hell for the time.

They also hurled downe ouer the walls vpon the  
assailants heads, great plentie of stones, logs, and  
mightie peces of timber, which did much hurt to the  
Englishmen and Scots, that forced themselves to  
cline by. But yet neuertheless, manie there were  
that entered the towne in sundrie places, of the which  
some came backe againe, although others were bea-  
ten downe and slaine. To conclude, at length all that  
escaped with life, were forced to retire with the losse  
of seauen or eight score Englishmen, some haue said  
two hundred, which were slaine outright, beside those  
that were wounded, being in number at the least  
two or three hundred: and amongst other, there were  
diuerse capitaine and gentlemen that were hurt, as

sir Thomas Hesketh, master Sutton, master New-  
port, master Conweie, capitaine Wood, Thomas  
Fritton, with others. Vpon the repulse thus giuen to  
our men by the French, they aduanced and set vp  
fourtene ensignes presentlie about the towne, and  
continued other wise quiet all that daie. Wednesday  
the eight of Maie in the afternoon, sir George Ho-  
ward, and sir Richard Lee departed towards War-  
wike with certaine companies of hoisemen for their  
safe conduction. Thursday the ninth of Maie, the  
Frenchmen wrought verie earnestlie within the  
towne, to fortifie the necessarie places, and repare  
the breaches, euen in the face of the English ordi-  
nance, which went off diuerse times, and did them  
much hurt.

The same daie also the French had manned to the  
sea wards a bote fraught with fittie harquebussiers,  
meaning to conueie them ouer to Insketh: but the  
English ships discovering them, prepared certaine  
botes to encounter them, whereof they being aware,  
returned. Fridaie the tenth of Maie, master Ang-  
lie, capitaine Dickman, and capitaine Holborne, came  
to the campe from Warwike, with a supplie of four-  
hundred and fittie souldiours. The same daie about  
ten of the clocke at night, there chanced a bzall to  
fall out among the Scots that watched in the tren-  
ches nearest vnto the towne of Leith on the west  
side, insomuch that one of them fell to and killed an  
other: which disorder being perceined of the French  
within Leith, they issued out, and meant to haue  
bled the vantage: but the Englishmen that wat-  
ched nere vnto the Scots staid the frate, and did  
not onelie bring them to quiet, but also put the  
Frenchmen to flight. On sundaie the twelue of  
Maie, about midnight the Frenchmen, to the num-  
ber of two hundred, sallied forth of the towne, mind-  
ing to giue a camisado to the Englishmen, who  
kept watch that night in the trenches at the west side  
of Montpelham; but they were deserted, and certaine  
of them killed, and so had the repulse. Wednesday  
the fifteenth of Maie, sir Francis Leake came to the  
campe with a supplie of five hundred men from War-  
wike.

Thursday the sixteenth of Maie towards night,  
the Frenchmen to the number of one hundred foot-  
men, and thirtie hoisemen, came abroad and hel-  
ed themselves verie braue, skirmishing with the  
Englishmen at the west end of their towne. Tues-  
daie the one and twentieth of Maie, about seauen of  
the clocke at night, there issued forth of Leith six  
hoisemen, and one hundred footmen harquebussiers,  
marching toward Montpelham to offer skirmish.  
Wherevpon capitaine Laughan went forth to them  
verie orderlie, and skirmished with them a prettie  
while: and in the meane time, off went the great ordi-  
nance on both sides. In the end the Frenchmen  
were driuen to retire into the towne, for the Eng-  
lishmen shewed themselves verie egre, and valiant-  
lie charged their enimies, put them to retire, and cha-  
sed them in at their gates, to the which they followed  
them right hardilie.

The same night, maister Francis Summerfet  
and other capitaine were appointed to keepe a fort  
built about the campe; and now finished, toke name  
of him being capitaine thereof, and was after called  
Summerfets mount. The same daie a souldiour of  
capitaine Durics band was hanged for going to  
Edenburgh, contrarie to a proclamation, inhibi-  
ting anie souldiour so to do without speciall licence.  
Wednesday the two and twentieth of Maie, sir Pe-  
ter Carew came to the campe, being sent from the  
court. Thursday the foure and twentieth of Maie at  
seuen of the clocke at night, the French sallied forth  
to the number of two hundred footmen, and thirtie  
hoisemen.

Sir George  
Howard and  
sir Richard  
Lee.

A supplie of  
four hundred  
and fittie sul-  
diours.

Sir Francis  
Leake brings  
with a supplie  
to the campe.

A skirmish  
betweene the  
English and  
French.

The French  
men chased.

the French  
men  
discomfited.

An English  
man taken.

The captain  
died  
of the  
disease.

The French  
men  
died  
of the  
disease.

Sir William  
Hall and  
other  
went on  
to the  
Edenburgh.

Frenchmen  
along be-  
hind as they  
gathered  
backe.

Edenburgh  
was  
now  
decided  
by the  
Frenchmen.

possession, at the release of the warders when the watch should be set, meaning (as it appeared) to have wonne the trenches from the Englishmen. Whereupon a foze skirmish followed, diuerse slaine, and manie hurt on both parties: yet in the end the Frenchmen were driuen home by plaine foze. This was at the west side of the towne, where they had fortified to wards the sea.

The same daie the Frenchmen of Dunbar toke an English hoie laden with double bare, base, oren, and stiches of bacon. Saturdaie the eight of June, sir John Penill with three hundred men, capteine Bridges, and capteine Durie, with other three hundred, set from Barwik towards the campe, where they arrived on mondaie the tenth of June, on which daie the queene Dowager departed this life. The thirtieth of June, sir William Cressill, principall secretarie to the queenes maiestie, and doctor Mot-ton deane of Canturburie and Pothe came to Barwik, appointed commissioners on hir said maiesties behalfe, to treat of an accord with the conte de Randon, and the bishop of Valence, commissioners sent for that purpose from the French king, and his wife Marie quene of Scotland. The fourteenth of June being fridaie, a certeine number of Frenchmen came forth of Leith to gather cockles on the sands towards Pontpelham: which the Englishmen perceiuing, set upon them, slue thre score and ten, and toke sixtene of them prisoners.

On sundaie the sixteenth of June, the fore remembred commissioners came to Edenburgh: and as master secretarie and doctor Motton passed the English forts and campe, they were saluted with a gallant peale of the harquebusiers that shot off their harquebusiers verie liuelie. Mondae the seventeenth of June about eight of the clocke, an abstinence of warre was concluded, warning being giuen by the discharging of two peeces of the great artillerie out of the castell, and then the Frenchmen helmed and advanced themselves upon their rampiers. Saturdaie the two and twentieth of June, the abstinence was broken off, which till then had bene trulie kept and obserued. Thursdaie the fourth of Julie, about thre of the clocke in the after none, the French came out of Leith, according to their accustomed maner to gather cockles. Whereupon the lord lieutenant being at that present in Pontpelham, sent a drum unto monsieur Doissell to signifie to him that his soldiers had gone further without their bounds than they might do by the order taken by the commissioners of both parts. Doissell answered, that they were no souldiours, but poze people which went to gather cockles for their release and sustenance. The drum said, that if they kept not themselves within their appointed limits, my lord lieutenant meant to send them backe not greatlie to their ease: whereunto Doissell replied, that if he so did, he would do the best he could to aid them. Whereupon the English horsemen and footmen out of Pontpelham gaue a charge upon them, and slue of them to the number of fiftie, and toke certeine of the residue prisoners. Fridaie the first of June, about six of the clocke in the after none, issued out of Leith fouretene horsemen, and an hundred footmen, which offered the skirmish: but upon the shooting off the great artillerie from Pontpelham, they retired home againe into the towne.

The night following about twelue a clocke, one Scattergood an Englishman that was a gunner, had seined himselfe to slee from the English campe for in slaughtering into Leith, and was rescued of the Frenchmen, believing that he had meant no deceit, came out of the towne, after he had remained there about seauen daies: in which meane while he

had understood fullie the state of the towne, and now upon his returne made relation thereof as he knew. On saturdaie the first of June, the lord Greie lord lieutenant, master secretarie Cressill, and sir Rafe Sadler, betwixt thre and foure of the clocke in the afternone, gaue order that there should no pece be shot, nor shew of hostilitie made till seauen of the clocke the same night: and herewith sent sir Gerueis Clifton unto all the souldiours that warded in the trenches and bulwarks on the west side of Leith, to command them to obserue the like order. And sir John Penill was sent with like commandement unto the souldiours that laie in Summersets mount. The peace now in the meane time being concluded, on the morrow being sundaie, and seauenth of June, sir Francis Leake, and sir Gerueis Clifton, accompanied with two French gentlemen, were sent to the towne of Leith, to signifie unto monsieur Doissell, the bishop of Amiens, la Brosse, Martigues, and other the French lords and capteins, that they were come thither by commandement from the commissioners, to cause the peace already concluded to be proclaimed: which accordingly was done in maner as followeth.

The forme of proclaiming the  
foresaid peace betweene the  
parties at hostilitie.

**T**He most mightie princeesse, Elisabeth by the grace of God, quene of England, France, & Ireland, defender of the faith, &c: and the most christian king, Francis and Marie, by the same grace of God king and quene of France and Scotland: haue accorded vpon a reconciliation of a peace and amitie to be inuiolable kept, betwixt them, their subiects, kingdomes and countries. And therfore in their names it is stricte commanded to all maner of persons bozne vnder their obeisances, or being in their seruice, to forbear all hostilitie either by sea or land, & to keepe good peace each with other from this time forwards, as they will answer thereunto at their vttermost perils.

Immediatlie after this proclamation was ended, sir Francis Leake and sir Gerueis Clifton were brought to monsieur Doissels lodging, where was prepared for them a great banquet of thirtie or forty dishes: and yet not one either of flesh or fish, sauing one of the flesh of a powdered horse, as a certeine person hath written that tasted thereof, as he himselfe auoucheth. Where then we see the course of war, the end whereof of necessitie must be peace. For when both parts are either wearied, weakened, slaughtered, or so discomfited, as that they be constrained to surceasse, least they be slaine euerie mothers sonne: then peace is sought, and hard conditions receiued rather than it shall be refused. That it were Gods will (saith Scharidus writing of the accidents happening in the yeare 1570, which all men counted a fortunate and blessed yeare, albeit famine, the Turkish warre, the pestilence, and most cruell overflowinges of waters did then outragiously take on: because thre verie greuous warres, namelie the first of the Polanders against the Muscovits, the second of France within it selfe by ciuill dissention, & the third betwene the Sweneners and the Danes, were then finished) that it were Gods will (saith he) that

As a s a s i

king

Order taken  
for the restre-  
ining of all  
signes of ho-  
stilitie.

The peace  
concluded and  
word sent to  
the French  
that it should  
be proclaimed.

Sir Francis  
Leake and  
sir Gerueis  
Clifton bar-  
netted by  
monsieur  
Doissell.

Scharidus in  
rebus gestis  
imperatore  
Maximilian  
secundo.

George  
ard and  
ichard

English  
cavalry

English  
cavalry  
battal

apple for  
two of  
e hundred  
fiftye sol-  
s.

French  
cavalry  
battal

William  
and  
most on  
to the  
camp

r French  
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he campe

French  
cavalry  
battal

French  
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he French  
cavalry  
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French  
cavalry  
battal

French  
cavalry  
battal

French  
cavalry  
battal

kings and princes would be admonished by exam-  
ples in due time to consult of peace, and to make  
much thereof, rather than after manie calamities  
suffered and taken, to thinke how beneficiall and  
pretious it is. Then should they without seeking or  
sweating inuay those things which to obtaine they  
vnder take great voiaiges, and yet nothing nere  
their purpose without much bloudshed, slaughter, and  
wastfullnesse, as sometime verie wiselie said Cyneas  
to Pyrrhus, dissuading him from the Itallish warre:  
and as one both learnedlie and stiele wryteth, sayeng:

*Hic est perpetuus sacrorum lusus & usus,  
Ludendi ut faciat consumpta pecunia finem:  
Sic ubi vastatae gentes lacrymantur & vrbes,  
Aurea tum demum feruntur federa pacis.  
Heu quanto satius foret hac praertere damna!  
Atque animos hominum saluis coalescere rebu!*

While this  
histoziograp-  
her is so  
large in the  
description  
of this siege  
of Leith.

Thus haue I bene more large in this matter  
concerning the siege of Leith, than may be thought  
peradventure necessarie, sith the thing is yet fresh in  
memoie: but because there came to my hands cer-  
teine notes of one or two persons that were there  
present, and for helpe of their owne memories wrote  
the same, I haue thought it not impertinent to insert  
the effect of them, that the same may serue to further  
those that hereafter shall wryte the histoie of this  
time more at large, sith my purpose is not to con-  
tinue the same otherwise than I find things noted in  
the abridgements of Iohn Stow and Richard Graf-  
ton: except in some recitall of expeditions and tour-  
nies made, as this, and other into Scotland, and that  
same of the right honourable the earle of Warlike  
into Normandie, which I haue thought good to in-  
large, according to such notes as haue come to my  
hand, beseeching the readers to accept the same in  
good part: and if anie thing be omitted, either in this  
place or ante other, that were as necessarie to be spo-  
ken of, as those points which I haue touched, or after-  
wards may touch, to impute the fault to the want of  
good instructions, and not to anie negligence or lacke  
of good will in me to aduance currie mans worthe  
doings according to his merits.

The articles  
of the peace  
at the siege  
of Leith.

But now concerning the articles of the peace,  
being about thirtene in all, the chæfest may seme  
to rest here in, that the French souldiours and men  
of warre should depart out of the realme of Scot-  
land within a short time limited of twentie daies, as  
*Ludouico Guicciardini* hath noted; six score of them onlie  
excepted, as thre score to abide in Insketh, and thre  
score in the castell of Dunbar, they to be answered  
their wages at the hands of the estates of Scotland,  
and to be subiect vnto the lawes and ordinances of  
that realme. That the fortifications about Leith  
should be razed and demolished: and likewise the  
fort which had bene built and raised before the castell  
of Dunbar by the French, for a strength thereto.  
That the Frenchmen should not conuie into Scot-  
land anie men of warre, or munitions without con-  
sent of the parlement assembled of thre estates of  
that realme. That the king and quene of France &  
Scotland should not fro thenselues beare the arms  
of England, sith the same appertained onelie to the  
quenes maiestie of England and to no other person.

The end of  
this peace  
thus con-  
cluded.

See more here  
of in Scotlan  
pag. 374.

These and other articles were compiled and esta-  
blished in the conclusion of this peace, as well to the  
honour and suertie of the quenes maiestie of Eng-  
land, hir realmes, dominions, and subiects, as also for  
the wealth and ppreseruation of the realme of Scot-  
land, the nobles and other subiects of that realme.  
After that this peace then was fullie established, a-  
greed, and concluded, the Frenchmen were imbar-  
ked at Leith in English vessels; those onelie excep-  
ted that were appointed to remaine as pledges with  
the Englishmen till the ships came backe againe,

and a few other that were permitted to passe through  
England into their countrie. Thus were the French  
forces remoued out of Scotland, a matter so much  
importing to the confirmation of peace betwixt vs  
and that realme, and also to the auoiding of further  
perils, that this iourne ended with so honorable and  
profitable a peace, concluded by the high industrie  
and prudent policie of our quenes maiesties com-  
missioners afore mentioned, may be accompted one  
of the most necessarie expeditions, and most benefi-  
ciall seruices that had bene made and put in practise  
in manie yeares before. For the quenes maiestie  
(as some haue trulie wrytten) had not onlie hir chiefe  
desire, by remouing of the French hir dangerous  
neighbois, that were about to nestle themselves so  
neare hir elbow: but also a perfect peace with the  
Scots was thereby procured, like to continue manie  
yeares (if the said Scots shall not seeke their owne  
wo) being full vnable to aduantage themselves by  
warres against vs, as to the wiser and best sort of  
them I trust is not unknowne.

T. Church-  
yard.

The quene  
meaning to  
remouing the  
French out of  
Scotland.

A false Chast  
shipperd till  
he changed  
his song.

But to leaue the further consideration of the be-  
nefit that may grow herof to this realme, vnto their  
iudgements that haue riper heads to vnderstand the  
same: I will proceed, and herewith make an end of  
this matter, concerning the siege of Leith. After  
that the Frenchmen were departed, and the forts a-  
bout Leith and Dunbar razed and demolished, accor-  
ding to the covenants of peace, the quenes maiestie  
called backe hir armie without reteining ante peere  
within Scotland to hir owne vse. In which honora-  
ble and bright dealing, she was more same and effi-  
cacious, than if she had seized and kept in hir posses-  
sion halfe the realme of Scotland: spectallie regar-  
ding the perplexed state of the people by war, which  
she redressed by the establishment of peace, a thing  
which the alwaies loued, as the contrarie she mo-  
tallie hated: as one hath noted of hir grace, sayeng:

*Virgo pacis amans, quæ stat contraria belli.*

The quenes maiestie by the aduise of hir most ho-  
norable counsell, meaning to abolish all corrupt,  
base, and copper monies then currant in this realme  
of England, coined in the times and reignes of king  
Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, to the  
great hinderance and decaye of the commonwealth  
of this realme, and therewith to restore vnto all hir  
subiects fine and pure sterling monies, both of gold  
and silver, to the great honor and benefit of the whole  
realme: published a proclamation on Michaelmasse  
euen before none, that the teston coined for twelue  
pence, and in the reigne of king Edward embased  
by proclamation to six pence, should now forthwith  
(that of the best sort marked with the portculet) be  
currant for foure pence halfe pence: the second mar-  
ked with the greihound for two pence farthing: the  
third and worst sort not marked as afore, not to be  
currant at all, nor receiued for ante value. The grote  
to be currant for two pence, the former pece of two  
pence for a penie, &c.

The quenes  
armie reuol-  
out of Scot-  
land.

Paules ste-  
ple on fire by  
lightening.

Iohn Stow.  
A fall of gold  
monie a me-  
king of new  
coines.

The quene  
is grieved  
with the losse  
of Paules  
steple a pro-  
uoceth means  
to repare it.

The quenes  
beneuolence  
to rectie o-  
thers.

It was not long after this, but that hir grace re-  
solving to hir subiects fine sterling monie, called all  
the said base and corrupt coines into hir maiesties  
mint, allowing to them therefore after the rate be-  
fore mentioned, so much of the said fine monies as  
they brought in of the said base monies. About the  
same time, hir grace also finding this realme great-  
lie unfurnished of armour, munitions, and powder,  
for the defense thereof in time of necessitie, did so  
largelie and plentifully prepare and cause to be  
brought into the same, such sufficient furniture of  
armour and weapons, as England hath lust cause  
to praise and giue thanks to God and hir maiestie;  
for that it is certeine, that the realme was neuer so  
amplie stored nor provided of all manner of kinds of  
conuenient

Anno Reg.

1560

Additions to  
Lanquet.  
The quene  
furnisheth her  
land with ar-  
mour and mu-  
nition.

Overseers  
appointed to  
repare the  
rearing of  
Paules.

1561  
William Sel-  
fine whipped.

The merchant  
raiois from  
Lipole.

1561  
William Sel-  
fine whipped.



conuenient armes and weapons, as it is at this present. The one and twentieth of March a notable Grammar schole was founded by the maister, wardens, and assistants of the right worshipfull compaignie of the merchant taylors of London, in the parish of S. Laurence Pountreie in the same citie, the right worshipfull Emanuel Lucar, Robert Rose, William Perike, John Sparke, & Robert Duckington then maister and wardens of that compaignie.

The tenth of Aprill was one William Gessreie shipped, from the Sparthalsea in Southworke, to Bedlem without Bishops gate of London, for that he professed one John Poze to be Christ our sauour: on his head was set a paper, wherein was writtten as followeth: William Gessreie a most blasphemous heretike, denieng Christ our sauour in heauen. The said Gessreie being staied at Bedlem gate, John Poze was brought forth, before whome William Gessreie was shipped, till he confessed Christ to be in heauen. When the said John Poze being examined, and answering ouerthwartlie, was commanded to put off his cote, doublet, and shirt; which he seemed to do verie willingly, and after being tied to the cart, was shipped an arrowes shot from Bedlem, where at the last he also confessed Christ to be in heauen, and himselfe to be a sinfull man. Then was John Poze sent againe into Bedlem, and Gessreie to the Sparthalsea, where they had laine prisoners nigh a yere and a halfe, the one for professing himselfe to be Christ, the other a disciple of the same Christ. On wednesday the 4 of June, betwene foure & five of the clocke in the afternoon, the steeple of Paules in London being fired by lightning, burst forth (as it seemed to the beholders) two or three yards beneath the foot of the crosse, and from thence burnt downe the spire to the stoneworke and bels, so terrible, that within the space of foure houres the same steeple with the rofes of the church, so much as was timber or otherwise combustible, were consumed, which was a lamentable sight and pittifull remembrance to the beholders therof. After this mischance, the queens maiestie being much grieved for the losse of so beautifull a monument, directed hir highnesse letters to the mayo of the citie of London, willing him to assemble the citizens to take some order for speciall aid and helpe for the repairing againe of the said monument. And she of hir most gracious disposition, to giue a comfort to others for the furtherance thereof, did presentlie giue and deliuer in gold one thousand markes, and a warrant for a thousand lode of timber, to be taken out of hir maiesties woods or elsethere: and the citizens of London granted one beneuolence, and three fifths to be forthwith paid. The clergie vnder the prouince of Canturburie granted the fourth part of the value of their benefices charged with first fruits, & not charged with first fruits the thirtieth part. The clergie of the diocesse of London granted the thirtieth part of their benefices in first fruits, and the twentieth part out of first fruits. Now immediatlie by commandement of the queens highnesse, hir priuie counsell took order that six citizens of London, and two of the cleargie of the church of Paules, had charge and commandement to ouersie and set forthward this worke, who made such expedition, that within one moneth next following the burning thereof, the whole church, that is to saie, all the foure great rofes of the same were covered with boards and lead, after the manner of a falle rofe. And the greatnesse of the worke dispatched in so short time could scarcely be credited of anie, but of such as saw and knew the same. And the cause of this great hast was for feare of raine, which might haue perished the waltes, to the destruction of the whole church, & the people that were therein. And be-

fore the said yere was fullie ended, all the said fles of the said church were made & framed of new & maine timber, & covered with lead, & fullie finished. And the same yere also, the great rofe of the west end was framed, and made of new & great timber in Poykeshire, & brought to London by sea, and set by & covered with lead, and fullie finished. And in like maner within the said yere, the whole rofe and frame of the east end of the said church was made in Poykeshire, & brought by sea to London, and there laid readie to be raised when the season of the yere serued. This one thing resteth to be told, that by estimation of wise men, 10000 pounds more than is yet granted vnto it, will not perfect & finish the church and steeple in such sort as it was before the burning thereof.

In this meane time also, by reason of the queens maiesties letters directed to the mayo and his brethren of the citie of London about the burning of Paules, there were certeine aldermen and commoners of the said citie named and called together by the authoritie of the mayo, to deuise some good order and speedie remedie for the reliefe and comfort of the said citie, whensoever anie chance of fire hereafter should happen (as God forbid) within the said citie or liberties thereof. And the persons so called after sundrie meetings, and with god aduiseement and deliberation, agreed and penned a certeine order for the speedie remedie thereof, as well for the readie knowledge of the place, wheresoever the same fire should happen, and for the sudden extinguishment & suppressing of the same, as also for the safe keeping of the goods of such persons in whose house anie fire should chance. Which orders and rules vndoubtedly would be to the great comfort & safetie of the citie and citizens of the same, if they were published and made knownen in time, and executed accordingly. But what should I saie? I can but lament, not onelie for this, but also for manie such painefull and profitable labors, which for god gouernement of this citie had bene taken. For as soone as the talking thereof is done, and the bookes framed and deliuered, so soone is it put in oblivion, and nothing at all thought vpon, untill an houre after the mischiese be past.

This yere was chosen lord mayo of London a worshipfull citizen named William Harper, one of the compaignie of the merchant taylors. This man wishing in his life time to benefit his countrie, founded a free schole in the towne of Bedford where he was borne, and now lieth buried, prouiding a competent stipend and living for a scholemaster, there to traine up and instruct children in vertue and learning forever. The sixteenth of Nouember, the queens maiestie published a proclamation, wherein she restored to the realme diuerse small peces of silver monie, as the peece of six pence, foure pence, three pence, two pence, and a penie, three halfe pence, and three farthings. She also forbade all forren coines to be current within the same realme, as well gold as silver, calling them to hir maiesties mints, except two sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemish crowne. Thus did hir maiestie in all hir actions directed to common vtilitie shew at a certeine perfection, purenesse, and soundnesse, as here in hir new stampes and coines of all sorts; so also in Gods religion, setting the materiall churches of hir dominions free from all popish trash: which one hath aptlie noted by waie of comparison, saieing:

*Eiectis paleis purgatur ut area multo  
Vt que laborantis serui sudore reuulsis  
Vt nitet ampla domus, quas struxit aranea telis:  
Sic prius idolis confectis, templa fiantur  
Cunctis scopis, quicquid fuit, abradentibus vncis  
Dentibus obscurum, spurcum, verbone repugnans  
Sacro, religioque erectis cultior ibat*

Aaaaaa.

All the fles of Paules made and framed of new timber.

Centhsand pounds sufficient to repaire Paules as it was at the first.

God orders nothing worth if they be not put in execution.

Free schole in Bedford towne founded by William Harper mayo of London elect.

New coines of small peces as six pence, &c.

he commeth to the church to be buried.

Church.

he quene aning in routing ench out of Scotland.

he quene is reprobed of Scotland.

Paules church burnt by lightning.

The quene is granted with the losse of Paules steeple a prouidence means to repaire it.

The quenes beneuolence to the citizens.

Stow, all at battie & met of new.

Reg. 3.

Quenes appointed to restore the burning of Paules.

60 rions to uet. quene meth his with one and m.

*Iam pe libus, Christusque Dei cognoscitur agnus,  
Offensas delens mundi peccataque tollens  
Vandalis populo non indulgentia papa.*

Anno Reg. 4.  
Monstrous  
births in di-  
uerse places of  
England.

1562

France at dis-  
union in it  
selfe by ciuill  
warres.

The queenes  
maiesties mis-  
trust of incon-  
uenience, and  
the same re-  
medied.

Sir Henrie  
Sidneie sent  
ambassador  
into France.

In other am-  
bassage in  
France.

Ships of Lon-  
don, Excester,  
& Falmouth,  
swell'd by the  
French in  
Britaine, the  
thirtieth of  
Iulie, and  
ninetieth of  
August.

This yeare in England were manie monstrous  
births. In March a mare brought forth a foale with  
one bodie and two heads, and as it were a long taile  
growing out betwene the two heads. Also a sow  
farrowed a pig with foure legs like to the armes of a  
manchild with armes and fingers, &c. In Aprill a sow  
farrowed a pig with two bodies, eight feet, and but  
one head: manie calves and lambs were monstros-  
ous, some with collars of skin growing about their  
necks, like to the double ruffles of shirts and necker-  
chers then vsed. The foure and twentieth of Maie, a  
manchild was borne at Chichester in Suffex, the head  
armes, & legs thereof were like to an anatomicke, the  
breast and bellie monstrous big, from the nauill as  
it were a long string hanging: about the necke a  
great collar of flesh and skin growing like the ruffe  
of a shirt or neckercher, comming by above the  
eares pleited and folded, &c.

The realme of France being in great trouble a-  
bout this season, by the means of ciuill dissention and  
warres that rose betwixt the house of Guise and o-  
ther of that faction upon the one side, and the princes  
of Conde and other that took part with him on the  
contrarie side: the queenes maiestie informed how  
that the duke of Guise and his partakers hauing got  
into their possession the person of the yong king, un-  
der pretext of his authoritie, sought the subuersion of  
manie noble men and good subiects of the crowne of  
France, namelye such as were knowne or suspected  
to be zealous for a reformation to be had in matters  
of religion: hir maiestie therupon considering, that  
if their purpose might be brought to effect, it was to  
be doubted that they would not so rest, but seek to  
set things in boile also within this hir realme of  
England, and other countries nere to them adioi-  
ning: first as one that had euer wished quietnesse,  
rather than the troubles of warre, sent ouer Sir Hen-  
rie Sidneie at that present lord president of Wales  
(a man of such estimation as his word ought to haue  
deserued credit) to trie if he might doe anye good to  
bring the parties to some attonement. But such wil-  
full headinesse seemed to rest in some that were chiefe  
of the one faction, that their desire seemed altogether  
bent to enter into wars. Hir maiestie yet hoping the  
best, appointed to send another honourable ambas-  
sage, which by their wisdoms and good aduise might  
persuade the parties vnto concord, whereby all due  
authoritie, honoz, & dignitie might be restored to the  
king, and euerie other degree keepe their romes and  
places as to them appertained, but all in vaine. For  
this motion of a pacification to be had could take no  
place, neither might the will of the yong king, or of  
his timorous mother, as it then seemed, be regarded,  
otherwise than as stood with the pleasure & appoint-  
ment of those that were knowne to be the chiefe au-  
thors and furtherers of all those troubles.

Whilist the queenes maiestie therefore did thus  
trauell in respect of the suertie which hir grace bare  
to hir welbeloued brother the said king, and to the  
commoditie and quietnesse of both the factions, an  
open iniurie was offered to hir maiestie: so as it  
might appeare what minds they bare towards hir,  
that had thus excluded and refused all offers & means  
to grow to some good and indifferent conclusion of  
peace. For whereas manie merchants, as well of  
London as of Excester, and other the west parts of  
hir realme, were sojourning for cause of traffike, in  
diuerse parts and hauens of Britaine; and hauing  
dispatched their businesse, and got their lading aboard,  
their ships were readie to hoise vp sailes, and to re-  
turne each one towards the place from whence he

came, they were suddenlie arrested, their goods seized  
vpon, and they themselves cast in prison: and some  
that in reuenge of such offered iniurie attempted to  
make resistance, were cruellie slaine, their ships con-  
ueied auaie, their goods confiscat, without other pre-  
tense, but onelie that it was said to them that they  
were Huguenots. Neither was this done by priuie  
persons, but by open violence of the gouernors & ma-  
gistrats of those places where the same disorder was  
executed: so that it appeared from whence they had  
their commission to vse such wrongfull dealing, and  
how farre the same would extend, if they might once  
haue time and occasion to accomplish their purposed  
intentions.

Whereouer, when complaint of such iniuries was  
made vnto the lawfull magistrats there, they found  
no redres at all. For what might the poore merchants  
profit by their plaints, when the packets of the am-  
bassadors letters, directed to hir maiestie, were taken  
from the bearer, & no punishment had against those  
that committed so vnciuill an outrage? A thing that  
offended hir maiestie so much more, for that as she  
tooke the matter, there wanted no good will, either in  
the king, or his mother, or in the king of Nauarre,  
the kings generall lieutenant, to see such a presump-  
tuos and vnrulie part punished of their people: but  
rather that there lacked in them authoritie to haue it  
redressed. Furthermore, it greatly grieved hir, that  
the yong French king, hir dære brother was brought  
to such a streit, that he was neither able to defend the  
libertie of his people, nor the authoritie of his lawes,  
nor to deale by rightlie with other princes and poten-  
tats accordinglie, as by the bonds of leagues and of  
covenanted alliances had bene requisite. Neither did  
such disorder in gouernement of the kingdome of  
France touch anye so much and particularlie, as the  
queens maiestie of England.

She therefore lamenting that the king and queene  
mother should be thus in the hands of them that pro-  
cured all these troubles, and led by and done at  
their pleasures, and driuen to behold the spoile and  
sacking of diuerse his cities, and miserable slaughter  
of his subiects: and againe hir grace thinking it er-  
pient to prevent that such as were knowne to  
beare no good will, either to hir or hir realme, should  
not get into their possessions such townes and ha-  
uens as laie against the sea coasts of hir said realme,  
whereby they stuffing the same with garrisons and  
numbers of men of warre, might easilie vpon occa-  
sions seeke to make inuasions into this hir said  
realme, to the great annoiance of hir and hir louing  
subiects: at the request of the French themselves,  
thought it expedient to put in arme a certeine num-  
ber of hir subiects, to passe ouer into Normandie,  
vnto such hauens as nere approached vnto this hir  
realme of England, as well for the safegard of the  
same, as also for the reliefe and preservation of the  
inhabitants there: and other that possessed the gos-  
pell, liuing in continuall danger to be murdered and  
oppressed, and therefore craving hir aid to saue and  
deliuer them out of the bloody hands of their cruell  
adueraries, that sought their haffie destruction.

For the conduction therefore of such forces as she  
meant to send ouer at that present, she ordeined the  
lord Ambrose Dudley earle of Warwicke to be hir  
principall lieutenant, capitaine generall, chiefe lea-  
der and gouernor of hir said subiects, that should in  
such wise passe ouer into Normandie. Hereupon,  
the said earle the seuentieth of October, in this fourth  
yeare of hir maiesties reigne, toke shipping at Dor-  
setmouth in the haven there, at one a clocke in the  
after none, being aboard himselfe in the queens ship,  
called the *Swet barke*, and setting forward, sailed all  
that after none, and the night following, directlie to-  
wards

Letters ta-  
ken from the  
queens am-  
bassadors.

The co-  
warrent  
lawdeth  
French

Light  
men

Another  
and by ci-  
uill warre  
and other  
ways.

The French  
troubles touch  
most the queene  
of England.

The chiefe  
causes that  
moued the  
queenes ma-  
iestie to send  
a power into  
France.

Warre  
townes  
and ther  
Wardens

Spice  
warre  
townes  
and ther  
Wardens

In all  
the town  
of Warwicke

The earle of  
warwicke sent  
into Normandie  
die with an  
armie.

wards *Pelwauen*, but in the morning about eight a clocke, when his lordship was within twentie miles of the towne of *Pelwauen*, the wind suddentlie changed cleane contrarie to his course: so that being driven to returne about the next midnight, he arrived in the downes, and there remained at anchor, till about eight of the clocke in the next morning being mondaie, and then was set on land by bote at *Sandon* castell besides *Deale*, and the same date at night came to *Douer*, & there laie till fridaie at thre of the clocke at after none; and then taking ship againe, sailed forth: but finding the wind nothing prosperous for his course, after he had lien all that night & the daie following, tossing & tumbling on the seas, he was constrained to come backe againe, and arrived in the haven of *Douer*, about ten of the clocke on saturdaye at night, and so remained there till tuesdaye next insuing at thre of the clocke in the after none, and then went to shipboard againe in the said ship called the *Petu* barke: and directing his course forwards, on thursdaie morning about eight of the clocke, his lordship landed at *Pelwauen*, where he was most joyfullie received with a great peale of artillerie.

The next daie, being fridaie, & the thirtieth of October, there came to *Pelwauen* from *Diepe*, fiftie light horsemen Scots, brought by one of maister *Hillignes* servants. On saturdaye the last of October, the earle of *Warwike* commission was proclaimed in Latine, English, and French, by *Wlewmantell*, pursenant at armes: which being ended, his lordship went into the church, and there sir *Adrian Poinings* knight marshall gaue him his oth, and then my lord gaue the said sir *Adrian* his oth. And after him were swoyne *Cuthbert Vaughan* controllor, *John Fisher* knight porter, *William Bromfield* maister of the ordinance, *William Robinson* water bailiffe, and capteine *Thomas Wood* cleake of the councill. On mondaie the second of November, the earle of *Warwike*, with the knight marshall, and the controllor, rode out of *Pelwauen* to *Hauteville*, and so towards *Hondeville*, accompanied with all the horsemen English and Scottish, and a thousand footmen. The Scottishmen & *Pontgoneries* hand passed forth, and skirmished with them of *Hondeville*, and the Scots brought awaie with them a botie of thre hundred shepe: but in the morning, they were returned backe againe by commandement of the earle of *Warwike*.

Maister controllors souldiours went as far as *Hardue*, and there skirmished with them of that garrison, but without anie hurt to either part. My lord lieutenant riding all about the hils, viewed the countrie, and at night returned. On wednesdaye the fourth of November, a barke of *Pelwauen*, belonging to *Francis Clarke*, brought into the haven of the same towne, foure Britons laden with wines, to the quantitie of two hundred tunns of good *Calcoigne* wines, which they ment to haue brought to the enemies: but being thus taken as a good prise, it was discharged in *Pelwauen*, and stode the Englishmen and others of that towne in good stead. On fridaie the first of November, about nine of the clocke in the morning, a great alarm rose in the said towne of *Pelwauen*: for upon the hils on the north side of the towne, the *Keingraue*, and the sonne of the viceadmirall of France, shewed themselves, accompanied with two thousand footmen, and five hundred horsemen. And herewith, the *Keingraue* sent a trumpet to the towne, to aduertise the lord lieutenant, that he was on the hils there at hand; and that understanding his lordship was come into the countrie, and entred into *Pelwauen*, if it would please him to promise upon his honor, and by

the faith of a gentleman, that he might come, and returne in safetie, he would be glad to come & see him. Whereupon the lord lieutenant, taking with him certeine capteins and gentlemen, rode forth of the towne, and sent before him sir *Adrian Poinings* the marshall, with *Stephan Pedcalfe* his maiesties trumpet to the *Keingraue*, who talking with him, returned, and met with the lord lieutenant: who therewith passed forward, and meeting with the *Keingraue*, they embraced each other, and conferred together as they had occasion. And the *Keingraue* told the lord lieutenant (among other talke) that he was come to be his neighbor, and so with such merie speech they communed together: and after taking their leave either of other, they returned vnto their homes.

The counte *Pontgonerie* and monsieur *Beauuois* had some talke also with the *Keingraue*, casting out bitter and sharpe words in reproofe of the duke of *Guise*, and others that were of his faction. The *Keingraue* comming backe to his armie the same afternone, forraied all the countrie, and drove awaie the most part of all the cattell that they might meet with: and comming to the church of *Hauteville*, where an hundred and fiftie of *Pontgoneries* band laie, they skirmished with them, and in the end *Pontgoneries* souldiours were forced to retire, and abandon the place, leaving it to the enemies; and comming awaie, withdelow the same night into *Pelwauen*. The *Almans* the same evening, diuiding their armie into two parts, the one halfe of them went and lodged at *Hondeville*, and the other halfe at *Hardue*. The morrow after, the Frenchmen that had abandoned the church of *Hauteville* the night before, went thither againe, toke and kept it against the enemies, in like manner as they held it before.

The eleuenth of November, a proclamation was made in the name of the lord lieutenant, by the officer at armes *Wlewmantell*, as well for good orders to be kept by the souldiours against the French inhabitants of the towne, & reforming of certeine grievances, whereof the French had made complaint: as also for their comming to church to heare common prater and preaching at due times, for the avoiding of vnlawfull games, whozome, wicked dyes, and other blasphemies; and likewise concerning diuerse other good orders to be obserued, and disorders to be eschewed, as was thought necessarie to giue warning of, with condigne paines appointed for punishment of such as should transgresse in the same.

On thursdaie the twelue of November, there went out of the towne of *Pelwauen* towards *Hardue*, thre bands of Frenchmen, conteining about six hundred footmen; and suddentlie they were beset by the *Almans* and Frenchmen of the garrison of *Hardue*: so that the French protestants were driven to take a village called *Grauille*, where they maintained the skirmish for the space of two houres, till the lord lieutenant, hearing of the perill in which they stode, sent forth with the controllor the number of a thousand footmen, and all the English and Scottish horsemen, and monsieur *Beauuois* with diuerse French horsemen: who comming before *Hardue*, fell in skirmish with the enemies, to whose succor there issued forth of *Hardue* a great number of the *Almans*, both horsemen and footmen. But the Englishmen behaved themselves so valiantlie, that they beat them out of the field, and drove them in the end to the verie gates of their towne, with such lionlike courage, as was wonderfull: choosing rather to die in battell (if hap had so cut their cards) in an honest cause, than in their sickle beds: as moved by the poets reason not amisse for a souldior to

A a a a a. ij.

*Stephan Pedcalfe* trumpet to the *Keingraue* and the *Keingraue* talke together.

The church of *Hauteville* recovered.

A proclamation for good orders to be kept by the souldiours.

A skirmish betweene the lord lieutenant and the French.

ers to from the is ambag is say-

The earle of Warwike

Light horsemen

Maister of the ordinance

French les touch & queene ingland.

chiese is that to the ea mas rofend or into ce.

Maister of the ordinance

Maister of the ordinance

Maister of the ordinance

ers of the sent

remember and resolutelie to rest vpon, to wit:

*Assumpti longis animam cruciatibus edunt  
Languentes morbis: in bello pulchra paratur  
Ator, homo momento pugnans extinguitur bore,  
Evolat in tenues letus cito spiritus auras.*

The English  
men retire to  
Bewhauen  
with hono<sup>r</sup>.

Monsieur  
Beauuois.

Wines taken  
and brought  
to Bewhauen

A proclama-  
tion for har-  
quebut shot.

An alarum  
vpon occasion  
of fire made by  
the papists.

Execution.

A proclama-  
tion to restrain  
the outrage  
of soldiers.

Wines  
brought to  
Bewhauen.

A supplie of  
soldiours  
out of Essex

This skirmish was stoutlie maintained and conti-  
nued for the space of three long houres. Their great  
artillerie was shot off freshlie from the walls and  
bulwarks. At length, when the night drew on, the  
retire was sounded, and the Englishmen came their  
waie backe to Bewhauen with hono<sup>r</sup>, hauing lost  
not past eight of their souldiours, that were slaine and  
six other hurt: whereas there was one of the eni-  
mies capitains slaine in sight, with twentie souldiours,  
and another of their capitains, with diuerse others of  
their numbers greuouslie wounded. Monsieur  
Beauuois shewed himselfe that daie verie forward  
and ballant, & so likewise did the Scottishmen. The  
thirtieth of Nouember, a pinnelle of the French  
men that belonged to Bewhauen, being gone forth  
the night before, brought into the haven a ship laden  
with Rochell wines, five and twentie tuns, that was  
bound to passe by to the enemies, and so esteemed a  
good prise. On the fourteenth of Nouember, and  
ther ship fraught with twentie tuns of Calcoigne  
wines was brought in as a prise, likewise taken by  
a barke of Bewhauen, that belonged to a French  
man, called Jehan de Bois, an earnest aduersarie  
to the papists.

The seventh of Nouember, a proclamation was  
made by Blewmanfell, concerning orders taken  
and passed by the lord lieutenant, that no English  
man nor Frenchman should shot off anie harque-  
buse within the towne; nor that anie Frenchman,  
except monsieur Beauuois, or monsieur Brique-  
mault, or their companies, should be out of their  
lodgings after nine of the clocke at night till the next  
morning on paine of death: except in cases of ala-  
rums. The twelfe of Nouember, about six of the  
clocke at night, one of the mills without the gate  
was set on fire by some of the papists (as was  
thought) whereof rose a great alarum. The thir-  
teenth of Nouember, the Keingraue was sene on  
the north hills of the towne, with foure score horse-  
men: wherevpon the Scottish horsemen, and three  
bands of footmen issued out, marching by towards  
the same hills, in hope to meet with their enemies,  
but they were retired towards Mondouille, and so  
nothing was done. It was reported for a certeine  
truth, that the duke Daumale was there at that pre-  
sent with the Keingraue.

On wednesdaie, the five and twentieth of Nouem-  
ber, one of capteine Cocksons souldiours was han-  
ged in the market place: and an other that was  
brought thither likewise to be executed had his par-  
don, at the sute of certeine French gentlemen. And  
herewith was proclamation made, that where it had  
beene proclaimed afore, that none should take anie  
thing forceable from the French on paine of death,  
for breach whereof, such execution was presentlie  
done: the lord lieutenant did by this proclamation  
effrons charge and command, that none vpon like  
paine should breake or spoile anie house or ship: or  
take anie timber, wood, or anie other thing from the  
French, without their good will, consent, and agree-  
ment. The same afternone came into the haven  
hoies and botes laden with wine, cider, perrie,  
wheate, beafe, bisquet, meale, and other prouision of  
bittels. Two French shallops of Bewhauen had  
taken them besides Hundue, and beaten backe a  
shallop of the enemies, slaying ten or twelue French-  
men that came forth of Hundue to haue succored  
the hoies. The five and twentieth of Nouember, there  
landed at Bewhauen six hundred souldiours Essex

men, under the leading of Aurie Darcie, Arginall  
Higate, and William Twedie, each of them ha-  
uing his appointed number of two hundred to his  
ensigne.

Moreover, where as well diuerse prentises, as  
other Englishmen were come ouer, since the pla-  
cing of the garrison in that towne of Bewhauen,  
not offering their seruice anie waie, other than by  
stragling abroad to seeke pillage, whereby they fell  
oftentimes into the hands of the enemies, both to the  
dishon<sup>r</sup> of their cuntry, & losse of their owne liues.  
For reformation hereof proclamation was made  
the last of Nouember, that all Englishmen within  
the said towne, aboue the age of sixteen peares, and  
under three score, being not retained in the queens  
maiesties paie, should at one of the clocke that pre-  
sent daie repaire to the bulwark called the bul-  
wark of saint Adolphes, there to present his name &  
person to the comptrollo<sup>r</sup>, that order might be taken  
how to emploie them in some certainte of seruice,  
vpon paine to euerie one failing hereof to suffer ten  
daies imprisonment, & also to be banished the towne.

The same daie the queenes ship called the Hare,  
comming from Portsmouth, arrived at Bewha-  
uen; and in hir came sir John Postnarie, whose ripe  
skill, deepe iudgement, and great experience in mat-  
ters of fortification had byed in him such knowledg,  
as he may worthilie be called a maister in that sci-  
ence. They were by the waie assailed by a French  
ship of foure score and ten tuns and better: but they  
that were aboard in the Hare, so manfully acquired  
themselues, that they vanquished the enemies, toke  
the same ship, & brought hir with them being laden  
with wines, which they meant to haue conueied to  
the aduersaries in some garrison. The same daie sir  
John Poze landed at Bewhauen, bringing ouer  
with him five hundred souldiours out of Denbire, for  
a supplie of the garrison there. He himselfe returned  
backe into England, but the souldiours were appoin-  
ted to the leading of other capitains: so that Francis  
Summerfet, brother to the earle of Worcester had  
three hundred of them; Oliver Spanners an hun-  
dred, and Edward Dymbie the other hundred. On  
tuesdaie the eight of December monsieur de Beau-  
uois, capteine Francis Summerfet, and capteine  
Edward Pozele, with diuerse other capteins, offi-  
cers and gentlemen, rode to the Keingraue, lieng  
at a faire house not farre from Mondouille, where  
they dined with him, had great and hartie chere, and  
after returned againe to Bewhauen. The same  
daie the Keingraue sent for a present vnto my lord  
of Warwicke, a great horse, verie faire, with saddle  
and bridle; esteemed to be well worth an hundred  
pounds.

Moreover, the same daie at night, the Double  
Rose with certeine other botes and French shallops,  
passed forth of the haven: Edward Dudley, and  
capteine John Ward being aboard in the said Dou-  
ble Rose, with diuerse other Englishmen & French-  
men, to the number of a hundred good souldiours, who  
sailing downe the riuer landed before Tankerville,  
and laie close all that night in the wood. And in the  
morning about nine of the clocke monsieur Bimar,  
ensignebeare to the counte Montgomerie, with six  
or seauen Frenchmen unarmed went to the castell  
gate, and there fell in talke with monsieur Dimene,  
who was capteine of that fortresse, hauing with him  
about ten souldiours that were appointed to remaine  
with him vpon the gard of the same castell. Whilst  
they were thus in talke, the Englishmen and other  
Frenchmen comming forth of the wood that was  
there at hand, reared by their ladders, which they  
had brought with them for that purpose, at the breach  
which was made the summer before by the duke  
Daumale;

A proclama-  
tion for the  
souldiours at  
saint Adolph  
es.

A skirmish  
before Har-  
den.  
The French  
men beaten  
into Harfen

Sir John  
Postnarie a  
Florentine,  
and an expe-  
rienced engi-  
ner.

Monsieur  
Beauuois &  
captaine Ant  
will hurt.

Sir John  
Poze bring-  
eth a supplie  
of souldiours to  
Bewhauen  
out of Den-  
bire.

A proclama-  
tion for obser-  
uing of op-  
era.

A present sent  
by the Keing-  
raue to the  
earle of War-  
wicke.

The death of  
the lord Greu  
et wilton.

Edward  
Dudley.

The castell  
Tankerville  
was by the  
Englishmen

the at  
cathedral.

Proclama-  
tion for the ab-  
nolting of  
the at  
the at  
the at

Sir John  
Dorset  
Florentine,  
and an excel-  
lent engi-  
ner.

Sir John  
Dorset  
Florentine,  
and an excel-  
lent engi-  
ner.

A present sent  
by the King  
to the  
of the at  
the at

Edward  
Dudley.

The castle of  
Tanderuile,  
owned by the  
Englishmen.

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Dumale; and entring by the same, came downe into the base court. Which thing when the French soldiers that kept talke with them within at the castle gate perceived, they began to laugh. The capitaine of the castle therewith turning his face, & beholding as good as three score armed men within the castle at his backe, he suddenly said: Ha, ie suis vostre, I am yours sirs, and so yielded with his ten soldiers. And in this sort was the castle taken, & the capitaine brought prisoner to Newhaven.

On the twelfth of December, at ten of the clocke in the morning, the earle of Warwicke, monsieur de Beauuois, and monsieur de Biquemaunt, with all their horsemen & three thousand footmen, passed forth of Newhaven unto Harlowe, out of which towne there issued seven hundred Keiffers of the retinue of the counte Keingraue, and three hundred footmen, who fell in skirmish with the French and Englishmen verie hotlie: but at length the Englishmen drave them to the verie gates of Harlowe, and due them even at the same gates, and upon the walles of the towne; insomuch that they were constrained to shut their gates, and off went the ordinance from the gates and bulwarks, discharging bullets amongst the English soldiers freely. But yet there were not laine past seven of the English part, albeit divers were hurt and wounded, & amongst other was monsieur de Beauuois shot into the side of the necke through his gorget; and capitaine Antwell fell through the arme. Moreover, whereas they carried forth with them four barrels of gunpowder to maintaine the skirmish, through negligence by setting fire in the same, there were to the number of twenty gravenlie burned. Of the enemies were laine that daie about thirtie, and hurt about fiftie. Many of their horses were also laine in this skirmish, which continued about three houres. As the Englishmen were returning backe, the Keingraue with two hundred horses, and a certaine number of footmen, was laid fast by in an ambush, thinking to have cut off part of their men: but he failed of his purpose. For the lord lieutenant marching with his men in battell aiaie, brought them home in safetie, without other impeachment. The seventeenth of December, the counte Montgomerie, and sir Hugh Paulet arrived at Newhaven in one of the queenes ships called the Aid.

The nineteenth of December a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued, concerning the imbarking of such soldiers as were licensed to depart by passeport or otherwise: and likewise prohibiting the taking into anie vessel anie drie fish, wine, sugar, or anie household stuffe without special licence of the lord lieutenant. Whilist things passed thus in Normandie at Newhaven & thereabouts, where the earle of Warwicke & other valiant capteines were ready to make proofe of their high prowesse in time & place as occasion might serue, there ended his life at home that honorable baron, and right famous capitaine in his daies William lord Greie of Willton, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and at that present governour of Berwicke, and warden of the east marches against Scotland. He deceased the five and twentieth of December, in the yere 1562, at Welshut in Hertfordshire, then the house of Henrie Denie esquier that had married mistresse Honora Greie, the said lord Greies onelie daughter. The six and twentieth of December the counte de Montgomerie took shipping at Newhaven rode, accompanied with four hundred harquebutters Frenchmen, and sailed to Dyepe, there to be governour of that towne. He went in an English barke belonging to Nicholas Spalbe secretarie to the earle of Warwicke lord lieutenant.

The third of Januarie a Gallie that was sent the same morning from Newhaven, laden with beere and other vittels to passe unto Tankerville, was assailed about Harlowe, by a Gallie of Dutchmen, which drave the hoie to the shore: so as the Englishmen forsooke their hoie, and came running to Newhaven, to declare what had happened. Whereupon the lord lieutenant sent forth four French Gallies by water, and the horsemen with sir hundred footmen passed forth by land, and used such diligence, that they came even as the Frenchmen were haling up the hoie towards Harlowe: and skirmishing with the Frenchmen (being four score good harquebutters) for the space of a long houre; at length recovered the hoie, and took three of their Gallies with their ordinance, which they brought to Newhaven, with the losse of one onelie man, an harquebuter of capitaine Zouches band. The fourth of Januarie in the morning, the English scout, being thirtie good harquebutters, were set upon by the enemies that drave them unto the verie gates. They shot also with their harquebuses into the towne, and over the mount roiall among the English soldiers. They hurt at that present three of the scouts; but when they perceived the Englishmen were in a readinesse to approach them, they departed, being in number three hundred horsemen and a thousand footmen, soldiers of Mondenille and Harlowe. The fifth of Januarie were apprehended capitaine Blondell, capitaine Poucombell, monsieur Dimence, and Missana with others, for some conspiracie or traitorous practise which they went about, and had maliciouslie contrived. The same daie capitaine Edward Hozse with his two hundred soldiers, & capitaine Francis Blunt with his hundred took shipping at Newhaven rode, and sailed to Dyepe, there to remaine with the counte Montgomerie, whose wife the countesse Montgomerie went also with them to hir husband the same time.

On the saturday following, the twelfth daie after Christmasse, being the ninth of Januarie, a great tempest of wind and thunder happened in the towne of Leicester, which uncovered two and fortye bases of houses, and overthrowe manie, renting and tearing them in peces, in a strange and marvellous manner. The people that were assembled that daie in the market place to buie and sell their usuall chafer, wares, and commodities, were sore amazed and astonished with the hideousnesse of that most outrageous & violent tempest. On thursdaie the 14 of Januarie at one of the clocke in the morning, there issued forth of Newhaven three score horsemen, and a thousand footmen, all English; & comming to Mondenille, where the Keingraue late, gaue to them within an alarum, but neither the Keiffers, nor the Almane footmen, nor French that were within that towne would come forth: and therefore after the Englishmen had tarried there the space of four houres, they returned backe againe to Newhaven.

The sixteenth of Januarie, at one of the clocke in the afternoon, there issued forth of Newhaven three score horsemen, and fiftene hundred footmen, which comming to Harlowe, gaue a like alarum to that towne; but none of the garrison there would come forth: whereupon the Englishmen returned home againe to Newhaven. The sixteenth of Januarie, the castle of Tankerville was surrendered to the Keingraue, after he had laine about it eight daies, with two thousand horsemen and footmen. It was now yielded by composition (after it had bene kept by the space of thirtie eight daies) that those within should depart with bag and baggage, the gallie being sent from Newhaven to fetch them awaie. There were no more within it at that time when it was

A hole recovered which the French had taken.

Certaine apprehended for conspiracie.

A great tempest in Leicester.

An alarum given to Mondenille.

An alarum given to Harlowe.

The castle of Tankerville delivered to the Keingraue.



Tremaine.

Francis  
Clerke  
Frenchman.Prises taken  
by him of as  
bout 5000  
crownes val-  
ue.Capitaine E-  
meric taken  
by the Sco-  
tish hoisemen.A proclama-  
tion for the  
obseruing of  
orders.A prize  
brought to  
Newhaven.These other  
prizes of  
sackes, ba-  
stards, &c.A souldier ex-  
ecuted for  
fighting con-  
trarie to the  
orders in that  
case giuen.These other  
pardoned.The admerall  
of France  
summoneth  
Hunsue.

was thus deliuered: but capteine John Ward, capteine Edward Dudleie, and capteine Saule, his lieutenant Kileie, with seuentie English souldiers, & thirtie French. The 19 of Januarie, there landed at Newhaven capteine Tremaine, with 50 hoisemen verie well appointed to serue the queenes maiestie there. The foure and twentieth of Januarie, Francis Clerke Frenchman arrived at Newhaven, with two tall ships of his owne, right well appointed for the wars, bringing with him thre rich prizes, valued at about fiftie thousand crownes, one of them was a mightie great hulke, laden with wood & allume. The 26 of Januarie, capteine Tremaine with all his hoisemen, & capteine Clerke with his Scottish hoisemen, and 600 footmen, went forth of Newhaven towards Honderuile, & by the waie in a little village, there was a French capteine came forth of Honderuile, named monsieur Emerie, having with him thirtie souldiers, where falling in hand to spoile the same village, the pezzants about gathered them selves together, and set vpon him and his souldiers. Now whilst they were thus in fight, the Scottish hoisemen came suddenlie vpon them, toke the said capteine fore wounded, due twelue of his souldiers, & toke fouretene other of them prisoners, whome with their capteine wounded (as he was) they brought home the same night vnto Newhaven.

The thre and twentieth of Januarie, a proclamation was made for orders to be obserued by the souldiers, and other resiants within the towne of Newhaven, concerning politike gouernement thereof, as well for the better defense against the enemies without, as the quiet demeanour of the men of warre and inhabitants within. The fift of Februarie, two ships of Britons laden with Gascoigne wines, butter, bason, lard, salt, and other vittels, were brought into Newhaven by a thallop of Killebeuf, that was resiant with other Frenchmen in Newhaven, seruing against the papists, and had taken those two vessels, as they were going to vittell the enemies.

The first of Februarie thre faire mightie ships of warre, belonging to Francis Clerke, brought into Newhaven thre rich prizes, laden with sackes, bastards, sugar, oranges, graines, and other merchandises. This Clerke had not bene forth past six weeks at this time, and yet he had got about eightene prizes, well toozth by last valuation the summe of fiftie thousand pounds. On saturdaye the first of Februarie, a souldier of capteine Appleyards band was executed in the market place; for that contrarie to order taken and published afore that time by proclamation, he had not onlie dzawen his weapon against another souldier, but also maimed him, and plaid other lewd parts in contempt of the lord lieutenants commandements. There was another also condemned to die, and two others adiudged to lose their hands: but the lord lieutenant of his mercifull clemencie granted to those thre his pardon, for their passed offenses. On sundaye the seventh of Februarie, was Hunsue summoned by an herald, sent from the French admerall, monsieur de Chatillon. On mondaye the eight of that moneth, the said admerall came befoze Hunsue, with six thousand hoisemen Keissers, and other of his owne retinues, beside footmen, and a thousand hoisemen of the countries thereabout. And about six of the clocke at night there was a great peale of ordinance shot off at Newhaven for a welcome to the said admerall.

The twelue of Februarie, the French gallies of Newhaven passing forth, and waiting about Hunsue to seeke adventures, in hope of surtie, by reason the lord admerall of France laie therby at Touque, rode at an anchor: whilst some of them that were aboard in hir went on land, to gaine somwhat

of the enemies. But they within Hunsue perceiving this, made out their great gallies, with fiftie god mariners and souldiers, who comming vpon the gallies of Newhaven lieng at anchor, put hir in great danger of taking. For there were but fiftene men left aboard in hir at that present, wherof thre of them were Englishmen, who perceiving in what danger they stood, waited anchor with all speed, and drew towards the shore, to take in the rest of their compagnie; and getting them aboard vnto them, they manfully stood to their defense, being in all but foure and twentie men. Neuerthelesse, they so behaued themselves, that continuing in fight about a long houre, at length they overcame their enemies, due seuen of them outright, wounded seuen and thirtie, toke their gallie and brought hir to Newhaven, with thirtene hels, diuerse copes, and church ornaments, sheepe, and other spoiles, which they had got aboard in the countrie, togither with thre and fortie god prisoners, and the artillerie which was found aboard in the foresaid great gallie, wherewith she was verie well appointed and furnished.

Of the French protestants there were but thre slaine and six hurt, and one of the thre Englishmen was also hurt. As it hath bene crediblie reported, the French protestants might thanke those thre Englishmen that were with them in their gallies for that their god hap: for if they had not manfully stood to it at the first, and bestowed such artillerie as they had aboard with them freshlie against the enemies, the French had yeilded. But by Gods god helpe, and their woorthie courage, the victorie remained on their side. The fouretenth of Februarie there came from the lord admerall of France, lieng then at Touque, monsieur de Kohen, and monsieur de Grandemont, a knight of the order, monsieur de legnie the admerals sonne in law, and diuerse other French gentlemen, to confer with the lord lieutenant, who receiued them right gladlie, and made them great chere. They remained in Newhaven till the eighteenth of Februarie, and then departed and went to Caen, whither the said lord admerall was removed, & had entred the towne, & laie within it, preparing with all speed to besiege the castell.

The same daie that the French lords departed from Newhaven towards Caen, monsieur Brique-mault, and sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight arrived at Newhaven in one of the queenes ships called the Aid. The admerall Chatillon being got into the towne of Caen, kept the castell besieged, within which was inclosed the marquesse Dalbenf. There were sent to him from Newhaven the six & twentieth of Februarie, seuen canons, two demie culuerings, & one minion. On the morrow following being fridaye, and six and twentieth of Februarie, sir Nicholas Throckmorton knight, monsieur Brique-mault, and monsieur Beauuois, with a thousand souldiers French, and as manie English, to wit, capteine Zouch, capteine Twedie, capteine Pigate, & of them with two hundred: capteine John Ward, capteine Parkinson, capteine Saule, master Wheller, and capteine Fisher with his band, each of them with his hundred, and capteine Pelham with the labourers were imbarked in the rode at Newhaven, and sailed forth towards Caen, to come to the siege which the admerall of France had laid to the castell there.

The same daie as the counte Montgomerie had imbarked at the hauen of Diepe in an English vessel, and was comming towards Newhaven, there came out from Fleshampe thre thallops, by the appointment of the Keingraue (as was said) which made towards Montgomerie, whose meaning when he perceived, he set vpon the strongest of the same thallops,

The grece  
galle of  
New taken.The French  
delivered to  
the English.Noble men  
sent from the  
admerall of  
France to the  
earle of War-  
wicke.Sir Nicholas  
Throckmorton  
arrived  
at Newhaven.Caen castell  
besieged.  
The marquesse  
Dalbenf  
sent to the  
lord of Caen.Aid sent to  
the siege of Caen.The counte  
Montgomerie  
made a  
French  
ship.Montgomerie  
goeth to Caen  
to speake with  
the admerall.The castell of  
Caen battle-  
d.It is rendred  
to the adme-  
rall.Specially, Fa-  
ult, and So-  
la, yeilded to  
the admerall.The canon  
sent to the  
castell of  
Hunsue.

It is paid.

A proclama-  
tion vpon  
gaine of deatch.A proclama-  
tion in the  
French kings  
name.The French  
ships.The French  
ships.

shallops, so that there followed a sharpe conflict be-  
twixt them, but in the end the victorie fell to Mont-  
gomerie, the shallop being taken, the capteine and  
maister slain, and three English vittellers rescued,  
which the said shallops had taken. Montgomerie  
herewith arriving at Newhaven, and bringing his  
prize with him was fullie received, and after he  
had talked a while with the lord lieutenant and the  
councell, he went aboard againe and sailed to Caen,  
there to confer with the admerall.

The first of March in the morning they began to  
batter the castell of Caen, in such wise that about  
four of the clocke in the afternoon, they within be-  
gan to parley, but it took none effect: and then went  
off the artillerie againe till night, and in the morning  
the batterie effones began. And before that two  
times of the said artillerie had gone off, they within  
offered to parley againe, and finally agreed by com-  
position to yield; and so on that tuesday by ten of the  
clocke, the castell was surrendred into the hands of  
the French admerall, and the marquess Dalbent,  
and other that had the place in keeping, departed in  
safetie. On wednesday the third of March, the towne  
of Baieulx was also yielded unto the lord admerall  
of France, and on the morrow following Falaise,  
and after wards S. Lo., with diuerse other townes  
and castles, yielded likewise unto him. The tenth  
of March the great gallie and the foists were sent a-  
waie from Newhaven, with a canon and shot and  
powder unto Hundue, where they met with mon-  
sieur de Mouie, that came thither with a faire com-  
panie of horsemen and diuerse footmen French, and  
of Englishmen, capteine Tuttle with his two hun-  
dred, and capteine Fisher with his hundred.

The canon which came from Newhaven was  
immediatlie planted, and about ten of the clocke in  
the forenone it was shot off, and after it had bene  
six times discharged, they within began to parley,  
and in the end they agreed to yield by the castell unto  
monsieur de Mouie, with condition, that their sol-  
diers and men of sparte might depart onelie with  
their rapiers and daggers, leauing all the residue  
of their moueables behind them. And according to  
this capitulation, capteine Lion with his hundred  
soldiers, and capteine Nicholas with his hundred,  
and fiftie other soldiers which were within depar-  
ted, and left the castell unto monsieur de Mouie,  
whereby his soldiers, as well English as others,  
gained greatlie by the spoile.

The twelue of March proclamation was made in  
name of the lord lieutenant, that no souldier should  
draw weapon to do hurt therewith unto anie of the  
French within the towne of Newhaven, or limits  
of the same, nor to molest them, nor to spoile nor take  
anie thing violentlie awaie from anie of them, nor  
to breake downe their houses, nor to carrie awaie  
their timber on paine of death. There was also a  
proclamation made in the name of the king & adme-  
rall, that no capteine, burgesse, souldier, mariner, or  
other of the French nation within the towne or  
without, should draw anie weapon, nor picke anie  
quarrell, nor vse anie inuisious words against anie  
man to moue them to wrath, speciallie against the  
Englishmen on paine of death: nor that anie bur-  
gesse or inhabitant, of what qualitie or condition so-  
euer, except capteins, gentlemen, and souldiers, re-  
ceiuing paie, should beare anie weapon on the like  
paine.

The five and twentieth of March, sir Adrian Poi-  
nings knight, marshall of Newhaven departed  
from thence, and returning into England, remained  
there still. Whereas monsieur de Beauuois had by  
the admerall Chatillions commandement, charged  
by publike proclamation, all strangers, forreiners,

and French souldiers to depart the towne, by the  
23 of March last past, and that all other having  
their wiues and families should depart with them,  
within foure daies after the same proclamation, to  
giue aid for the conseruation and keeping of the  
townes of Hundue, Caen, Baieulx, Falaise, S. Lo.,  
and other places, lately brought into the obedience  
of the king, vnder the authoritie of the prince of  
Conde, vnder paine for making default, to be taken  
as good prisoners of warre to those that should ap-  
prehend them. Proclamation was also therupon made  
in the lord lieutenants name, the six and twentieth of  
March, being fridate, that it should be lawfull to the  
quenes maiesties subiects and friends, to apprehend  
and take as their good and lawfull prisoners, all such  
as contrarie to the former proclamation, should re-  
maine in the towne of Newhaven, after five of the  
clocke after none of the daie then next following  
being saturday: those persons onelie excepted, whose  
names had bene presented and inrolled in bills re-  
mainting with the lord lieutenants secretarie.

Whereby, that no person seizing vpon the bodie  
of anie such offendor, should by vertue or colour ther-  
of spoile anie of their houses, meddle with their  
goods or moueables, without order and meane of iu-  
stice vpon paine of death. On the sunday yet being  
the eight and twentieth of March, another proclama-  
tion was made, to giue respite to the said strangers,  
forreiners, and French souldiers, vntill foure of the  
clocke in the afternoon of the same daie. And fur-  
ther there was another proclamation published this  
sunday, that none should seize vpon anie of those  
strangers, forreiners, or French souldiers, by colour  
of the two former proclamations, vntill the lord  
lieutenants pleasure should more fullie be knownen  
therein.

The thirtieth of March being tuesday, proclama-  
tion was effones made, that whereas all forreiners,  
being not anie of the burgessees, or proper inhabi-  
tants of the said towne of Newhaven, nor of the  
garrison or armie of the Englishmen in the same  
towne, had bene warned by severall proclamati-  
ons to depart the towne; and yet the same proclama-  
tions notwithstanding, a great number made their  
abode still in the towne, in contempt of those pro-  
clamations: the lord lieutenant by this proclama-  
tion gaue full power and authoritie to the said prouost  
marshall of the garrison of the Englishmen in that  
towne, to apprehend and take as good and lawfull pri-  
soners, all such forreiners, as well souldiers, and ma-  
riners, as other without exception, which should be  
found in the towne at anie time after five of the  
clocke in the afternoon on saturday then next com-  
ming: monsieur Beauuois and his familie, and all  
ministers then being within the towne, being ne-  
uertheless clarelie excepted; and diuerse prouisions  
also included in this selfesame proclamation, for the  
mitigating of extremitie, by wrong interpreting  
thereof, in behalfe of them that were to depart, as  
also that the gaine that should come by euerie parti-  
cular prisoner so arrested by the prouost marshall,  
should returne to anie of the quenes maiesties sub-  
iects, by whose meane and procurement the same pri-  
soner was detected, and caused to be apprehended.

On monday the first of Aprill, the Keingraue  
with foure hundred horsemen, and about fife hun-  
dred footmen, came downe the hill, betwixt Saint Ad-  
dresses & Englefield, where sir Hugh Paulet knight  
met with him, by appointment of the lord lieutenant  
accompanied with fortie horsemen, and a thousand  
English footmen: and after they had talked together  
by the space of an houre, they departed the one from  
the other, master Paulet returning to Newhaven,  
and the Keingraue to Mondouille, the place where  
he

appointed to  
depart out of  
Newhaven.

Proclamation  
for the lawfull  
taking of pri-  
soners.

Another pro-  
clamation in  
the behalfe of  
strangers.

Another pro-  
clamation for  
the lawfull ap-  
prehending of  
prisoners.

Exceptions  
against the  
foresaid pro-  
clamation.

The Kein-  
grau with  
his horsemen.

great  
of thum-  
aken.

French  
iden to  
English.

ble men  
from the  
recall of  
since to the  
e of was  
ie.

Richard  
proclama-  
tion  
Newhaven.

en castle  
reged.  
se marquis  
about brie-  
r to the  
se of Gull.

o sent to the  
se of Caen.

the French  
language.

Execution on  
Caster euen.

A proclama-  
tion to be pac-  
king out of  
Jewshauen.

Garter king  
of armes bring-  
ing the gar-  
ter to the lord  
lieutenant.

A proclama-  
tion for auoi-  
ding.

Ministers  
excepted.

Places for-  
bidden by pro-  
clamation to  
be resorted  
vnto.

Execution for  
pilfering.

A proclama-  
tion for the  
auoiding of  
the French  
out of Jew-  
shauen.

The lord  
lieutenants  
proceeding to  
be gathered  
by his procla-  
mations.

he vsuallie remained. On Caster euen, two souldiers that had serued vnder capteine Parkinson were hanged in the market place of Jewshauen, for running awaie to the Keingraue and vnto Diepe. Another also that serued vnder capteine Turner was condemned for the like offense, but pardoned thogh the great clemencie of the lord lieutenant.

The eight and twentieth of Aprill, proclamation was made, that all the papists, and the wifes and children of all them that were departed forth of Jewshauen, and made their abode at that present in Mondreuiliers, Harsue, or elsewhere abroad in the countrie, and likewise all other, whome the last proclamation for their auoiding out of the towne in any wise touched, should depart on saturdaye then next ensuing, on paine to haue their bodies arrested as prisoners, and their goods to be confiscate. Other articles were contained in the same proclamation, as well for the forerunners that should come forth of the countrie to the market, as for the behauiour and demeanour of the French inhabitants of the towne, with promise of reward to such as should discover and apprehend any esfall, either dwelling in the towne, or comming and going to or from it. The first of Maie, Garter principall king of armes arrived at Jewshauen, bringing with him the garter to the lord lieutenant, chosen on S. Georges daie last past to be one of the confederates of that most honorable order. The fourth of Maie proclamation was made, that all the French burgesses & others should bring and deliuer all their armour and weapon into the towne hall of Jewshauen, which commandement was incontinentlie obeyed and accomplished.

The seauenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the auoiding of all such, whome the former proclamations had in any wise touched, for their departure forth of the towne, that they should depart by tuesdaye next (the ministers of the church excepted) and that none should enter into the towne, of what condition or estate soeuer he should be, without licence of the lord lieutenant, except he were a burgesse of the towne, and of the number of those that had their names inrolled, as by the rolls lastlie made it might appeare, on paine to be apprehended as good and lawfull prisoners. The twelue of Maie it was prohibited by proclamation to all burgesses, inhabitants, and others, not to go vnto Harsue, or Mondreuiliers, or elsewhere out of sight of the towne of Jewshauen, on paine to be taken as lawfull prisoners. The fifteenth of Maie, a marriner of the great gallie suffered in the market place of Jewshauen, for robbing and pilfering of ships there in the haven, and three other that were condemned for the like offense had their pardons.

The sixteenth of Maie was proclamation made, that all Frenchmen, being within the towne of Jewshauen, otherwise called Haute de Grace, as well men, women, as children, should depart the towne, betwixt that present tyme and six of the clocke at night on the next daie being mondaie, except surgeons, apothecaries, bakers, butchers, smiths, masons, locksmiths, carpenters, and other such artificers, vpon paine to be attached as good and lawfull prisoners, and their goods to be confiscate. By the tenor of these severall proclamations it maie appeare, that the lord lieutenant proceeded nothing rigorously against the French, in removing them forth of the towne; although it maie be, that some which had to deale therein, dealt hardlie inough with them. But in such cases there must of necessitie be some diligent heedfulnesse vsed, for otherwile in such packing away, some might peradventure carie with them too much, & others too little. But howsoever this mater was handled, true it is, that it was thought expedient to auoid the French

out of the towne. For after the duke of Cusse was slaine before Dreux, and that the parties were agreed, as by edit of the pacification published in March last past it maie appeare, the whole deuises as well of them of the one religion as the other tended to this end, both to recover the towne of Jewshauen out of the Englishmens hands, either by pacifice or open force. And such intelligence was vsed betwixt the French within that towne, and the enemies without to bring this to passe, that the English could assure themselves no more of the one than of the other, and so were diuised for their owne safeties, to rid the towne of so doubtfull partakers.

The seuen and twentieth of Maie, proclamation was made, that all manner of furniture and apparell, appertaining to ships within the garrison, haven, or rode of the towne of Jewshauen, should be brought in: or a note to be given therof in writing to the lord lieutenant and counsell there, before twelue of the clocke the next day. Saturdaye the two and twentieth of Maie, about one of the clocke in the morning, the Keingraue with five hundred horsemen, and twentie two ensignes of footmen, came downe to the village called Leure, nere vnto the new fort, which by order of the lord lieutenant was lastlie before begun to be built, sir John Dortmarie being chiefe deuiler of the fortifications about the same. The enemies meaning was, to haue taken the same fort by a sudden assault; but the English scouts looking well to their charge, gaue intelligence to the lord lieutenant thereof, who incontinentlie going to the bulwarkes restall, set out by the posterne capteine John Ward with his hundred souldiers, and capteine Parkinson with his hundred, to passe to the fort, there to be an aid and defense to them that late in the same.

About three of the clocke in the morning, the Keingraue suddenly with his bands of horsemen and footmen gaue them in the fort an hot alarm; and immediatlie the earle of Marlowe came in charge to these captaines, Read, Apleyard, Luttre, Zouch, Antwile, Ward, Dorton, and Parkinson, hauing with them a thousand footmen, and twentie horsemen, to set vpon the enemies in the village of Leure, nere adioining to the said new fort, where the valiant English souldiers shewed well the wonted valour of their worthy ancestors, giving such an hardie onset vpon their aduersaries, that greater manhood had not lightlie appeared in any encounter, than was vsed by those martiall captaines, and their warlike bands at that present, to the high honour of their countrie: insomuch that they beat backe their enemies, slue and tooke of them to the number of foure hundred, beside thirtie faire horses, and an ensigne, which one Castwike lieutenant to capteine Antwile got.

Amongst the numbers of them that were slaine, there were found about thirtie handsome gentlemen and verie well appointed. To conclude, the Englishmen behaued themselves so manfullie on each side, that by plaine force of armes they drove the enemies quite out of the village, & after set it on fire, because the enemies should not come to incampe therein, as their purpose was to haue done at that present. The six and twentieth of Maie, the Frenchmen in number about three thousand horsemen and footmen came downe towards the windmills, nere to the bulwark called saint Adolles, against whom the English horsemen and footmen issued forth of the towne, giving them a right hot skirmish, which continued for the space of two houres, insomuch that there were slaine of the French to the number of 200; beside an hundred and aboue that were hurt. On the English side that daie were lost about a doz-

The Englishmen for their owne safeties were forced to double their watch mightly.

The Keingraue with his forces.

The number which the French lost: thus (their)

An alarme given to the new fort by the Keingraue.

The hardie onset of the Englishmen made vpon their aduersaries.

The flames put to flight.

Another skirmish.

The Frenchmen driven to retire.

Captaine Gillebert and capteine Dorton.

Another skirmish.

The number which the French lost: thus (their)

Ballampore

Captaine Gillebert and capteine Dorton.

A new supply of hercule

Captaine Gillebert and capteine Dorton.

Another skirmish.

The Englishmen  
were forced to  
watch night

The French  
men

Captaine  
William  
Kandoll

The Rein-  
grauve with  
is forced,

Rein-  
grauve

In alarm  
given to the  
new fort by  
the Rein-  
grauve,

Examine  
with the  
French lost in  
the skirmish.

The hardie  
mest of the  
Englishmen  
made upon  
their aduers-  
aries.

Captaine Gil-  
bert and cap-  
taine William  
Kandoll

The Almans  
not to fight

Some supplie  
of powder

Captaine  
Kandoll ap-  
pointed knight  
marshall.

Another  
skirmish.

Some supplie  
of powder

of thirtie persons, and amongst others, was  
capitaine Tremaine slaine, and manie hurt. So con-  
clude, the Englishmen like hardie and worthy sou-  
diers tooke and kept the field, so as the Frenchmen  
in the end were driuen to retire, and besides other  
losses which they received, they had aboue fiftie of  
their horses killed and hurt.

In this skirmish, being one of the notablest that  
had bene lightlie scene marie a daie before, capitaine  
Horsfield shewed worthy proufe of his most valliant  
courage, winning to himselfe such commendation,  
as the same will not be forgotten, whilste anie shall  
remaine alieue that beheld his manfull dealings: be-  
ing such at that present, as deserue to be registred in  
the booke of fame, & to continue with posteritie for e-  
uer. On saturday the first of June at seven of the  
clocke at night, the Reingrauve having laid in the  
village of Aheure an ambush of six hundred horse-  
men, and fiftie hundred footmen, there came downe  
also betwene the abbeye and the village called En-  
glestow towards the towne, the number of a thou-  
sand footmen, which began a verie hot skirmish, first  
at the new fort, continuing even hard to the ditches,  
where the Englishmen manfully encountered them.  
Herselue also the Reingrauve appointed other to  
come downe, and approch the bulwarks of saint Ad-  
dresses, saint Francis, & saint Michael, and to con-  
clude round about the towne: so that there were of  
them to the number of six thousand that were im-  
ploied in this skirmish, which was maintained right  
fercelie for the space of two hours, with verie sharpe  
and cruell fight: in the end the enemies were forced  
to giue place, with the losse of five hundred of their  
men, Almans, Frenchmen, Gascoignes, and Spa-  
niards.

The Englishmen berelie in this seruice shewed,  
that they were nothing degenerat from the ancient  
race of their noble progenitors. Besides those that  
were slaine on the French part, amongst whom was  
one of their capitaines of good account amongst them,  
they toke also Bassompierre an Almane, coronell  
ouer ten ensignes of footmen. The presence of the  
lord lieutenant was not wanting that daie, both to  
incentage his worthy souldiers, and also to see them  
applied with weapon and munition, so as they should  
not be unprouided of anie thing that was needfull  
for seruice. Of Englishmen there was hurt capitaine  
Gilbert, and capitaine Belham, and about fiftie o-  
ther hurt and slaine. The seventh of June capitaine  
Edward Dubleie arrived at Petowhauen, with an  
hundred souldiers. The morrow after, the first canon  
shot light within the towne of Petowhauen, nere  
to the bulwark of saint Addresses, striking into the  
house where capitaine Wheeler was lodged, which shot  
being brought to my lord of Warwicke by Blew-  
mantell pursuant at armes, his honor beholding it,  
resolved thereat, and said, by Gods grace he would  
answer them againe.

The ninth of June arrived at Petowhauen three  
capitaines with their bands, of an hundred a peece,  
being of the garrison of Berwicke: to wit, capitaine  
Tremaine, capitaine Cornwell, & capitaine Carew.  
Edward Kandoll also landed there the same daie,  
appointed to be knight marshall. For ye must under-  
stand, that sir Adrian Poinings, being knight mar-  
shall upon his returne into England, was otherwise  
employd, and went not backe againe: and then was  
sir Thomas Finch of Kent appointed to go ouer to  
supplie the come of knight marshall: who making  
his prouision readie, sent ouer his brother Erasmus  
Finch to haue charge of his band; and his kinsman  
Thomas Finch to be his prouost marshall, whilste  
staing till he had euerie thing in a readinesse to  
passe ouer himselfe. At last, he imbarcked in one of the

queenes maiesties ships called the Greichound, ha-  
ving there aboard with him, beside these, and sir of  
his owne retinue, fourtie other gentlemen, two of  
them being brethren to the lord Wentworth, James  
Wentworth, and John Wentworth, with diuerse o-  
thers, who in the whole (accounting the mariners) a-  
mounted vnto the number of 200 persons and by  
ward. And as they were on the furthest coast toward  
Petowhauen, they were by contrarie wind and foule  
weather driuen backe toward the coast of England;  
and plying towards Rie, they forced the capitaine of  
the ship, a verie cunning seaman named William  
Spaline, and also the maister and mariners, to thrust  
into the haven before the tide, and so they all perished,  
seuen of the meaner sort onlie excepted, whereof three  
died shortly after they came to land.

Sir Thomas  
Finch prouost  
marshall.

The dead bodie of sir Thomas Finch amongst o-  
thers was cast on shore, & being knowne, was con-  
ueied home to his house, and there buried in his pa-  
rish church. After this mischance, and losse of that  
worthy gentleman, the said Edward Kandoll was  
appointed knight marshall, who ordeined a right suffi-  
cient personage, capitaine John Shute, to be his prouost  
marshall. The fiftenth of June, capitaine Wil-  
lard Sanders, and capitaine William Saule, with  
their bands of an hundred souldiers a peece, and cap-  
taine Durie, with two hundred, arrived at Petow-  
hauen: and the morrow after arrived capitaine Ro-  
berts with another hundred of souldiers. And on the  
seuententh of June, being thursdaie, sir Francis  
Knolles, vicechamberleine of the queenes mai-  
esties house landed there, being sent ouer by his ma-  
iestie and his counsell, to view the state of the  
towne.

Edward  
Kandoll prouost  
marshall.

A supplie of  
souldiers ar-  
rived at Petow-  
hauen.

Sir Francis  
Knolles ar-  
rived.

On fridaie the eightenth of June, a sergeant of  
capitaine Blunts band, and a souldier of capitaine  
Darcies band, were executed in the market place of  
Petowhauen, for drawing their weapons against  
their capitaines, and forsaking their appointed places  
of warding, and such other lewd parts which they had  
committed. The five and twentieth of June, procla-  
mation was made, that no souldier of the new fort  
should resort to the towne of Petowhauen, without  
licence of his capitaine, or some of his principall of-  
ficers, on paine of death: or that anie man should  
presume to passe the limits of the said new fort, ex-  
cept upon occasion of seruice, in companie of his  
capitaine or lieutenant, on like paine. And this order  
was taken, because diuerse stragling abroad, had  
bene taken prisoners, and slaine by the enemies, to  
their owne reproch, & hindrance of the princes ser-  
uice. The eight and twentieth of June, the French-  
men came downe to the village of Aheure, & there  
verie nere to the fort began to skirmish with the  
Englishmen. There were of them ten ensignes of  
footmen, and two hundred horsemen. This skirmish  
lasted three houres, and yet there were not past four  
slaine. The night following, they placed five ca-  
nons betwixt the towne and the brickehills, and like-  
wise they placed other peeces of their artillerie at  
the foresaid village of Aheure, so that they shot both  
into the towne and fort.

Execution of  
souldiers for  
drawing upon  
their cap-  
taines.

A proclama-  
tion forbid-  
ding resort of  
souldiers to  
Petowhauen  
without li-  
cence.

A long skir-  
mish without  
any great  
hurt.  
Canons plac-  
ed to beat  
the towne.

The first of Iulie about midnight, they issued forth  
of their trenches, and skirmished with the English  
scouts, drove them under the bulwark of saint  
Addresses, and there persecuting that the English-  
men had a prime sallie out, after a long skirmish  
they retired. They had meant to haue set the mills  
belonging to the towne on fire: but they had such  
plate made them, that about three of the clocke in the  
morning, they became to be quiet, and left the Eng-  
lishmen in rest, hauing done to them little or no  
hurt at all. The great ordinance on both sides was  
not idle, whilste this skirmish was in hand. The se-  
cond

Six hundred  
out of North-  
folke, and three  
hundred out of  
Sussex.

Captaine  
Sanders  
hurt and dis-  
ceth.

Ordinance  
planted and  
discharged in  
great num-  
bers.

The ordi-  
nance in the  
steeple dis-  
mounted.

William Ro-  
binson killed.  
William  
Bromfield  
hurt.

A new sup-  
plic of Wilt-  
shire and Glo-  
cestershire  
men.

The galeasse  
burnt by ca-  
stles.

The constable  
of France  
cometh to  
the siege.

cond and third of Julie, there landed nine hundred  
soldiers that came forth of Northfolke and Sus-  
sex, pelloto clothes and blew clothes verie well ap-  
pointed, hauing to their capitains Ferdinando Lig-  
gens, Philip Starleie, John Higghfield, and Edward  
Dier. Also there came the same time fiftie carpen-  
ters, sixtene sawyers, and eight smiths in hir  
works. Moreover, on the third daie of Julie, about  
ten of the clocke at night, the French gaue a great  
alarm to the towne, beat in the scouts: but incont-  
inentlie issued forth five hundred soldiers out at  
the falling place, vnder the graine bulwourke, and  
beat the Frenchmen backe into their trenches, and  
kept them waking all that night.

The same time, captaine Sanders was hurt with  
a shot in the leg, whereof he shortly after died: other  
losse at that time the Englishmen receiued not. The  
fift of Julie, a proclamation was made for soldiers  
to resort in time of alarms, vnto that part & quar-  
ter, which was assigned to their capitains, and not to  
absent themselves from their ensignes, whether it  
were at alarms, watch, ward, or other seruice. The  
sixt of Julie, about thre of the clocke in the morn-  
ning, the enimies planted thre canons, and thre  
culuerings, discharging that morning to the num-  
ber of foure score and ten shots: but perceiuing they  
did little hurt, they staied their shooting, saying that  
now and then they shot into the bulwourke, and ouer  
it into the towne: they also leuelled a peece, and shot  
it off towards the new gallie, flue therein two men,  
and hurt thre or foure other. The same daie, a canon  
and a culuering were sent forth of the towne to the  
new fort. The twelue of Julie, about foure of the  
clocke in the morning, the French laid batterrie to  
the bulwourke of saint Adresses, continuing the same  
all that daie. They also dismounted the same daie  
the ordinance in the steeple of Petouhauen, and beat  
downe the great bell, cleane defacing the steeple.  
They discharged that daie against the towne (as  
was gathered by due estimation) to the number of  
twelue hundred canon shot.

The same evening was William Robinson esqui-  
er, waterballie of the towne of Petouhauen slaine  
with a shot; and also William Bromfield maister of  
the ordinance hurt with the same, and being con-  
uicied ouer into England, he shortly after died of  
that hurt. The fourteenth of Julie, sir Hugh Pau-  
let knight landed at Petouhauen, bringing with him  
eight hundred soldiers out of Wiltshire and Glo-  
cestershire. The same daie came the Frenchmen  
downe to the number of thre thousand, euen hard to  
the gates of the towne, beating the Englishmen  
out of their trenches: but yet in the end, they were  
forced to retire, and of Englishmen there were not  
past twentie slaine, and about an hundred hurt. But  
the Frenchmen (as was esteemed) lost about foure  
hundred horsemen and footmen, albeit they toke  
from the Englishmen at that present a culuering,  
which was set forth to annoie them. But their force  
at that time was such, as they preuailed, & so retired  
with that peece, though they well paid for it. The  
same daie also in the after noone, the little galeasse  
called the For, went out of the haven, fraught with  
fiftie men, to slanke alongst the shore, and to beate  
the Frenchmen with hir shot; but as she was shou-  
ting off at them, a linnen stocke fell into a barrell of  
powder and set it on fire together with the vessel, so  
that the suddenlie sank, and all that were aboard in  
hir were lost, saving fiftene that saued themselves  
by swimming.

The one and twentieth of Julie, the constable of  
France, accompanied with the marshalls Montmo-  
ranci and Burdillon, and manye other lords and  
knights of the order, came to the abbey of Crail

le, where the marshall Bisslacke was lodged, who  
had the generall charge in the armie, before the com-  
ming of the said constable. They dined together  
there in the said Bisslacks lodging, and after din-  
ner they sat in counsell together how to proceed in  
the siege. Fridaie the thre and twentieth of Julie, the  
constable came into the trench that was cast ouer  
against the bulwourke of saint Adresse, alongst by  
the sea side, and sent his trumpet to summon the  
towne. The lord lieutenant appointed sir Hugh  
Paulet to go forth, & make the answer in his name:  
which was in effect, that the queens maiestie of Eng-  
land had appointed him and others to keepe that  
towne; and therefore they meant not to deliuer it to  
anie other person, without hir graces especiall com-  
mandement. In the meane time, there were diuerse  
of the English capitains and gentlemen, which ac-  
companyed the said sir Hugh, offered the wine which  
they had brought out of the towne with them in fla-  
gons of siluer and gilt, vnto such capitains and  
gentlemen as accompanied the trumpet by com-  
mandement of the constable, to surueie the state of  
the trenches, and Palisad, as the French writers  
themselves confesse. Amongst others, there was  
captaine Pontmes the lieutenant of one of the en-  
signes colonels of monsieur Dandelot, with whom  
captaine Leighton, being of acquaintance, had some  
talke.

The Englishmen and Frenchmen were no sooner  
departed, they to their trenches, and the English-  
men into the towne, but that the enimies hauing  
planted that morning eight canons in batterrie a-  
gainst the castell, and the bulwourke of the haven,  
caused the same to be shot off, continuing the same  
till wednesdaie at noone, being the eight and twen-  
tith of Julie. There were six other canons also plan-  
ted by them in the meane space, which likewise made  
batterrie to the castell, and to the towne gate. In this  
meane time also, Cutbert Claughan comptroller,  
departed out of this life, a skillfull man of warre, and  
no lesse circumspect than hardie, both to preferue  
those which he had vnder his conduction, and to in-  
courage them to do manfullie, when time thereto  
serued. Saturdaie, the foure & twentieth of Julie, the  
batterrie still continuing as before, certeine peeces  
were bent also to beat and trauesse the haven. The  
Englishmen therefore setting fire on two wind-  
mills that stood there, abandoned a trench which they  
kept: and the Palisad, captaine Poiot, lieutenant  
of an other of the ensignes colonels of the French  
footmen under monsieur Dandelot, entred with his  
band, and toke possession of a tower that stood at the  
end of the said Palisad. The French yet had bot a-  
biding there, notwithstanding all the diligence and  
policie which they could vse to lodge there in safetie.  
Among others, captaine Richlieu maister of the  
campe, was hurt in the shoulder with an harquebuse  
shot.

The marshall Montmoranci caused a platforme  
to be raised, ioining to the Palisad, where about eue-  
ning the same daie he planted foure peeces of artil-  
lerie. On sundaie the siue and twentieth of Julie,  
monsieur de Estrée, great maister of the artillerie,  
accompanied with the seneshall of Agenois, vied  
all diligence that might be to place the artillerie for  
batterrie: where vnto also, monsieur de Callac ap-  
plied himselfe by the constables commandement,  
who had compounded a matter in variance betwixt  
him and monsieur de Estrée. This sundaie and  
monday following, they were verie busie to bring  
their purpose in that behalfe to passe, & likewise to  
aduaunce their trench vnto the side of the breach. The  
marshall de Burdelon abode in the trench there all  
sundaie, and lost two of his gentlemen. The mar-  
shall

An. Re  
The marshall  
Montmoranci  
at.

The constable  
summoned  
the towne.

Sir Hugh  
Paulet an-  
swer to the  
constable.

The place of  
Cair and  
the base of  
Montmoranci.

The bul-  
wourke of saint  
Adresses bat-  
tered.

Captaine  
Pontmes.  
Captaine  
Leighton.

The castell  
battered.

Thus we see  
things in opti-  
mism impossi-  
ble, by unpos-  
sible.

Cutbert  
Claughan de-  
parted this  
life, his comp-  
troller.

Windmills  
on fire.

The great in-  
crease of pop-  
ulation in  
Petouhauen.

Richlieu ma-  
ister of the  
campe hurt.

Montmoranci  
caused a plat-  
forme to be  
raised.

Monsieur de  
Estrée.  
Monsieur de  
Callac.

The high ba-  
se of the  
breach of the  
towne.



The marshall  
of Montmoencie

shall Montmoencie, accompanied with diuerse lords & knights of the order, remained all mondaie in the trenches, to prepare things readie for the batterie, not without some danger of his person. For the stones that were beaten with the bullets coming out of the towne flew verie fast about his eares, of the which there was one that lent him a blow on the shoulder, an other of them philipped him on the fingers, and lighting also in other parts of his bodie, if his armor had not defended him the better, he had not escaped without further harme. The same daie, the prince of Conde and the duke of Montpensier came to the campe, and alighting at the conestables lodging, went from thence to the trenches, to relieue the marshall Montmoencie, and to supplie his come, whilst he might in the meane time go to sup with his father, and so take his rest. Monsieur Desfrée, and the other that had charge about the planting and ordering of the artillerie, used such diligence, and were so earnestlie called vpon and incouraged by the prince of Conde, continuallie remaining in the trenches, that on tuesdaie in the morning, the artillerie began to batter the bulwourke of saint Adresses, and other places.

The place of  
Conde and  
the duke of  
Montpensier

The bul-  
wourke of saint  
Adresses bat-  
tered

The same day  
the siege was  
continued by  
the conestable

The great in-  
crease of the  
siege

The mar-  
shall

The con-  
estable

The mar-  
shall

The con-  
estable

The mar-  
shall

The con-  
estable

nothing afraid of death nor bloudie wounds; before which he preferred the seruice of his prince. And albeit the aduenture was great, yet by his owne example he incouraged other to cast awaie all dread of danger, and to shew themselves bold, which to a soldier in battell is a whetstone to set him on edge. And surelie in this point he was warriourlike minded, if a man may allow the poets words in the like sense:

*Res magna non absque graui discrimine sunt,  
In dubijs prodest generosa audacia rebus.*

10

Which when the conestable perceived, he caused a trumpet to sound the blast of imparlae, that talke might be had for the concluding of a composition betwixt both the parties. This offer, considering that soze contagious mortalitie wherewith the towne was most greuouslie infected, hauing so greatlie infected the English forces within the same, was thought not vnmet to be receiued. Hereupon, after a fallie made by the Englishmen, and a faire skirmish betwixt them and the Frenchmen that late afore the fort de l'heure, on the tuesdaie the seauen and twentieth of Iulie maister William Delham capteine of the fort, with another gentleman and a trumpetter, went forth by appointment, and was receiued first by monsieur de Losses, who brought him to the marshall Montmoencie, and after by his appointment went with him by the Keingraues campe to the conestable: and till his returne a truce was accorded on that side of the fort. After that maister Delham had talked a space with the conestable, the matter was put ouer till the next daie, and so he returned.

20

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40

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The morrow after being wednesdaie, and the eight and twentieth of Iulie, the conestable about seauen of the clocke came to the end of the trenches next to the towne, where sir Maurice Denis treasurer of the towne, sir Hugh Paulet, capteine Horseye, capteine Delham, capteine John Shute prouost marshall, and Nicholas Halbie secretarie to my lord lieutenant came forth, and passed ouer the haue to commune with him. And during the parlee betwixt them, a truce was accorded and assented to by both parts: the which neuertheless was broken two seuerall times through the vnrule insolencie of certeine harquebutters. And though by the good diligence of the capteins they were incontinentlie quieted and staied: yet the ballant earle of Marwarke, standing at a breach in his hose and dublet in sight of his enemies, was by a lewso soldier of the French (contrarie to the law of armes) shot through the thigh with an harquebuse. The conestable and the English commissioners appointed, had long conference together; and before they concluded, the marshalls Montmoencie and Burdellion (and at length the marshall Bullac also) came to the place where they were thus in parlee: but the conestable toke vpon him to haue onelie authoritie to accept or refuse such conditions as should be offered, or agreed vnto by the English commissioners in this treatie. And so at length they passed certeine articles in foyme as followeth.

Capteine  
Delham went  
forth to talke  
with the com-  
missioners.

The commis-  
sioners ap-  
pointed to  
talke with the  
conestable.

Additions to  
Lanquet.  
The earle of  
Marwarke  
hurt.

The con-  
estable toke  
vpon him to  
be chiefe in  
authoritie on  
the French  
part.

### The articles of agreement touching the surrender of Newhauen.



First, that the earle of Marwarke should render againe the towne of Newhauen into the hands of the said conestable of France, with all the artillerie and munitions of war then being in that towne, and belonging to the French king and his subjects.

Item, that he should leaue the ships that were in the said towne at that present, belonging either to the king or his subjects, with all their furniture: and generallie, all such merchandise and other things, being likewise at that present within that towne, as

either belonged to the king or his subjects.

3 Item, for the more suertie of the premises, the said earle should presentlie deliuer into the hands of the said conestable, the great towre of the said haven, so that the soldiors which were placed therein enter not into the towne: and that the said earle of Warwicke should cause the gates there towards the towne to be warded, till it were in the possession of the said conestable, without planting any ensignes on the said towre, according to the said agreement; and also that the said earle should deliuer foure such hostages as the said conestable should name.

4 Item, that the next daie, by eight of the clocke in the morning, the said earle should withdraw his soldiors which are in the fort, to deliuer it immediatlie into the hands of the said conestable, or such as should be by him appointed to receiue the same at the said houre.

5 Item, that all prisoners which haue bene taken before the said haven, should be deliuered on either side, without paying any ransom.

6 Item, that the conestable should for his part suffer the said earle of Warwicke, and all those that are in garrison in the said Newhaven to depart with all things whatsoever that belonged to the queene of England and his subjects.

7 Item, that for the departure as well of the said earle, as the removing of his soldiors, and other things before rehearsed, the said conestable agreed to giue them six whole daies, beginning the morrow then next following; to wit, the nine and twentieth of Julie: during which six daies, they might franklie and frelie take and carrie awaie all the said things. And if wind or foule weather should hinder, that their passage could not be made within the said terme, in this case the said conestable should grant them such further time of delaie, as might be thought reasonable.

8 Item, the said conestable did likewise permit, that all the ships and English vessels, and all other that should be appointed for the portage and conueying a waie of the said things, should safelie and frelie passe into and fro the said haven, without any staie or impeachment, either by the French armie or any other. The said foure hostages were appointed to be master Oliver Paners, brother to the earle of Kentland, capteine Welham, capteine Housleie, and capteine Leighton. In witness whereof, the said lords, the conestable of France, & the earle of Warwicke signed these articles the eight and twentieth of Julie, 1563.

Additions to  
Lanquet.  
The earle of  
warwicke  
commends b.

The French  
king commeth  
to the campe  
before New-  
haven.

Thus the earle of Warwicke, as he had (during the whole time of his abode there in that towne of Newhaven) shewed himselfe a right hardie & valiant capteine: so now in the end he proved himselfe to be both prudent and politike. For by accepting of these honorable conditions to go with all armor, munition, ships, goods, bag and baggage, in any wise apprehending or belonging either to the queenes maiestie, or to any of his graces subjects, he saved the liues of a great number, which otherwise scaping the scourge of the infective plague, must needs haue fallen vnder the edge of the sword. The conestable, during the time of the parole, sent his yongest sonne monsieur de Thorez to the king and queene mother, to advertise them of the treatie of this peace. And after it was once concluded and signed by the earle of Warwicke, he sent his eldest sonne the marshall Montmorencie, to present the same unto them at Criquefort, halfe waie betwene Newhaven and Felcamppe, who were right iollfull of the news: and the next daie they came to the campe, shewing great signes of their conceived gladnesse, for the recovering of that towne thus out of the Englishmens hands.

On saturday the most part of the Englishmen took ship and departed homewards: for glad might he thinke himselfe that could get sonest out of that unwholsome and most vnauoie aire. Many sicke persons yet were left behind, impotent and not able to helpe themselves. The miserie whereof Edward Handoll esquire high marshall of the towne (who was appointed to carrie and see the bittermost of the composition accomplished) perceiuing, moued with naturall pitie of his countrymen relinquished without comfort, caused the said sicke persons to be caried aboard, not sparing his owne shoulders, at that time feeble and full of the plague, himselfe and his men still bearing & helping the poore creatures on shipboard. A rare fact worthy reward, and no doubt in remembrance with God, the true recorder of mercifull deserts. Thus was the towne of Newhaven reduced againe into the hands of the French, more vnbondredlie through the extreme mortalitie that so outrageouslie afflicted the soldiors and men of warre within the same, than by the enemies enforcements, although the same was great, and advanced to the bittermost of the aduersaries power.

Besides the meaner sort of those that died of the pestilence during the siege, these I do find noted as chiefe: Cutbert Gaughan comptroller of the towne, Francis Summerset cosine to the earle of Worcester, Auerie Darcie brother to the lord Darcie, John Zouch brother to the lord Zouch, Edward Dymelbie, Thomas Durie alias Polgnard, Richard Croker, John Cockson, Thomas Kemish, John Doud, William Saule, Willfride Antwiffell. Besides these being captieins in chiefe dieng there in that towne, or else sickening there and dieng vpon their returne into England, there were diuerse other gentlemen, and such as had charge, which likewise ended their liues by force of that cruell and most greivous pestilent infection. There were diuerse also that were slaine, as well by canon shot, as otherwise in the field in skirmish, as both the Tremains brethren of one birth, Nicholas and Andrew, capteine Richard Sanders, with master Robinson, and master Bionfield, of which two before ye haue heard: also one Leighton a gentleman, & diuerse mo whose names I know not, worthy neuertheless to be remembred & placed in ranke with such worthy men, as in their countries cause haue lost their liues, and are therefore by writers registred to liue by fame for ever.

But now to passe to other matters at home. As ye haue heard, the plague of pestilence being in the towne of Newhaven, thorough the number of soldiors that returned into England the infection thereof spread into diuerse parts of this realme: but especially the citie of London was so infected, that in the same whole yeare, that is to saie, from the first of Januarie 1562, vntill the last of December, in 1563, there died in the citie and liberties thereof (containing one hundred & eight parishes) of all diseases twentie thousand, three hundred, three score and twelue: and of the plague being part of the number aforesaid, seuentene thousand, foure hundred, and foure persons. And in the outparishes adioining to the same citie, being eleven parishes, died of all diseases in the whole yeare, three thousand, two hundred, foure score and eight persons: and of them, of the plague two thousand, seven hundred, thirtie and two. So that the whole number of all that died of all diseases, as well within the citie and liberties, as in the outparishes, was twentie three thousand six hundred and threescore: and of them there died of the plague, twentie thousand one hundred thirtie and six.

The eight of Julie in the morning, happened a great tempest of lightning and thunder, whereupon a woman and three kine were slaine, in the rough.

John Stow,  
Walter  
Edward Handoll  
full of  
pity and  
compassion.

Chiefe  
names  
that  
died of  
the  
plague  
at  
Newhaven.

Diuerse  
names  
by  
non  
that  
slaine.

John Stow,  
Diuerse  
names  
transferred  
from  
the  
bourgeois  
don.

One hundred  
and eight  
persons  
died of  
the plague  
in the  
suburbs.

Tempest  
at  
London  
by  
lightning  
and  
thunder.

King  
Shel-  
low  
places  
marion  
as  
Sussex.

Threefold  
plague  
to the  
poore  
citizens  
of London.

In earth-  
quake in  
diuerse  
places  
of England.

Amatores  
that kept  
at  
the Guildhall.

Anno Reg. 6.  
Lightning  
&  
thunder  
in  
December.

Monstrous  
shipwreck  
to  
Spain.

1564  
Term kept  
at Hertford.  
Rich. Grafton.  
A peace be-  
tweene Eng-  
land and  
France.

The noble  
death of  
the  
lord of  
Huns-  
don.

ac  
lar  
th  
cit  
th  
G  
for  
qu  
ce  
for  
the  
boe

Touent garden néere to Charingcrosse. At the same time in Essex a man was torne all to peeces as he was carting hait, his barne was bozne doulne, and his hait burned: both stones and trées were rent in manie places. The counsell of king Philip at Antwerpe and other places, that no English ship with ante cloths, should come into anie places of the low countries: their colour was (as they said) the danger of the plague, which was at that time in London, & other places of England. Peruerthelesse they would gladlie haue gotten our wolles, but the queenes maiestie thorough sute of our merchant aduenturers caused the wolle fleet to be discharged, and our cloth fleet was sent to Emden in east Friseland, about Easter next following, in the yeare of our Lord 1564. Forso much as the plague of pestilence was so hot in the citie of London, there was no tearme kept at Spichaelmasse. To be short, the poore citizens of London were this yeare plagued with a threefold plague, pestilence, scarcitie of monie, and dearth of vittels, the miserie whereof were too long here to write: no doubt the poore remember it, the rich by sight into the countries made shift for themselves, &c.

A great quake was in the moneth of September in diuerse places of this realme, speciallie in Lincoln & Northamptonshires. After the election of the maior of London by the counsels letters, the queenes maiesties pleasure was signified unto sir Thomas Lodge then maior, that forso much as the plague was so great in the citie, the new maior elected should keepe no feast at the Guildhall, for doubt that thorough bringing together such a multitude, the infection might increase. For that weeke there died with in the citie and out parishes, more than two thousand: wherefore sir John Whight, the new maior, took his oth at the uttermost gate of the tower of London. From the first daie of December, till the twelue, was such continuall lightning and thunder, especiallie the same twelue daie at night, that the like had not bene seene nor heard by anie man then living.

In the moneth of December was giuen on the shore at Grimsbie in Lincolnshire a monstrous fish, in length nineteene yards, his taile fifteene foot broad, and six yards betwene his eyes, twelue men stood byight in his mouth to get the oile. For that the plague was not fullie ceased in London, Hilarie tearme was kept at Hertford castell beside Ware. This yeare the thirtieth of Aprill, an honorable and full peace was concluded, betwixt the queenes maiestie and the French king: their realmes dominions and subiects: and the same peace was proclaimed with sound of trumpet, before hir maiestie in hir castell of Windsor, then being present the French ambassadoys. And shortly after, the queenes grace sent the right honourable sir Henrie Careie lord of Hunnesdon, now lord chamberleine of whose honourable and noble descent it is thus written

— cuius fuerat matertera pulchra  
Regina genitrix Henrici nobilis uxor)

accompanied with the lord Strange, beside diuerse knights and gentlemen, unto the French king, with the noble order of the garter, who finding him at the citie of Lions, being in those parties in progresse, he there presented unto him the said noble order: and Carter king at armes inuested him therewith, observing the ceremonies in that behalfe due and requisite. The plague (thanks be to God) being cleane ceased in London, both Easter and Whitsunmer tearmes were kept at Westminster. And here by the waie to note the infection of this plague to haue bene dispersed into other countries besides Eng-

land, it is read in Scharidius *In epitome rerum gestarum sub Ferdinando primo imperatore*, that the pestilence did so rage in Germanie, and poisoned such peopled places, namelie Roßlinberge, Franckford, Magduburge, Danike, Hamburg, and their borders, that by estimation (saith he) there died of that contagion to the number of three hundred thousand. A gricuous scourge of God (saith mine author) notwithstanding verie few thereby so terrified, that they reformed their wicked lines. Which plague in Germanie I therefore doe here repeat, because by all likelihoods it is to be gathered, that as it raged in the same yeare both there and here; so the cause maie be all one that bred so benemous an effect.

There was on the vigill of S. Peter a watch in the citie of London, which did onelie stand in the highest streets of Cheape, Cornhill, and so forth to Algate: which watch was to the commons of the same citie as chargeable, as when in times past it had bene commendable done. The first of August, the queenes maiestie in hir progresse came to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and was of all the students (being inuested according to their degrees taken in the scholes) honourable and fullie receiued in the Kings college, where she did lie during hir continuance in Cambridge. The dates of hir abode were passed in scholasticall exercises of philosophie, physick, and diuinitie: the nights in comedies, and tragedies, set forth partlie by the whole vniuersitie, and partlie by the students of the Kings college, to recreate and delight hir maiestie, who both heard them attentiuely, and beheld them cherefullie.

At the breaking vp of the diuinitie act, being on wednesdaie the ninth of August (on the which daie she rode thorough the towne, and viewed the colleges, those goodlie and ancient monuments of kings of England hir noble predecessors) she made within saint Maries church a notable oration in Latine, in the presence of the whole learned vniuersitie, to the students great comfort. A copie whereof I haue set downe, as I receiued it in writing at the hands of one that then was present, and noted the same as hir maiestie uttered it. Whose words unto me in a letter, wherewith the same oration was sent, I doe here set downe *Bona fide*. This hir maiesties extemporal oration (saith he) lieng among my papers these twentie yeares and more, I thought good now to send to you, that if anie occasion be fitlie offered in the discourse of hir highnesse reigne, you maie (if you please) insert it. In truth, I my selfe neuer else where read it, which hath made me euen religiouslie to preserve it. Master Abraham Hartwell in his *Regina literata*, dwelling vpon this onelie argument of hir comming and doings at Cambridge, glanceth in a dischord twaine at the effect hereof. But this is the thing it selfe, as I my selfe (as most unworthie) being both an ear and also an eye witnesse, can testify.

Serenissimæ reginæ Elisabethæ oratio;  
publicè Cantabrigiæ habita, coram vniuerso  
academiæ cœtu, anno 1564:  
Æ regni sui sexto.



*Si feminilis iste meus pudor (subditi fidelissimi & academia charissimæ) in tanta doctorum turba illaboratum hunc sermonem et orationem me narrare apud vos impediat: tamen non bilium meorum intercessus & erga academiam beneuolentia me aliquid proferre inuitat. Duobus ad hanc rem stimulis moneor. Primus est, bonarum literarum propagatio: alter est, vestra omnium expectatio.*  
B b b b b .ij.

The plague in Germanie whereof three hundred thousand died.

Watch on S. Peters night.

Abraham Hartwell in *regina literata*. The queenes progresse thorough Cambridge.

A. F.

Tho. Newton.

Duo stimuli quibus monebatur regis maiestas

in Academia  
et cum ceteris non  
indilectis

tio. Quod ad propagationem spectat, unum illud apud Demosthenem memini: Superiorum verba apud inferiorum librorum locum habent, & principum dicta legum auctoritatem apud subditos retinent. Hoc igitur vos omnes in memoria tenere velim: quod semita nulla præstantior est, siue ad bonam fortunam acquirendam, siue ad principum gratiam conciliandam, quam ut gnauiter (ut capistis) studiis vestris exhibeatis operam: quod ut faciatis, vos omnes oro obsecroque. De secundo stimulo, vestra nimirum expectatione, hoc unum dico, me nihil lubenter prætermisuram esse, quod vestra de me anima beneuola concipit cogitationes.

Regia maiestas  
pollicetur se ali-  
quod munimen-  
tum in academia  
relicturam.

Iam ad academiam venio. Tempore antemeridiano vidi ego adificia vestra sumptuosa, à meis maioribus, clarissimis principibus literarum causa extructa. Et inter videndum, dolor artus meos occupauit, atque eam mentis suspiria, quæ Alexandrum quondam tenuisse feruntur. Qui cum legisset multa à principibus posita monumenta, conuersus ad familiarem seu potius ad consiliarium, multum doluit se nihil tale fecisse. Hæc tamen vulgaris sententia me aliquantum recreauit, quæ etsi non auferre, tamen minuire potest dolorem. Quæ quidem sententia hæc est: Romam non uno adificatam fuisse die: tamen non est ita sevilis mea ætas, nec tam diu fuit, ex quo regnare cæpi, quin ante redditionem debiti naturæ (si non nimis citò A tropos lineam vitæ mee amputauerit) aliquod opus faciam: & quandiu vitæ hos regit artus, nunquam à proposito desectam.

Si non ante sal-  
tem post mortem  
proficetur se pre-  
stituram quod  
pollicetur.

Et si contingat (quàm citò futurum sit, nescio) me mori oportere, priusquam hoc ipsum quod polliceor complere possim: aliquod tamen egregium opus post mortem relinquam, quo & memoria mea in posterum celebris fiat, & alios excitem exemplo meo, & vos omnes alacriores faciam ad studia vestra. Sed iam videtis quantum intersit inter doctrinam lectam, & disciplinam animo non retentam. Quorum alterius sunt complures satis sufficientes testes: alterius autem vos omnes nimis quidem inconsideratè testes hoc tempore effeci, quæ meo barbaro orationis genere tam diu doctas vestras aures detinuerim. Dixi.

Outerier and  
Belman for  
the daie.

The next daie, she went forthward on hir progreſſe to Finchburyke by Huntington. The thirtieth daie of August was enacted by a common counsell of the citie of London, that all such citizens as from thence forth should be constrained to sell their household stuffe, leases of houses, or such like, should first cause the same to be cried through the citie by a man with a bell, and then to be sold by the common outerier appointed for that purpose, and he to receive one farthing upon the shilling for his paines. The twentieth of September arose great fouds in the riuer of Thames, where through the marshes nere abeining were ouerflooded, and manie cattell drowned.

Great fouds  
in Thames.

Ex l. Sp. 1123  
Creation of a  
baron name-  
d Sir Robert  
Dudley baro  
of Denbigh.

The creation of Sir Robert Sutton alias Dudley knight of the garter, and master of the horse, to the queenes maiestie, who was created baron of Denbigh, and after earle of Leicester on Michæls masse daie at saint James, with the gift of the manour of Killingworth, and other things there to him and his heires, to the yerlie value of foure and twentie pounds & better. First, the said lord attended on the queenes highnesse, to the chappell, and from the chappell to seruice, and when he was returned to the chamber of pcesence, the said lord with other departed to the lord chamberleins chamber, and shifted

them: the said lord Robert in his surcet with the hood, his mantle borne before him by the lord Wiston, and led by the lord Clinton lord admerall by the right hand, and the lord Strange on the left hand, in their parlement robes, Carter bearing the patent, & before him the officers of armes, and so proceeded into the chamber of pcesence, where the queenes highnesse sat vnder the cloth of estate with the noblemen on eche side of hir, the ambassado: of France was also present with another stranger an Italian.

The earle  
attended at  
this creation.

Ex Schardio.

And when the said lord with the other came in the queenes sight, they made their obeisance thre times, the said lord knèed downe: after the which Carter presented the letters patents to the lord chamberleine, and he presented the same to the queenes highnesse, who gaue it to Sir William Cecil secretarie, who read the same with a loud voice, & at the words of Creation, the lord of Wundon presented the mantle to the queens maiestie, who put on the same, where by he was created baron of Denbigh for him and his heires. Then the patent was read out to the end, after the which he deliuered it to the queene againe, and hir highnesse gaue it to the said lord, who gaue hir maiestie most humble thanks, and he rose vp and departed to the chamber they came from, the trumpets founding before him.

The execution  
of the ceremonies  
at this creation

Ferdinand  
interceiteth the  
queene  
most daie of  
his owne  
birth.

Lord let me  
know mine end  
and the number  
of my daies,  
that I may be  
certified how  
long I haue  
to liue.

Then he shifted him of those robes, and put on the robes of estate of an earle, and being led by the earle of Suffer on the right hand, and the earle of Hunting-ton on his left hand, the earle of Warwike bearing his sword the pointell vpward, and the girdle about the same, all in their robes of estate, the lord Clinton lord admerall in his parlement robes, bearing his cap with the coronall, Carter before him bearing his patent, and the other officers of armes before him, they proceeded as afoze into the chamber of pcesence, where, after they had made their obeisance, the said earle knèed downe, and Carter deliuered his patent to the lord chamberleine, who gaue the same to the queenes maiestie, & hir highnesse gaue the same to Sir William Cecil secretarie to read, who read the same. And at the words Cinthuan gladly, the earle of Warwike presented the sword to the queenes highnesse, who girt the same about the necke of the said new earle, putting the point vnder his left arme, and after hir maiestie put on his cap with the coronall. Then his patent was read out to the end, and then the said secretarie deliuered it againe to the queene, and hir highnesse gaue it to the said new earle of Leicester, who gaue hir humble thanks for it.

Creation of  
an earle, and  
namely the  
earle of Le-  
icester.

The godlie  
like male and  
female that  
God gaue  
Ferdinand.

And then he arose and went into the counsell chamber to dinner, the trumpets founding before, and at dinner he sat in his kirtle, and there accompanied him the foresaid ambassado: of France, and the said Italian, with diuerse other erles and lords. And after the second course, Carter with the other officers of armes, proclaimed the queenes maiesties stile, and after, the stile of the said earle, for the which they had fixtine pounds, to wit, for his baronie five pounds, & for his earle dome ten pounds, and Carter had his gowne of blacke velvet garded with thre gardes of the same, laid on with lace, lined thorough with blacke taskata, and garded on the inner side with the same, and on the leues eight and thirtie paire of aglets of gold. The earles stile was as folloiweth: Du tresnoble & puissant seigneur Robert comte de Leicester, baron de Denbigh, chevalier du tresnoble ordre de la iaretierre, & grand esquier de la royne nostre souveraigne. On whose scutchion, containing sundrie cotes, inuironed with the cognissances of both orders, as well S. Michaels as S. Georges, with other ornaments, were made these verses, now common to be read:

The point  
of the sword  
girt about the  
necke of the  
earle.

Storie int-  
erlions.

Anno Reg. 7.  
howes that  
were with  
gunpowder.

The Thames  
frozen ouer.

Quot clypeus atatum clypeo coniungis in uno,  
Tot tibi virtutes atatum sunt pectore iunctæ:

The officers  
for fixtine  
pounds at  
this creation

Quot baro-  
gæne downe.

*Somerg pietas, vis imperterrita Greij,  
Intemerata fides Hastings, nobile pectus  
Ferrarij, Quinci probitas, bonitasque Boghani,  
Martia Talboti virtus, fidsima dextra  
Beauchampij, Herculei ment inconcussa Guidonis,  
Barklei vigor, & generosa modestia Lisle.]*

The second of October in the afternoon, and on the morrow in the forenone, was a solemne obsequie at Paules church in London, for Ferdinando late empero: departed. ¶ Of this empero: it is said, that lieng sicke, and so sicke that Richard a precher of his court then present could not hold him by: howbeit comming at last to himselfe and somewhat in recoverie, he said to the standers by: You thought that I would neuer come againe, naie mine houre is not so lone: I do certeinlie know that I shall not die before Whitluntide. Now when he had liued till that daie, and eight daies after, as hauing the verie time of his departure told him by secret reuelation, (and satisfied at full touching the request that Dauid made to God about the length of his life, saieing:

*Da mihi nosse mea quae sint fata tempora vitae,*

*Et quando vltima sint fata futura mihi)*

he said to them that were about him: It is the holie ghoſts pleasure that I should not die before saint James tide, that as he was a pilgrime among vs, so I with him should passe my pilgrimage out of this my native countrie. After which words spoken, his disease grew to greater force and sharpnesse, inſomuch that at last, euen at the verie time prefixed, namelie St. James daie, he departed this life, after he had liued firtie yeares, nine moneths, and od daies. He gouerned the empire aboue the space of seauen yeares, & had to wife Anne queene of Hungarie and Boheme, by whom he had fixtene children, some male; namelie, Marimilian, Ferdinand, John and Charles: also eleuen females; to wit, Elisabeth married to Sigismund king of Poland, Anne, Marie, Maradoline, Catharine, Glenor, Margarite, Barbara, Ariule, Helen, and Ione. He is commended for his carefulnesse, his watchfulnesse, his bountifulnesse, his gentlenesse, his vprightnesse, his discret-nesse, his peaceablenesse, and other qualittes, wherein he had a kind of singularitie. And thus much of him by waie of praise, as I found it readie to my hand.]

The seauenth of October at night, from eight a clocke till after nine of the clocke, all the north parts of the element seemed to be covered with flames of fire, proceeding from the northeast and northwest, toward the middelt of the firmament, where after it had staid nigh one houre, it descended west: and all the same night (being the next after the change of the moone) seemed nigh as light as it had bene faire daie. The twentieth of Nouember in the morning, through negligence of a maiden with a candell, the snuffe falling in an hundred pounds weight of gunpowder, three houses in Bucklersburie were soe shaken, and the maid died two daies after. The one and twentieth of December began a frost, which continued so extremitie, that on fteuetyeares euen, people went ouer and alongst the Thames on the ice from London bidge to Westminster. Some played at the fctball as boldlie there, as if it had bene on the drie land: diuerse of the court being then at Westminster, shot dallie at pycks set vpon the Thames: and the people both men and women went on the Thames in greater numbers, than in anie street of the citie of London. On the third daie of Januarie at night it began to thaw, and on the fift daie was no ice to be seene betwixne London bidge and Lambeth, which sudden thaw caused great floods and high waters, that bare downe brydges and houses, and drowned manie people in England: especially in Popkhyre, Doves brydge was borne auaie

with others.

The thirde daie of February, Henrie Stuart lord Darleie, about the age of nineteene yeares, eldest sonne to Matthew earle of Lincolne (who went into Scotland at Whitluntide before) hauing obtained licence of the quenes maiestie, toke his iourneie towards Scotland, accompanied with fve of his fathers men, where when he came, he was honorable receiued, & lodged in the kings lodgings, and in the summer following, he married Marie queen of Scotland. About this time, for the quenes maiestie were chosen and sent commissioners to Bruges, the lord Pontacute knight of the honourable order of the garter, doctor Motton one of hir maiesties honorable counsell, doctor Haddon one of the masters of requests to hir highnesse, with others: master doctor Abbot was for the merchant aduenturers of England: they came to Bruges in Lent, Anno 1565, and continued there till Michaelmasse following, and then was the diet prolonged till March in the yeare 1566, and the commissioners returned into England.

The two and twentieth of Aprill, the ladie Margarine countesse of Lincolne, was commanded to keepe hir chamber at the Whitehall, where she remained till the two and twentieth of June, and then conueyed by sir Francis Knolles and the gard to the tower of London by water. On St. Peters euen at night, was the like standing watch in London, as had bene on the same night twelue moneths past. The first tenth of Julie, about nine of the clocke at night began a tempest of lightning and thunder, with holwers of haile, which continued till three of the clocke in the next morning, so terrible, that at Chelmsford in Essex 500 acres of come was destroyed, the glasse windowes on the east side of the towne, and of the west and south sides of the church were beaten downe, with the tiles of their houses also, besides diuerse barnes, chimneys, and the battlements of the church, which was ouerthrowne. The like harme was done in manie other places, as at Leeds, Cranebooke, Douer, &c.

Christopher prince and margraue of Baden, with Cicilie his wife sister to the king of Swethland, after a long and dangerous iourne, wherein they had trauelled almost eleuen months sailing from Stockholm, crossing the seas ouer into Lifeland, from whence by land they came about by Poland, Prussie, Pomerland, Weckelburgh, Friseland, and so to Antwerpe in Babant, then to Calis, at the last in September landed at Douer, and the eleuenth daie of the same they came to London, and were lodged at the earle of Bedfordds place nere to Rute brydge, where within foure daies after, that is to saie, the fifteenth of September she trauelled in childbed, and was deliuered of a man child: which child the last of September was christened in the quenes maiesties chapell of White hall at Westminster, the quenes maiestie in hir owne person being godmother, the archbishop of Canturburie, and the duke of Northfolke godfathers. At the christening the quene gaue the child to name Edwardus Fortunatus: for that God had so grationlie assisted his mother, in so long and dangerous a iourne, and brought hir safe to land in that place, which she most desired, and that in so short time before hir deliuerance.

The eleuenth of Nouember, the right honorable Ambrose earle of Warwick married Anne eldest daughter to the earle of Bedford. For the honor and celebration of which noble mariage, a goodlie challenge was made and obserued at Westminster at the tilt, each one six courtes: at the tournie twelue strokes with the sword, three pushes with the punchon staffe; and twelue blowes with the sword at bar-

Henrie Stuart married the quene of Scots.

Commissioners chosen to go to Bruges

1565  
Ladie Lincolne sent to the tower.

Standing watch at ar midsummer in London.

Tempest at Chelmsford of lightning thunder and raie.

The margraue of Baden and his wife great with child come to London.

She is deliuered of a child.

The quene giveth the name.

Mariage of the earle of Warwick.



Robert Thomas  
maister gunner  
by casualtie.

Anno Reg. 8.

Paules gate  
blowen open.

Order of saint  
Michael.  
1566

The marques  
of Baden re-  
turneth into  
his owne  
countrie.

Ground for  
the Burle in  
Cozenhill first  
purchased.

The first  
stone of the  
Burle laid.

The queenes  
progresse to  
Drford.

riers, or twentie if any were so disposed. At ten of the clocke at night the same daie a valiant seruice-able man called Robert Thomas, maister gunner of England, desirous also to honour the feast and marriage daie (in consideration the said earle of Warlike was general of the ordinance within his maiesties realmes and dominions) made three great traines of chambers, which terrible yielded forth the nature of their voice, to the great astonishment of diners, who at the firing of the second was unhappily slaine by a peece of one of the chambers, to the great sorrow and lamentation of manie.

The foure and twentieth of December in the morning, there rose a great storme and tempest of wind, by whose rage the Thames and seas overwhelmed manie persons, and the great gates at the west end of S. Paules church in London (betwene the which standeth the blasen pillar) were through the force of the wind, then in the westerne part of the world, blowen open. In Januarie monsieur Rambulet a knight of the order in France was sent ouer into England, by the French king Charles the ninth of that name, with the order: who at Windsor was stalled in the behalfe of the said French king, with the knighthood of the most honorable order of the garter. And the foure and twentieth of Januarie, in the chappell of his maiesties palace of Whitehall, the said monsieur Rambulet inuested Thomas duke of Dorset, and Robert earle of Leicester, with the said order of S. Michael.

The marquess of Baden and the ladie Cicilie his wife, sister to the king of Swethen, who came into this land in the moneth of September last past (as before is declared) being then by the queenes especial appointment at their arrival honorable received by the lord Cobham, an honorable baron of this realme, and the ladie his wife one of the queenes maiesties private chamber, now in the moneth of Aprill 1566 departed the realme againe, the marquess a few daies before his wife, being both conducted by a like personage the lord of Aburgauennie to Dover. Certaine houses in Cozenhill, being first purchased by the citizens of London, were in the moneth of Februarie cried by a belman, and afterward sold to such persons as should take them downe, and carie them from thence: which was so done in the moneths of Aprill and Maie next following. And then the ground being made plaine at the charges also of the citie, possession thereof was by certaine aldermen in the name of the whole citizens, given to the right worshipfull sir Thomas Gresham knight, agent to the queenes highnesse, there to build a place for merchants to assemble in, at his owne proper charges: who on the seventh daie of June laid the first stone of the foundation (being bricke) and forthwith the workemen followed upon the same with such diligence, that by the moneth of November, in An. 1567. the same was covered with slate. The commissioners before named, appointed for the matters of Flambers, keeping their diet at Bruges, agreed to refer the whole matter to the princes on both sides: and if they could not agree, then the merchants to haue fortie daies to repare home with their merchandize, and in the meane time all things to stand as they were then. Our commissioners departed from Bruges about the six and twentieth of June.

The one and thirtieth of August, the queenes maiestie in her progresse came to the vniuersitie of Drford, and was of all the students, which had looked for her comming thither two yeares, so honorable and so fullie received, as either their loialnesse towards the queenes maiestie, or the expectation of their friends did require. Concerning orders in disputations and other academicall exercises, they agreed

much with those which the vniuersitie of Cambridge had used two yeares before. Comedies also and tragedies were played in Chistis church, where the queenes highnesse lodged. Among the which the comedie intitled Paulemon and Arcit, made by maister Edwards of the queenes chappell, had such tragical successe, as was lamentable. For at that time by the fall of a wall and a paire of staires, and great presse of the multitude three men were slaine.

The first of September after disputations, the queene at the humble sute of certaine her nobilitie, and the B. of Spaines ambassador, made a brasse oration in Latine to the vniuersitie; but so wise and pithie, as England may reioice that it hath so learned a prince, and the vniuersitie may triumph that they haue so noble a patronesse. The first of September after dinner, her grace comming from Chistis church ouer Carfor, and so to S. Maries, the scholars standing in order according to their degrees euen to the east gate, certaine doctors of the vniuersitie did ride before in their scarlet gownes and hoods, & maisters of art in blacke gownes and hoods. The maiors also with certaine of his brethren did ride before her in scarlet to the end of Spagbale bridge, where their liberties ended: but the doctors and maisters went forward still to Shotouer, a mile and more out of Drford, because their liberties extended so far: and there after orations made, her highnesse with thanks to the whole vniuersitie had them farewell, and rode to Kicote.

The valiant capteine Edward Kandoll esquier, lieutenant of the ordinance, and cozonell of a thousand footmen, in September last past was with his band imbarcked at Wiffow, and within few daies after landed at Knockfergus in the north parts of Ireland; and from thence by water to a place called Derrie, by which passeth the river Longfole. There the said cozonell in short space fortified, to the great annoiance of Shane O'neil, and by great foresight and experience garded himselfe and his charge, till the said O'neil (to hinder and disturbe his aboad there) the twelfe of November arrived with a great armie of Berne Calotoglasses and horsemen, with whom the said capteine Kandoll incountered, and him there so discomfited, as after that conflict he durst neuer appoche the queenes power. And to his perpetuall fame, the said capteine by reason of his bold and hardie onset, that daie lost his life. Charles James the first of that name, son to Henrie Stuart lord of Darnley and Marie king & queene of Scots was borne in Edenburgh castell, the nineteenth of June last past: and the eighteenth of December this yeare solemnlie christened at Sterling, whose godfathers at the christening were Charles B. of France, and Willbert duke of Saucie, and the queenes maiestie of England was the godmother, who gaue a font of gold curiously wrought and inameble, weighing three hundred & three and thirtie ounces, amounting in value to the summe of 1043 pounds, nine teen shillings.

The tenth of Februarie in the morning, Henrie Stuart lord of Darnley before named B. of Scots, by Scots in Scotland was shamefullie murdered, the reuenge whereof remaineth in the mightie hand of God. The two and twentieth of Februarie, the ladie Margaret Douglas countesse of Lincolne, mother to the said king of Scots, was discharged out of the tower of London. Within the space of ten moneths last past died seven aldermen of London, the first Edward Bankes deceased the ninth of Iulie, An. 1566: Richard Chamberleine late thiriffe, sir Martin Bobbes, sir Richard Malloxie, sir William Hewet, and sir Thomas White late maiors, then Richard Lambert one of the thiriffes for that yeare, the fourth

Histori-  
cal Drford at  
the placing of  
a tragie.

The queene  
maketh an  
oration to the  
vniuersitie.

Sergeants  
hall.

Shall in  
Suffolke  
burnt.

Shaniers  
transported  
into Ireland  
to banquish  
Shane O'neil.

Young prince  
of Scots  
christened.

Anno Reg. 8.

B. of Scots  
murdered.  
1567

The countesse  
of Lincolne  
discharged out  
of the tower.  
Seven alder-  
men deceased  
in London.

Shane O'neil  
mangled and  
hast in pe-  
ces.

Standing  
watch at mid-  
summer matins  
tuned in  
London.  
The emperor  
Charumian  
inuested into  
the order of the  
garter.

The earle of  
Sussex visi-  
ted madame  
de Parma.

Shane before  
pag. 122.

The towne of  
Suffolke  
burnt thirte  
yeares.

Shane O'neil  
discomfited.  
Statuta regni  
Hibernie.  
Edm. Capian.

Shane O'neil  
mangled and  
hast in pe-  
ces.

Standing  
watch at mid-  
summer matins  
tuned in  
London.  
The emperor  
Charumian  
inuested into  
the order of the  
garter.

The earle of  
Sussex visi-  
ted madame  
de Parma.

fourth of Aprill 1567. The like mortalitie to haue happened among them about a ten or eleuen yeares before, you shall read in the hystorie of queene Marie, in the fourth yeare of hir reigne.

The two and twentieth of Aprill by great misfortune of fire in the towne of Willestrie in Wales, twelue miles from Shrewsburie, to the number of two hundred houses, to wit, seuen score within the wals, and thre score without in the suburbs, besides cloth, cozne, cattell, &c. were consumed, which fire began at two of the clocke in the after none, and ended at foure, to the great maruell of manie, that so great a spoile in so short a time should happen. Two long streets with great riches in that towne was burnt in the yeare 1542: and likewise of worse in the yeare 1564. The foure and twentieth of Aprill the sergeants feast was kept at Greis inne nere vnto Holborne, and there were at that time made seuen new sergeants of the law. The seuententh of Maie in the towne of Milnall in Suffolke eight miles from Iretowmarket, thirtie seuen houses besides barnes, stables, and such like were consumed with fire in the space of two houres.

Shane O'neil, who had most traitorouslie rebelled against the quenes maiestie in Ireland, and had done manie great outrages in the parts of Ulster, was this yeare with his great losse manfullie repelled from the siege of Dundalke by the garrison thereof: and afterward through the great ballancie and foresight of sir Henrie Sidneie knight of the order, and lord deputy of Ireland, he was so discomfited in sundrie conflicts, with the losse of thre thousand five hundred of his men, that now foreseeing his declination to be imminent, he determined to put a collar about his necke, and disguising himselfe, to repaire to the lord deputy, and penitentie to require his pardon to haue his life. But seil Packeuer his secretarie, who had incited him to this rebellion, perswaded him first to trie a tre at the frendship of certeine wild Scots, that then laie incamped in Clan Boie, vnder the conducting of Alexander Mge, and Mac Gilliam Buske, whose father and vncle Shane O'neil had latelie killed in an ouerthrow giuen to the Scots. Peruer the lesse he well liking this persuation, went to the said campe the second of Iune, where after a dissembled intertainment, & quaffing of wine, Gilliam Buske burning with desire of reuenge for his fathers and vncles death, and ministering quarrelling talke, issued out of the tent, and made a fraie vpon O'neils men, and then gathering together his Scots in a throng, suddenlie entred the tent againe, who there with their daughters swords helmed in peeces Shane O'neil, his secretarie, and all his companie, except a verie few which escaped by flight.

On saint Johns euen at night was the like standing watch in London, as had bene on saint Peters euen in the yeare last before mentioned. This yeare the emperor Maximilian the second of that name, being elected into the most honourable order of the garter, the right honourable Thomas earle of Suffex, &c. knight of the same most noble order, was appointed by the quenes maiestie to go vnto the said emperor, with the said order of the garter, according to his said election. Who being honozable accompanied with the lord North, sir Thomas Wilmote knight, Henrie Cobham esquier, one of the pensioners, and others, departed from London the five and twentieth of Iune 1567, vnto Douer, and there imbarked, landed at Calis, and his traine at Dunkirke, and so passed through the low countries to Antwerpe in Brabant, where he was honourable received by the English merchants and others, and being there went to visit madame de Parma, regent of the said countries, then resident within the

same towne.

From thence he passed vnto Colen, where as his lordship and traine mounted the river of Rhenne, & by sundrie continuall daies iourneies passed by the citie of Ments or Hagunce, vnto Oppenham, & there taking his waie by land, passed through the countrie by the cities of Wormes and Spire till he came to Ulmes, standing on the river of Danow, where hee arrived the one and twentieth of Iulie: and the thre and twentieth his lordship rode in post to Auspurg, called in Latine *Augusta Vindelicorum*, nine Dutch miles from Ulmes. From thence he departed the five and twentieth of Iulie, and met with his traine at Donwert, being come thither vpon flotes downe by the said river of Danow. From thence he kept vpon his iourneie by Ingolstat, Keinspurg, in Latine *Ratisbona*, by Passaw and other townes, till hee came to Linz, where his lordship staid the first, second and thirde of August, by reason of the high waters.

And departing from thence on the fourth of August, he passed by Stoaen & Cremz, by the said river of Danow, and so arrived at the citie of Wienna the sixt of August in this foresaid yeare 1567, where hee was receiued of the lord Smeckouttes, hauing twelue horses readie with their footclothes for his lordship, and the most respected of his traine, and so brought him to the presence of the emperor, at that present within his castell there in that citie, by whom he was right honoprable receiued, and afterwards conducted to his assigned lodging, where as all provision was prepared and made at the emperours charges. Here his lordship continued till the foureteenth of Ianuarie. In which meane time the emperor berie often (as time serued) had the said earle forth with him, vnto such pastimes of hunting the hart, boare, and such like, as the plentifulnesse of that countrie yieldeth. Moreover, during the time of his lordships abode there at Wienna, Charles archduke of Austria and Carinth arrived in that citie, whom my lord went to salute.

After this, vpon the quenes maiesties letters brought out of England by maister Henrie Brooke, alias Cobham, one of hir gentlemen pensioners, the said earle of Suffex vpon sundate the fourth of Ianuarie in the after none, presented and deliuered vnto the emperours maiestie in his chamber of presence, the habiliments and ornaments of the most noble order of the garter, sir Gilbert Dethike knight alias Carter, principall king of arms, and officer for the said order, and William Dethike then Houscroffe, also officer of armes, giuing their attendance in their cotes of armes. And the emperor at his inuesture of the said habiliments, gaue vnto the said Carter his short gowne and vnder garment, furred throughout with luzzers, and then proceeded thence into a great chamber, adornoed in forme of a chappell, where as all the other ceremonies belonging vnto the said noble order were obserued and accomplished. And the same night the said earle supped with the emperours maiestie, both being in their robes of the said order.

Not long after, his lordship with certeine of his companie taking leaue of the emperor, departed from Wienna the fourteenth of Ianuarie aforesaid vnto Iretowstat, and so through the countrie of Stire vnto Gratz the chiefe citie of Carinth, where hee toke also leaue of the said archduke Charles: and from thence returning, passed those parts of the Alpes vnto Salzburch, where he met with the other part of his traine, and so by continuing iourneies came againe into England to the quenes maiestie towards the latter end of March. After a drie summer folowed an extreme sharpe winter, namelie the latter

The iourneies of the earle of Suffex during his abode beyond the seas.

The emperor intertaineth the earle of Suffex.

Charles duke of Austria & the earle of Suffex salute each other.

1568

The earle of Suffex departeth from Wienna, &c.

John Stow. Anno Reg. 10. A sharpe winter following a drie summer.

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ne O'neil,

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Bona regai  
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g ylines  
cotes  
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Reg-9.

Shane O'neil  
engled and  
fist in pe-

Standing  
watch of mid-  
winter main-  
tained in  
London.  
The emperor  
Maximilian  
trailed into  
the order of the  
garter.

Scots  
bered.  
567

countesse  
went be-  
d out of  
uwer.  
en alder  
deceased  
mon.

The earle of  
Suffex visit-  
madame de  
Parma.

latter part therof, with such great scarcitie of fodder and haie, that in diuerse places the same was sold by weight, as in Dorsetshire, and in the Weake of Dorsetshire, where a stone of haie was sold for five pence. There followed also a great death of cattell, namelie of horse and sheepe.

Rich. Grafton.  
The queenes  
ships sent  
forth into the  
narrow seas.

This yeare in the moneth of Januarie, the queens maiestie sent into the narrow seas thre of hir ships, and one barke named the Anthelop, the Swallow, the Aid, and the Hentir, the which were manned with 10 such hundred men. And hir highnesse appointed the charge of the said ships and men to hir trustie seruant William Holfstocke of London esquier, comptrolloz of hir highnesse ships, who had commandement to staie the subjects of king Philip. And according to his dutie he vsed such diligence, as one hauing care vnto his charge, in garding as well the French as the English coasts, did the eleuenth daie of March next following meet with eleuen saile of Flemish hoies open vpon Bullongne, which came 20 from Rone, and had in them foure hundred and od tunns of Gascoigne and French wines, which they intended to haue caried into Flanders; but the said Holfstocke staid all the said eleuen hoies, and sent them to London, where they made their discharge, and the Flemmings disappointed of those wines.

Eleuen saile  
of Flemish  
hoies laden  
with wines  
surprised by  
admerall  
Holfstocke.

Moreover the eight and twentieth daie of the foresaid moneth of March, the said William Holfstocke seruing in the Anthelop (at that present admerall) and in his companie being William Winter the 30 ponger (at that time his viceadmerall) seruing in the Aid, and John Basing capteine of the Swallow, and Thomas Gouarlie capteine of the Hentir met in the narrow seas with foureteene saile of great hulkes, which were come out of Portugall, and bound to Flanders: their chiefe lading being Portugall salt; and yet had good stoe of Spanishe roials of plate, and also of good spices. The which foureteene hulkes did mainteine their fight for the space of two houres.

Six Spanishe  
hulkes laden  
with diuerse  
things taken by  
the English.

And after that they did perceiue that they could not 40 preuaile, hauing tasted of the ordinance of the queens ships to their great hurt, as well in slaughter of their men, as also in spoile of their ships, the said Holfstock and his companie toke eight of the said hulkes, wherof six were sent into the riuer of Thames. And the admerall and viceadmerall in the said hulkes being two great ships (which the said Holfstocke himselfe did take) were caried vnto Harwich, and there discharged.

John Stow.  
Great winds.  
Archbishop of  
York deceased.

The eighteenth of March, through vehement rage 50 and tempest of winds, manie vessels on the Thames with two tiltbotes before Grauesend, were sunke and drowned. The six and twentieth of June, deceased Thomas Wong archbishop of Yorke, at the manour of Sheffield, and was honourable buried at Yorke. The eleuenth of October were taken in Suffolke at Downam bidge, nere vnto Ipswich seuentene monstrous fishes, some of them conteyning seven and twentie fot in length, the other foure and twentie, or one and twentie fot at the least. At the colles 60 and charges of the citizens of London, a new conduit was built at Walbrooke corner nere to Dowgate, which was finished in the moneth of October, the water whereof is conueied out of the Thames.

New conduit  
at walbrooke.

Anno Reg. 11.  
1569  
A Frenchman  
& two Eng-  
lishmen  
executed,  
Muster of  
pensioners.

The seven and twentieth of Januarie, Philip 70 strell a Frenchman, and two Englishmen were drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, the Frenchman quartered, who had coined gold counterfeit, the Englishmen the one had clipped silver, the other cast testons of tin. The eight and twentieth of March, the pensioners well appointed in armor on horsebacke, mustered before the queenes maiestie in Hyde parke beside Westminster. A great lotterie being holden at London in Poules church

yard at the west doze, was begun to be drawne the eleuenth of Januarie, and continued daie and night till the first of Maie, wherein the said drawing was fullie ended. Sir Thomas Ro lord maior of London, caused to be inclosed with a wall of bricke nigh one acre of ground, nere vnto Bedlem without Bishopps gate, to be a place of buriall for the dead of such parishers in London as lacked conuenient churchyard.

Buttall for  
the dead pre-  
pared by Sir  
Thomas Ro  
called of New  
churchyard.

¶ On the southside whereof, ouer a folding gate 70 this inscription is grauen in stone in great letters: Thomas Ro miles, cum prior esset Londoniensis, hunc locum Reipublice, in usum publice sepulture communem, suo sumptu dedicauit: Anno Domini 1569. Which writing I haue here recorded, for that in vieweing the same, I saw some of the letters defaced and bitterlie made awaie: which in time might likewise befall to the residue, and so the memorie of the gentleman there 80 fired to so god an end banish and die. He also of a godlie motion builded a conuenient ronne in Pauls churchyard, on the southside of the crosse, to receiue a certeine number of hearers at the sermon time: as may appeare by some remembrances of his name there fired. Howbeit, this gentleman thus well disposed, and like inough to haue proceeded in more such goodlie actions, was called out of this life the next yeare immediatlie following, forgoing all the pompe of this life, with no lesse god will, than he was forward by death to passe to eternall rest. His bodie was buried in Hacknic church, in the southside of the chancell, where (besides a monu- ment of himselfe and his wife) this epitaph remaineth to be read in faire great letters, as followeth:

A. F.  
The inscrip-  
tion of the  
writing ouer  
the south gate  
of the new  
churchyard.

The death of  
Sir Thomas  
Ro knight  
and lord maior  
of London.

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The earle of  
Southambers  
land and  
westminster  
retired.

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Anno Reg. 12.  
The number  
of rebels 1000  
broken, and  
most fallen.

The earle  
of Southambers  
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Anno Reg. 12.  
The number  
of rebels 1000  
broken, and  
most fallen.

from the one and twentieth unto the eight and twentieth of October, there died in the citie and out partes of all diseases one hundred fiftie and two, of the which, one and fiftie were accounted to die of the plague.

On Thursday the ninth of November, Thomas Percie erle of Northumberland receiued the queens maiesties letters to repaire to the court. And the same night, other conspirators perceiving him to be wavering and vnconstant of promise made to them, caused a servant of his, called Beckwith (after he was laid in his bed) to bustle in, and to knocke at his chamber dore, willing him in hast to arise, and shift for himselfe, for that his enemies (whome he termed to be sir Arnold Wilsrop, and maister Laughton) were about the parke, and had beset him with great numbers of men. Whereupon he arose, & conuicted himselfe awaie to his keepers house. In the same instant they caused the bels of the towne to be rung backward, and so raised as many as they could to their purpose. The next night the earle departed thence to Bramspith, where he met with Charles earle of Westmerland, and the other confederats. Then by sundrie proclamations, they abusing many of the queens subiects, commanded them in his highnesse name, to repaire to them in warlike manner, for the defense and fuerie of his maiesties person; sometimes affirming their doings to be with the aduise and consent of the nobilitie of this realme, who in deed were wholie bent (as manifestlie appeared) to spend their liues in dutifull obedience, against them and all other traitors, sometimes pretending for conscience sake to seeke to reforme religion: sometimes declaring that they were diuenuen to take this matter in hand, least otherwise foreign princes might take it vpon them, to the great perill of this realme.

Vpon mondaie the thirteenth of November, they went to Durham with their banners displayed. And to get the more credit among the fauours of the old Romish religion, they had a crosse with a bannier of the five wounds bozne before them, sometime by old Boston, sometime by others. As soone as they entred Durham, they went to the minster, where they tare the bible, communion bookes, & other such as were there. The same night they went againe to Bramspith. The fourteenth daie of the same moneth, they went to Darlington, and there had masse, which the earles and the rest heard with such lewd deuotion as they had. Then they sent their horsemen, to gather together such numbers of men as they could. The fifteenth daie the earles parted; he of Northumberland to Richmond, then to Northallerton, & so to Boro'wbridge; & he of Westmerland to Ripon, & after to Boro'wbridge, where they both met againe. On the eighteenth daie they went to Wetherbie, and there taried three or foure daies, and vpon Clifford moze, nigh vnto Barmham moze, they mistrusted themselves, at which time they were about two thousand horsemen, and five thousand footmen, which was the greatest number that euer they were. From which they intended to haue marched toward Poike, but their minds being sudderlie altered, they returned.

The thirte and twentieth of November, they besieged Bernards castell, which castell was valiantlie defended by sir George Bowes, and Robert Bowes his brother, the space of eleuen daies, and then deliuered with composition to depart with armes, munition, bag and baggage. In which time the queens maiestie caused the said earles of Northumberland & Westmerland to be proclaimed traitors, with all their adherents and fauoursers, the foure and twentieth of November. The lord Scrope warden of

the west marches, calling vnto him the earle of Cumberland and other gentlemen of the countrie, kept the citie of Carlisle. The earle of Sussex the queens lieutenant generall in the north, published there the like proclamations (in effect) as had bene published by his maiestie against the said rebels, and also sent out to all such gentlemen as he knew to be his maiesties louing subiects vnder his rule, who came vnto him with such numbers of their friends, as he was able in five daies to make about five thousand horsemen and footmen. And so being accompanied with the erle of Rutland his lieutenant, the lord Hunsdon generall of the horsemen, sir Raife Sadler treasurer, the lord William Sycors, that was after appointed to lead the rearward, and diuerse other, that with their tenants and seruants were come to him, remaining as then within the citie of Poike: he set forward from thence the first of December being sundae, and marched with his power which he had thus got together towards the enemies.

Sir George Bowes having surrendered Bernards castell (as before ye haue heard) met the earle of Sussex thus marching forward with his armie at Sisaie, from whence they kept forward to Northallerton: and resting two nights there, they marched on to Crossebridge, then to Aisle, and so to Durham, and after to Newcastell. And the twentieth of December they came to Heram, from whence the rebels were gone the night before to Naworth, where they counselled with Edward Dacres concerning their owne weaknesse, & also how they were not onlie pursued by the earle of Sussex & others with him, hauing a power with them of seven thousand men, being almost at their heeles; but also by the earle of Warwicke, and the lord Clinton, high admerall of England with a far greater armie of twelue thousand men, raised by the queens maiesties commissioners out of the south and middle parts of the realme. In which armie beside the earle of Warwicke, & the lord admerall, chiefe governors in the same, there was also Walter Deuereux vicount Hereford high marshall of the field, with the lord Willoughbie of Perham, maister Charles Howard, now lord Howard of Effingham, generall of the horsemen vnder the earle of Warwicke, yong Henrie Knols eldest sonne to sir Francis Knols, his lieutenant, Edward Hopte captaine of the Ile of Wight, with five hundred barquebushers out of the same Ile, and captaine Leighton with other five hundred barquebushers Londoners, and many other worthy gentlemen and ballant captains.

The coming forward of these forces caused the rebels so much to quake in courage, that they durst not abide to trie the matter with dint of sword. For whereas the earle of Warwicke, and the lord admerall, being advanced forward to Darlington, ment the next daie to haue sent Robert Clouer then Portculet, and now Somerset herald (who in his iourneie attended on the lord admerall, as Portculet king of armes did vpon the earle of Warwicke) vnto the rebels, vpon such message as for the time and state of things was thought conuenient: the same night aduertisements came from the earle of Sussex vnto the earle of Warwicke, and to the lord admerall, that the two earles of Northumberland and Westmerland were fled; as the truth was they were indeed, first from Durham, whither the said Clouer should haue bene sent vnto them: and now vpon the earle of Sussex his coming vnto Erham, they thence quite awaie, and fled into Scotland, without bidding their companie farewell. The earle of Warwicke and his power marched on to Durham. But the earle of Sussex pursuing those other rebels that had

The earle of Sussex went against the rebels.

The earle of Rutland and the lord Hunsdon, with others against the rebels.

The rebels and Edward Dacres consulted about their weaknesse.

The earle of Warwicke and the lord admerall Clinton, sent against the rebels.

The rebels dare not stand to the trial of battell.

The earles of Northumberland and Westmerland fled into Scotland.

arrest for dead pre- red by the houses of the new archyard.

F.

he inscrip- in of Sep- ing over the uth gate of a new archyard.

he death of Thomas o knight in lord mayor London.

he epitaph for Thomas o, wherein is fine male in female is intened.

Imbassadors from Sigismond land at over wharfe.

Terme ad- journed.

Duke of Northfolke out to the over.

Do maies cast at Wind- sail.

The earle of Northumberland and Westmerland.

The earle of Rutland and the lord Hunsdon.

The earle of Warwicke and the lord admerall Clinton.

The earle of Northumberland and Westmerland.

The earle of Northumberland and Westmerland.

The earle of Northumberland and Westmerland.

The earle of Northumberland and Westmerland.

not meane to flie out of the realme, apprehended no small number of them at his pleasure, without finding any resistance among them at all.

1570  
Rebels  
executed at  
Durham.

A prentise  
hanged in  
London for  
killing his  
maister.

Rich. Grafton.  
Lord Leo-  
nard Wacres  
rebelleth.

The lord  
Wacres reas-  
die with his  
power to set  
upon the lord  
of Hunsdon.

Stout wo-  
men among  
the rebels.

Leonard Wa-  
cres put to  
flight taketh  
his waie into  
Scotland.

John Stow.  
Rebels  
executed at  
Yorke.

The fourth and fift of Januarie did suffer at Durham to the number of thre score and six, constables and others, amongst whom the alderman of the towne and a priest called parson Plomtre were the most notable. When sir George Wolves being made marshall, finding manie to be fautors in the foresaid rebellion, did see them executed in diuerse places of the countrie. The one and twentieth of Januarie a prentise of London was hanged on a gibet at the north end of Finch lane in London (to the example of others) for that he the thirtieth of December had stricken his maister with a knife whereof he died.

About the later end of Januarie, Leonard Wacres of Harlesie began to rebell, and procured the people of the north parts to assist him: so that he raised to the number of thre thousand men. Of whose attempts when the lord Hunsdon lord warden of the east marches, and gouernor of Berwike heard, he prepared to go against him: and having with him sir John Foster lord warden of the middle marches, they set forward towards the place where they thought they should find him. They had with them 300 chosen soldiers of the garrison of Berwike, and twelue hundred borderers, and other of the garrisons there about the borders: so that they were in all fiftene hundred footmen and horsemen. They marching therewith forth approached nere to a towne and castell called Hallowth, which was in the keeping of the said Leonard Wacres. And upon a moze, through the middle whereof a little river called Cheltham his course, the said Leonard Wacres the two and twentieth of Februarie was readie with his power in order of battell, ranged & set in arrate after the forme of a triangle, compassed and inuironed about with horsemen. And now upon the lord Hunsdon's approach, the said Wacres with great and stout courage gaue an hardie onset upon the said lord Hunsdon and his companie, nere vnto the foresaid river.

The fight was sharpe and cruell, and the euent verie doubtfull for a while: the rebels were so stiffelie bent to doe their uttermost indeuor in defense of their wicked quarrell. There were amongst them manie desperat women that gaue the aduenture of their liues, and fought right frontlie. Manie therfore were slaine on both sides, to the number at the least of thre hundred persons. But such was the forward valencie of the lord Hunsdon, that his people incouraged by his example (whome they might see so noble acquit himselfe, in aduenturing so farre as any other of the whole troupe behaued themselves in such manfull wise, that the victorie in the end fell to him and his companie: and the said Leonard Wacres was forced to flie from his felie slaine and miserable people, taking his waie into Scotland, so fast as his horse might beare him. Captaine Keade and the other captains and soldiers of Berwike bare themselves right baliante, and shewed proofe of their skill and hardie manhood in this skirmish. After the which these holds and castles were taken and deliuered vnto the said lord Hunsdon: Hallowth which was committed vnto the keeping of maister Scrope, Kestwood, Greistocke and Kockleie, which were deliuered to the keeping of diuerse of the duke of Suffolks officers.

On good fridaye the seauen and twentieth of March Simon Digbie of Aske, John Fulthorpe of Silbecke in the countie of Yorke esquires, Robert Denham of Stokesleie, Thomas Bishop the younger of Pockinton in the same countie of Yorke, gentlemen, were dyaned from the castell of Yorke to the

place of execution called Hauesmore, halfe a mile without the citie of Yorke, and there hanged, beheaded, and quartered; their foure heads were set on foure principall gates of the citie, with foure of their quarters; the other in diuerse places of the countrie. A clope Clesbe was with them dyaned to the gallows, and returned againe to the castell. William earle of Penbroke baron of Cardiffe, knight of the garter, one of the priue counsell, and lord steward of the queens maiesties household, deceased the eighteenth of Aprill, and was buried in saint Pauls church at London. This noble man liued in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth, and was by euerie of the sayd princes imployed in matters of great importance: and for his good and faithfull seruice greatlie honored, as appereth in an epitaph fired vpon his toome in the cathedrall church of saint Paule in London, which I thought good here to laie downe.

### Perpetuae pietati sacrum.

**G**uilielmo Herberto Penbrochia comiti, equiti aurato prae nobilis ordinis Anglici: Hen. viij. R. A cubiculo: Edoard. vi. Regnum magistro: Wallia praefidi. Tumultu occidentali cum regisello & Graio baronibus paribus auspicijs summa rerum proposito: Maria R. contra perduelles, ac expeditione ad Augustam Peromanduorum bis, totius exercitus duci: bis summo in agro Caletum, limitum praefecto: Elisab. R. officiarum seu Magna Regia magistro. Pariter & Domina Anna ex vetusta Parrorum gente oriunda, Sorori Catharina R. Henr. viij. R. vi. matrimonio coniunctae, ac Marchionis Northampton: Prudentijs, fœminae, pietatis, religionis, probitatis omnique auitae virtutis retinentis, fidei. Comitiss coniugi: Henr. F. ac comes, Ep. chariss. sibi ac suis marent, P.

Obijt { etatis } Ann. { 63. }  
{ saluti } { 1569. }  
Liberis reliquis ex prima.  
Henrico Pemb. Comite.  
Edoardo equite Aurato.  
Domina Anna Baroni Talbot nupta.

Secunda coniuge superstitie, Georgio Salopia comite gentia insigni praefer antiquum probitatis decus, virtute fœmina.]

The earle of Suffe, in reuenge of the enill demeanour of the Scots inhabiting nere to the English marches, as well in receiuing and succouring diuerse of the English rebels, as other naughtie practices, assembled such forces as he thought expedient in the night that followed the seauen and twentieth of Aprill, and having with him the lord Hunsdon gouernour of Berwike and lord warden of the east marches, sir William Dourie marshall of the said armie and towne of Berwike, came to Warke, being twelue miles distant from the said towne of Berwike: & then the next daie being the eighteenth of the same moneth, they entered into Widdall in Scotland, where marching in warlike order, they burned, ouerthrew, wasted and spoiled all the castles, townes and villages, as they passed, till they came to a towne called the Posse towne, standing in a marsh, and belonging to the lord of Bucleugh, which likewise was raised, ouerthowne and burned: and so marching forward, wasted the whole countrie before them, until they came to a great towne called Crapling.

The same daie sir John Foster warden of the middle marches, with all the garrisons and forces of the same, entered likewise into Widdall at Chelgate, distant sixtene miles from Warke, where in like order they burned and spoiled the countrie before them, till they came to a castell in the possession of

The earle of  
Penbroke  
deceased.

D. Powell  
bist. Camb. reg.  
399.

They come to  
Yedworth  
and are inter-  
rined.

The lord of  
Hallowth with  
the principalls  
of his allies  
submit them-  
selves.

The call of  
Fermers  
burned.

The Scots  
with the  
mies met.

The Scots  
of Hallowth  
their breach of  
covenant.

The earle of  
Suffe  
land.

The earle of  
Suffe  
tower.

The lord  
of Widdall  
these goods  
were saved  
from the fire.

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of the lard of Fernherst, being parcell of his sons lands, which likewise was overthowne, rased, and burned, with all other castels, piles, towne, and villages, all alongst the said countrie, till they came to Crantling, joining there with the lord lieutenant's power. This towne was likewise burned and spoiled. Thus they passed the river of Tuet, rasing, burning, and spoiling the castels, piles, stone houses, towne, and villages alongst that river, untill they came to Jedworth, where they lodged for that night, and were of the magistrats of that towne courteously received, who had made indifferent good provision for the armie, both of vittels for men, and of baie and powder for horses. Whereupon proclamation was publickly made in the name of the lord lieutenant, that no Englishman (upon paine of death) should disturbe or wrongfullie take awaye any thing from any of the inhabitants of the same towne, without disbursing readie monie therfore. Which thing did so much content the Scots, that the next daie the lard of Bedford, warden of the middle marches of Scotland, with all the principals of his allies and kinred, came in to the lord lieutenant, submitting themselves to him, and were received into assurance: for that neither he nor any of them had at any time received the English rebels, neither aided nor assisted them, neither yet made any invasion into England. And whereas some of their men, and tenants, with out their knowledge had trespassed in such behalfe, they were contented to abide and stand unto the erle of Sussex his order, for their said men and tenants. And hereupon neither they nor any of theirs received any hurt: but by his lordships commandement were preserved from sustaining any damage either in bodie or goods: so glad he was of their submission, and no lesse glad to give them occasion to be careful in performance of obedience. Unto which compassion on God (no doubt) had inclined the noble mans hart, according to the poet words in this sence verie true:

*molliora pectora reddit*

*Ad pietatis opus, flammis ut cera liquescens  
In varias formas scilicet ducitur arte.*

The nineteenth daie, the armie was divided into two severall parts, whereof one passing over the river of Tuet, burned the castell of Fernherst, utterly spoiling the same, and all other castels & towne that belonged to the lards of Fernherst, Huntill, and Bedpoll, and so passed to Spinto, where both the armies meeting, joined together againe, being not past a foure miles from Hothke, whither they marched breake, intending to lodge there that night, because the bailiffs of the towne had offered to receive the whole armie, and to make provision for the soldiers of all things necessarie, they paying readie monie for the same, and the inhabitants to be assured not to be hurt in bodie or goods, as was promised. But the Scots breaking the covenant before the coming thither of the armie, had uncovered their houses, carried the thatch into the streets, and there set it on fire: and this done they fled their waies with most part of their goods. So that when the armie approached, there was such a thicke smoke, that no man might scarce enter the towne: and so for that night the soldiers suffered great lacke of vittels, lodging, and provision, as well for themselves as their horses. But the fire which the Scots had of a malicious purpose and subtiltie thus begun, was by the diligent industrie of the Englishmen so increased: that both the thatch and timber of the whole towne was consumed to ashes, a stone house pertaining to the lard of Dunlakerie onlie excepted, wherein the lord lieutenant late that night. And because the said Dunlakerie was a friend assured, the said house was spared, with all the goods and coines therein, whereof

there was great plentie.

The twentieth of Aprill, the armie marched toward a faire proper house, belonging to the lard of Bucleugh, which was blowne up with powder and utterly ruined. Here the armie was againe divided as before by the said lord lieutenant his appointment, and marching by north the river of Tuet towards England, they burnt and spoiled all such castels, piles, towne, and villages, as were belonging to the said lards of Fernherst and Bucleugh their kinsmen, allies, and adherents, & came that night againe to Jedworth, and there lodged. The one and twentieth of Aprill, the armie dividing it selfe againe, the one part under the leading of the marshall sir William Durie, passed to the river of Bowbent, and there Muidale and Riddesdale men meeting him, all on both sides that river was burnt and spoiled. The other part of the armie marching by the river of Galle, wasted and burnt in like manner there all that was found on both sides that river, belonging whole to the lard of Bucleugh, his kinsmen, allies and adherents.

This done, they returned againe nere to Kelsie, where the lord lieutenant lodged for that night, meaning to have besieged Hume castell. For the accomplishment thereof, the same night the lord of Hunsdon and his companie went to Marke, to bring from thence the daie next following the great artillerie. But because the carriage horses were returned to Barwike, this could not be brought to passe, & so the lord lieutenant with the whole armie returning into England the two & twentieth of Aprill, came that night to Barwike. In this tourneie there were rased, overthowne and spoiled, above fiftie castels and piles, and more than three hundred towne and villages: so that there were verie few in Muidale and those parties thereabouts, which had either received the English rebels, or by invasion indamaged the English borders, and good suburbs inhabiting upon the same, that had left to them either castell, pile or house, for themselves, their friends, or tenants, beside the great losse of goods which were wasted, taken awaye or consumed by this armie under the lord lieutenant.

Now in the meane while that he with his power thus afflicted the adversaries on that side, the lord Scrope warden of the west marches the eighteenth of Aprill entered Scotland on that side, with such forces as he had assembled. And the first night they incamped at Eglesham, and in the morning at the dislodging of the campe, that towne was burnt; and passing forward through the countrie, they burnt and spoiled diverse other towne, almost till they came to Dunfrise, and had diverse conflicts with the enemies, gave them sundrie overthowes, took manie of them prisoners. And having accomplished his purpose, to his high praise and commendation, his lordship returned in safetie with his people into England; having burnt in that tourneie these places following: Hoddon, Trailebrow, old Cockpole, Aberington, Blackethaw, Banke end, Kowell, Logher wood, Wyde kirke, and others. During these invasions thus made into Scotland in that season, the marches of England were so strongly garded in all places by the lord Evers, sir George Holmes, and others; that the Scots durst not so much as once offer to make any invasion: so that in absence of the armies, there was not so much as an house burnt, or a cow driven out of the English borders.

The first and twentieth of Aprill, the earle of Sussex lord lieutenant, accompanied with the foresaid lord of Hunsdon, master Durie, and divers other capitains and soldiers, to the number of three thousand or thereabouts, set from Barwike about five of the

In house of the lard of Bucleugh, which was blowne up with powder.

Nothing but wast & spoile by fire and sword.

The lord lieutenant's purpose to besiege Hume castell.

What castels & piles were overthowne and spoiled in this voyage.

The lord Scrope with his power.

The marches of England garded against the enemy.

he earle of cuthbert was killed.

Dowell in the camp.

The lard of Bedford with his principals did submit themselves.

The castell of Fernherst burned.

The Scots of Hothke were much of the count.

The Scots of Hothke were much of the count.

The earle of Sussex with his Scots and.

The Hothke over.

Sir John Foster with his companie entered into Muidale.

clocke in the afternoone towards Marke, where they  
arrived about nine of the clocke in the night : and  
continuing there till the next morning, in the meane  
time he put things in order necessarie for the alleg-  
ging of Hume castell, the winning whereof his lord-  
ship seemed to haue solued . About the breake of the  
daie he sent forth master Durie, with certeine ho-  
men and shot before , to inuiron that castell , and to  
chose there such a plot of ground, where he might in-  
campe best in safetie fro the shot of the same . Which  
the said master Durie accordingly performed, and  
there remained till the committing of the said lord  
lieutenant with the armie ; who setting forward the  
footbards, carriage, and ordinance, made hast to fol-  
low. But yet yet he could passe the river of Tweed,  
and set ouer all the men , ordinance and carriage, it  
was almost ten of the clocke. Where at this river, the  
lord lieutenant caused all the hoisemen to staie and  
to take ouer the footmen.

The order taken by the earle of Suffex for the safety of the armie.

Thune castell  
besieged.

The earle of  
Suffex view-  
eth the castell  
of Hume.

A Mount  
raised at the  
lord lieute-  
nants com-  
mandement.

Batterie  
made against  
Dume castle.

with also the lord lieutenant caused summons to be given unto them within to yield. And about leauen of the clocke the same morning, the whole fire began to go off, and a great shot was made by the armie, to the great terrour of the defendants, and of all the countrie nere adioining. The forsaide peeces continued shooting till two of the clocke in the afternoon, discharging within that space a three score shots. During the time of this batterie, there was no great store of shot discharged by the great peeces within the castell, because their master gunner with in, after he had first shot off a peece, and done no hurt therewith, as he was about to shot againe, the master gunner of the two English falcons hauing espied him, toke his leuell so right, that discharging therewith one of the falcons, he displaced the enimies peece, and strooke the gunners leg off, whereby their great ordinance within ceased, which was an happy turne for the Englishmen.

About two of the clocke they within sent forth a trumpet vnto the lord lieutenant, requiring a respite that they might talke with the marshall master Durrrie, and to send a messenger to the lord Humc the master, to know his further pleasure: for that being put in trust by him with the keeping of that fortreffe, they could not giue it by without his consent. And then vpon the returne of the messenger, they trusted to giue his lordship contented answer. The marshall master Durrrie talked with them twise, and the lord lieutenant was contented to grant vnto William Trotter, and Gilbert Greie the lord humes wines brother (being principall captaine appointed to the keeping of the said castell) three houres respite: with condition, that they should not vse therein anie subtiltie, or for the delaing of time: swearing by his honour, that if they so did, he would not depart the field till he had wone it by force: and further, that there should not one of them escape with life.

40 They being brought in doubt of their owne safe-  
ties hereby, sent one in post together with a seruant  
of master Wyrie the marshall, to the lord Hume.  
And presentlie herebpon they shewed themselves  
vpon the walles and rampires of the said castell: but  
immediatlie the lord lieutenant sent to them a com-  
mandement, stricte inhibiting them, that not  
one of them should once on paine of death looke out  
the wals or rampires, to the end to viewe the breach  
of the batterie, forsomuch as in the time of parley it  
was against the late of armes so to doe. But now the  
50 messenger that was thus sent to the lord Hume, com-  
ming to him, declared in what case his house and  
people stood, who being (as was supposed) not so farre  
off, that he might heare howe fusillie the Eng-  
lish canons did canuasse and batter his humillie cas-  
tled walles, did now agree to meet the marshall mas-  
ter Wyrie two miles distant from the said cas-  
tell, and there to commune further with him in that  
matter.

60 Upon the coming backe of the messenger with this answer, the lord lieutenant thought good to send the said master Durie unto the place appointed : who coming thither met with the said lord Hume. And after they had debated the matter together, at length the lord Hume was contented that the castell should be surrendered into the hands of the lord lieutenant : with condition, that his people therein might depart with life : which the lord lieutenant was contented to grant, so that there were no English men among them. Here upon about eight of the clocke in the evening, the gates were opened, and the keyes delivered to the marshall : who presented them to the lord lieutenant : and then the lord Hume, the said marshall, and divers other gentlemen entered into the castell, and by a by toke possession thereof.

Two Eng:  
In men stait  
and after exe:  
cuted.

The master  
gunner with  
in the castle  
here.

The Scots  
sue for a re-  
spit of war.

Captaine  
wod and cap.  
tine Dis=  
mail.

The captain  
Southern Home  
castle.

The lord  
lieutenant  
of ar  
agus,

The lord  
lieutenant  
sweareth.

John Stow,  
Englishmen  
put into the  
castell to  
keepe it.

The lord  
lieutenant  
commander  
ment on page  
of death

The earle of  
Chatelleraul  
his complices  
purpose war  
against the  
hangs part.

The castle  
burned down  
and to the  
castle.

possession thereof in the queene of Englands name, pulled downe their banner of defiance, and in place thereof set up the English banners, against all those in Scotland that would saie the contrarie.

The Scots that were within it, being in number an hundred thre score and eight persons, were put out in their common wearing apparell, without armour, weapon, or anie baggage. They comming to the lord lieutenant that was then at the place of the batterie on horsebacke, presented themselves to him: who according to his word and promise of honour, caused them to be safely conducted through the watch and scouts, to such place as they required. Amongst them there were two Englishmen, the one of them named Willard, the earle of Northumberland's man, the other was a vagrant person, or a roge (as we may call him) named William God saue his alms Lions, which both were caried to Barwicke, & there executed the thirtieth of Maie next ensuing. In all this siege there were but foure persons slaine on both parts, two Scots, & two Englishmen: but there were manie hurt as well on the one part as the other. The castell of Hume being thus wonne, the lord lieutenant the morow after placed therein to keepe the house to the queenes maiesties use, capitaine Wood, and capitaine Whiman, with two hundred souldiours. This done, his lordship returned towards England and came to Barwicke. During this siege there were diuerse towne and villages, situate within thre or foure miles of the campe, set on fire by the Englishmen, and utterly spoiled. The lord lieutenant vpon his returne to Barwicke, staied there for a time verie euill at ease, hauing in trauell about the siege taken such cold, as therewith he was brought into an extreame ague.

The fourth of Maie, his lordship sent maister William Durie the marshall of Barwicke, accompanied with diuerse gentlemen and capitaines, hauing with them about two thousand souldiours, to take Fast castell: the which vpon the first summons was deliuered into his hands, who receiuing the keys being presented to him, entered the hold, and toke possession thereof, in the queenes maiesties name: and expelling the Scots, being about the number of halfe a score (who according to covenant were suffered to depart with their liues saved) he put ten, or (as some haue) foureteene Englishmen into that castell, which were thought able and number sufficient enough to keepe it against all the power of Scotland, the situation thereof is so strong.

In this meane time the troubles increasing among the Scots, by reason of the murder committed in the person of the earle of Shurreie the late gouernour, the duke of Chatellerault, and other his partakers gathered a power of thre thousand men, and comming to Lithquo, midwaie betwixt Sterling and Edinburgh, remained there for a time, and afterwards came to Edinburgh, in purpose to make warre against the lords of the kings part, who hauing sent to the earle of Lennox, then remaining in England, earnestlie requested him to repaire into Scotland. Wherevpon he by the queenes maiesties licence, toke his tourneie thitherwards, and came to Barwicke, where he was also visited with sicknesse, and so remained certeine daies in that towne. And vnderstanding that the said duke of Chatelleraults power was such, that the lords of the kings side were not able to come together, nor he to go to them without the queene of Englands aid, he humble sued vnto his maiestie by letters to haue some power by his appointment to conduct him into Scotland, and there to aid him and the other lords of that side against their aduersaries the duke and his complices. Wherevpon by his maiesties com-

mandement, the earle of Suffre, as yet not fullie recovered of his sicknesse, ordeined maister William Durie the marshall of Barwicke, with such forces as were thought conuenient to go with the said earle of Lennox, for the execution of such exploits in seruice as seemed most expedient. And about the same time, to wit the first of Maie, the lord Scrope lord warden of the west marches, made a rode into Scotland, incamping the first night on the hither side of the water of Annan, and the next daie marched towards the water of Milke, burning and spoiling all on that side of Annandale, namelie the lard Johnstons lands; finding small resistance, sauing that the forre was a little troubled with a foztie or fiftie Scots horsemen; and so hauing done his pleasure, he quietlie returned, without receiving other impeachment: notwithstanding the lord Herries was in Dunblane, hauing gathered a great power, in purpose to hinder his enterprise.

But now to returne to the earle of Suffre, who hauing instituted sir William Durie generall of those bands that should passe with the earle of Lennox into Scotland: because each gentleman, souldior, and seuerall bands should dutifullie obey the said sir William their new ordeined generall in all points of warlike order, the said earle made proclamation in such pithie fozme and manner, as throughlie expessed the whole substance of the seruice, the vnsuertie of the season, the strange and malicious dealing of diuerse aduersaries: which points he cunninglie handled, as the excellencie of a perfect orator appeared fullie in his speech. At whose eloquence the hearers rather seemed astonished than vnsatisfied in anie point or parcell of those matters: for he opened the verie bowels of rebellion, the practices of enmities, and suborning of traitors: and therefore persuaded euerie honest mind to haue a dutifull consideration of his prince and countrie, in the defense and libertie whereof, both life, lands, and goods, are all waies to be offered.

After which oration in respect of further aduancement as the custome is (for seruice past, and incongruement to proceed in the like worthe doings) he made these knights: Sir William Durie, sir Thomas Spanners, sir George Careie, and sir Robert Constable, and placing the said sir William Durie the appointed generall in full authoritie, he committed them to God, and the good conduct of their chiefeiteine. Now hauing heard the lord lieutenant thus speake, and seeing the means that he vied to incourage them against the enimie; how could they one with another but be in mind, euen with the hazzard of their hearts, to performe to their power no lesse than he in speech implied: How could they (I saie) but venture life and lim, hauing so often seene the perillous enterprises which he himselfe vnder-toke against fozren hostilitie, as to his owne danger so to the high praise of his herocall prowesse: and not without desert, as one verie well noteth, saing;

— *Satrapas praecursum fortis & audax,  
Elisabetha tui speciosi corporis acer  
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus  
Quodlibet, immo & A mortis pectore campo.*

The same daie being the eleuenth of Maie, diuerse foot bands with shot and armed pikes were set forward into Scotland, with certeine peces of artillerie, powder, and munition in good quantitie. First capitaine Wickwell with his ensignes departed the towne, and then the companies of capitaine Head, capitaine Caruell, capitaine Gamie, capitaine Lamibord, and capitaine Crington. These old bands of Barwicke contained five hundred souldiours.

After them followed the companie of sir Robert Constable, their sergeant maior of the hundred

Master William Durie  
goeth with  
the earle of  
Lennox against  
the earle of  
Chatellerault, &c.

The lord lieutenant's oration  
on imploring  
obedience of  
the souldiours  
to their new  
generall.

Knights  
made by the  
earle of Suffre.

Comes Suffreus  
Camerarius,

CCCCC. I. shot,

shot, and the companie of sir Thomas Spaners of two hundred shot. Lastlie marched forth capteine John Constable, and capteine Barwike with two hundred armed men. These twelue hundred footmen with fise ensignes marched that night to Coldingham. Also for the better assurance of covenants and promises made on the behalfe of such lords of Scotland, as had made sute for this aid to be sent into their countrie for their assistance against them of the contrarie faction, there were certeine hostages sent into England by the same lords as it was thought expedient, for doubt of double dealing. The twelue of Maie, they marched forward, and the same daie sir William Dzurie, the earle of Lennox, and the other new made knights, with the horsemen, departed from Barwike, and at the pceere nere to Dunglas they overtooke the footmen, and the same night all the horsemen and footmen came and incamped together at Dunbar, being in all not past firtene hundred men. They had foure field peeces with them, & good store of powder. The next day being the thirtenth of Maie, and Whit-sun euen, they made such speed in their march, that they came vnto Edenburgh, where they found the earles of Spinton, Spar, Glencarne, the lords Rithwen, Lindseie, Simple, Clames, Methuen, Dgilltree, and Catcart, with diuers other gentlemen.

Where also they vnderstood that the duke of Chatellerault and his partakers were departed from Lithquo, whither they were retired backe againe from Edenburgh, on knowledge had that the Englishmen were comming forwards towards them. The fourteenth and fiftenth day they laie still in Edenburgh, and the morrow after being the sixteenth of that moneth, they marched forwards to Lithquo, and lodged in that towne that night, where they received aduertisements that the said duke of Chatellerault had broken vp his campe, after he had vpon his departure from the said towne of Lithquo attempted the winning of the castell of Glasco, & misling his purpose there, was driven to retire with dishonour. The next morning being wednesdaye, the armie marched forwards, and the footmen laie that night at a place called Faulkirke, a sir miles from Lithquo: but the generall with the horsemen rode sir miles further vnto Sterling, where they saw the yong king. The next daie being the eighteenth of Maie, sir Robert Constable, Sargent Maier, with the rest of the captains of the twelue hundred English footmen, & two hundred Scots footmen, the which were most part shot, marched a long iourneie, and came to lodge that night at Glasco, and the generall sir William Dzurie came to them with the horsemen, and the most part of the noble men of Scotland that were on the kings side, which entred the towne and lodged in the same, with manie horsemen and footmen.

The duke of Chatellerault (as ye haue heard) had bene there, and besieged the castell that belonged to the king, but hearing of the Englishmens comming two daies before their appoaching thither, he raised his siege, and departed thence, with the losse of nine and twentie of his men. The nineteenth of Maie, sir William Dzurie generall of the English power, being determined aforehand on a iourneie towards Dunbretton, sent forth that morning before certeine vauentours on horsebacke, to staie all such as they found vpon the waie. This done, he toke with him certeine gentlemen, and some shot, and rode forth towards Dunbretton, to view the straits and situation of that castell, within the which were at that present the lord Fleming, that toke vpon him as capteine thereof, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and other their adherents, friends to the duke of Chatellerault,

and enimies to the lords that were about the king.

After sir William Dzurie had viewed the castell, and taken the plot of the situation thereof, he sent his trumpet to know who were within it, and to whose vse they kept it. They within the castell required to know what he was that sent to know the same. It was answered that it was the queene of Englands generall of his forces there in Scotland that made the demand. Wherevnto answer was returned, that they knew well he was not so ignorant as he seemed (as in deed he was not) but that he did well know that this castell was, and of long time had bene kept by the lord Fleming: and that accordingly by him, his friends and seruants it was now maintained. Which answer being reported to the generall, he sent againe his trumpet, to know if the lord Fleming would come forth and parlee vpon assurance of honour to returne safelie. Wherevnto the lord Fleming consented, although not meaning so to do: but by a subtill practise (as was thought) intended to wind him within danger. For there were some harquebusers secretlie couched in covert, within whose reach when the generall was come himselfe alone on horsebacke, most dishonestlie (his trumpet not yet being returned) they shot at him with great despite, meaning to haue killed him, without anie regard to the law of armes, or feare of God. But through the goodnes of the Lord almightie, that wicked practise missed the pretended effect: for that worthy English knight received no bodilie hurt, but perceiving the ir dealings, with a bold courage he bestowed his pistols as frilie at them as they did their harquebuse shot at him, and so returned to his companie backe againe in safetie, yielding to God due honour and thanks for his mercifull deliuerance from such a murderous practise of his deadlie foes.

Vpon a new occasion to vnderstand the certaintie of that, whereof he had some inkling, the one and twentieth of Maie, sir William Dzurie accompanied with the said gentlemen and horsemen, went againe towards Dunbretton, to parlee with the lord Fleming vpon his further promise, that he would meet him three miles from the said castell. Wherevpon the said sir William Dzurie sent an Englishman and a Scottishman to view the ground, which should be appointed forth for their meeting, which they found to be so nere to the castell, as was subiect to all their shot both great and small, and cleane contrarie to the promise: and so they declared to the capteine named John Fleming, that was sent forth of the castell to appoint the same, how it was neither indifferent nor meet for such a purpose. The capteine answered, that his maister was a man of honour, and stood vpon the same, and therefore would not hazard himselfe among horsemen wholie without the danger of the pceere. Whereto the messengers replied, that the lord Fleming for his late euill dealing, was not to be credited in this case; neither comparable to the generall of the English armie, for he was there for the queene of England. And further they said, that for so much as they had of late dealt so vntrustlie contrarie to promise and the law of armes, and thereby so greatly cracked their credits, stained their honesties and honour: they could not but wish that their generall should be well aduised, yer he did hazard himselfe a nie more within their danger vpon their fliperie promises, except they would appoint some other place of parlee, as might be thought indifferent, according to their former offers, which would not be granted, and so they departed. Immediatlie wherevpon, to shew some pceere of their double dealings, and vnfaithfull practises towards the Englishmen: the Scots within the castell presentlie sent after the messengers

Hostages delivered by the Scottish lords on the kings side.

The horsemen and footmen incamped at Dunbar.

Scottish lords of the kings side.

The duke of Chatellerault broken by his campe.

The yong king at Sterling.

The generall goeth to view Dunbretton,

The generall sendeth to know who was within the castell.

The lord Fleming to requie to come to parlee with the generall.

The dishonest dealing of the lord Fleming.

Sir William Dzurie goeth againe towards Dunbretton.

The gentlemen to view the ground where they should meet with the lord Fleming.

This is a common fault in the Scots.

The lord Fleming to requie to come to parlee with the generall.

messengers they by them he saw that said

For meanie simple had bet George that br earnest and offe sith it should i shoring ked sir fiod his termoid his com be other is so rei of arme therein mation waies to an Fleming.

A



stained genera shooting fouldies to your accollo redlie p commo state, to conf with a best vni why, reded pot is prese mine n case th: teine i mine i wile i trumpi the hel In the Glasco



bilieie trainet false a came b

leaguers a culuering shot for a farewell. Thus did they by practise iustifie the opinion that strangers to them haue long conceived of their dealing: and which he saw full well (perhaps also proued in some part) that said of the Scottish nations vntrustinesse, &c:

*grauis pectus abundat  
Fraudibus ingentibus & non eget arte magistra.*

Sir William Durie then perceiuing that the meaning of the lord Fleming was not to deale simple in this matter, touching a conference to be had betwixt them, returned to Glasco, where sir George Careie being maruellouslie inflamed with that vnhonest dealing of the lord Fleming, made earnest sute to the generall that he might send to him and offer him the combat in triall of this quarrell, sith it was moze requisit that a gentleman souldier should stand in those questions than a generall, considering his calling and office. The generall thanked sir George verie courtcouslie, but yet said, that it stood him vpon to search out these matters to the vttermost (as he would haue done in deed) were not his commission and charge (as was well knowne) to be otherwise imployed: Yet (quoth he) sith your sute is so reasonable (and the whole companie and lawes of armes alloweth of it) I grant your request, and therein do as best shall seme to your birth and estimation. Herevpon sir George Careie straightwaies deuised a letter of challenge, and deliuered it to an herald to beare from him vnto the said lord Fleming, the tenour whereof here insueth.

A copie of sir George Careis  
foresaid letter to the lord Fleming.

**I**N DED Fleming, if either your birth or bringing by had wrought in you a noble mind, or estimation of credit, hardlie would you haue so much forgotten and stained your honour, as in a parlex of late with our generall you did. At whom velleit and vnhonorable shooting, you falsed that assurance of warre which souldiers submit themselves vnto: and trained him to your treason vnder trust, a thing heretofore not accustomed, nor presentlie to be allowed of. The assuriedlie pretending your owne and your friends good, commoditie to your countrie, and quietnesse to the state, twice abased and submitted himselfe, comming to confer with you thereof: but your pride ioined with a harmful meaning, to those that you professe best vnto, and selfe wilfull vaine glozie, without cause why, refused that which reason and honour commanded you to haue done. Therefore, because his calling is presentlie with his charge better than yours, and mine not inferior: I summon you reasonable to excuse that fault supposed to be yours, or else to mainteine that traitorous act with your person against mine in fight, when, where, or how you dare. Otherwise I will bassull your good name, sound with the trumpet your dishonour, and paint your picture with the heels byward, and beare it in despite of your selfe. In the meane time I attend your answer. From Glasco, the 22 of Maie 1570.

*Subscribed George Careie.*

The copie of the lord Flemings  
answer.

**G**EORGE Careie, I haue receiued your vaineleffe letter, making mention of my false and treasonable dealing against your generall, in shooting vnder trust, so velleit against my honour and truth, traitorouslie trained him vnder my trust: which is altogether false and vntreue. And howbeit your generall came by the house of Douglas by my appointment,

which I suffered, and I appointed one place of meeting, six men of either partie which he refused, and he departed, and certeine of his companie came bagging by the rivers side towards the house, besieging the same and the ground thereabouts, shooting your harquebusses against the same: I could do no lesse but present you with such as I had. Whereas you write of your generals calling to be presentlie better than mine, and yours not inferior: when your generall challengeth me therof, I shall giue answer. And as for you, I will not be inferior to a better than you, or anie souldier vnder your generals charge. Whereas you summon me (as you call it) reasonable to excuse that fault supposed to be mine owne, or else to mainteine that traitorous act with my person against yours: you shall wit, I haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers to me, as ye are to your generall, which may be your fellows, shall defend the same against you and your false and vntreue inuented writing: and were not the charge I present, or how some I can be relieved of the same, I should lowlie my person to meet you six English miles, or anie other person. Howbeit ye be but one souldier, assure your selfe from this date forth, I will not receiue no such inuented message, for I haue little to do with Englishmen, ye may rattle vpon my honorable name as ye please. You shall haue as honorable gentlemen as your selfe against you fighting. Take this for answer.

*John lord Fleming.*

Thereplie of sir George Careie  
vpon the lord Flemings answer.

**I**N DED Fleming, often the Flemings after none answer smelleth moze of wine than wit. But as to that common crime, the custome of their countrie yeldeth them part of pardon: so your common acquaintance with the same condition, knowne to be verie great, shall to me somewhat excuse your witlesse writing, wherein first you disallow my right recitall of your traitorous dealing, by tearming it false and vntreue. For answer, know this, the truth my pen hath written, by the witness of a number: and my hand I vowe shall mainteine the same before the world at all times. But you in denying it, haue both falslie and vntreue lie in your throte, and dare neither defend nor disproue that in deeds, which in words you haue done. Whereas you write, that our generall passed Douglas, by your appointment which you suffered, therein you do manifestlie saie vnhonorable and vntreue: for that you had no knowledge of our first comming, but saluted vs with your shot: and we likewise skitnished with your men euen at their owne strength, vntill we besieged the ground about at out pleasure. And touching the appointment of six of either part, easilie that maie be knowne to be a plaine lie: seeing we had neither parlex nor conference with you before, to appoint place or meeting. But whereas you saie, you could do no lesse but present vs with such as you had, therein you confesse and acknowledge the dishonour and treason that I charged you withall, taking vpon your selfe that fault, which I supposed to haue bin of your seruants, for our generall retired his companie farre from him. And his trumpet being with you, approached himselfe alone to haue parlex, when vnder trust you discharged two harquebusses against him: an act rather semelie for a cowardlie traitor, than one that professeth to be a souldier.

Finallie, whereas you let me wit, that you haue gentlemen of honour, seruant souldiers vnto you, that maie be my fellows, which should defend the

*Challenge:*

sent against  
the charge of  
treacherie.

Lord Fleming  
writing beareth  
him bold of  
his gentrie.

Sir George  
Careie boweth  
to mainteine  
no lesse than he  
hath written.

The lord Fleming  
in his writing  
to excuse  
accuseth him-  
selfe the moze  
manifestlie.



Sir George Careie his answer to the lord Fleming's brag of his gentrie.

Oh valiant heart!

A mother of Scotchmen to the number of 4000.

The armie goeth toward Hamilton.

Sir William Dzurie taketh with the capitaine of Hamilton castil.

The English ordinance sheweth at the castil.

The duchesse of Chatelleraunt committed to the charge of an English knight.

Great ordinance sent for.

The earles of Lennor and Hoxton.

challenge that toucheth so nere your selfe, as with honoz you should not haue refused it. First I thinke scorne to be anie waies inferior to you, though but a souldier, to honourable a name for you, being better in birth, and vntuned with reproch as you haue bene. Secondlie, I haue more, and as good gentlemen vnder my conduct, as your selfe haue vnder your charge, which shall answer as many as you can bring, if with number ye meane to combat, and will put them to that which you dare not do your selfe. But assure you, my quarell shall remaine euerslasting, except the proofe of your owne person against mine make end it: and when you shall dare come out of your crowes nest, I will be ready to ride an hundred Scotch miles, to meet with you in anie indifferent place. And vntill that time, I shall account you denod of honestie & honoz, vntill you to march vpon ground, or keepe companie with men. From Hamilton, the 29 of Maie 1570.

Subscribed George Careie.

Though manie waies were sought by message and otherwise, to moue the lord Fleming to defend with battell the fault and follie committed: yet it would not be; for he shifted off the matter, so as it well appeared, it was but lost labor further to attempt him therein. The two and twentieth of Maie, the earle of Lennor, accompanied with the earle of Glenearne, the lord Simple, and other his friends, feodaries & allies, mustered on the moire befoze the towne of Glasco the number of foure thousand hoisemen and footmen, that were there assembled to serue him, in presence of sir William Dzurie, and other of the English captiues. The thre and twentieth of Maie, sir William Dzurie, the earle of Lennor, and other the Scotch lords, and the whole armie marched towards the castil of Hamilton, and sending a trumpet, and one with him to parlee with the capitaine named Andreu Hamilton, he agreed to come forth, and one other with him, to talke with sir William Dzurie, and one other gentleman, such as he should thinke good to bring with him to a place somewhat distant, as well from the castil as the campe.

Whereupon sir William Dzurie with his sword and target, and sir George Careie with a case of pistols went forth to the appointed place, whither the capitaine of the castil also with an halbert, and one other with him, hauing likewise a case of pistols, came according to appointment. But after they had talked together, and that the capitaine would not in anie wise consent to deliuer vp the castil, he with his associat returned to their hold againe, & the English generall, with sir George Careie, came backe to the campe, and thereupon the English ordinance was presentlie placed about the castil, and shot verie soze all that night: but did no great hurt, by reason they were but field peeces, and not fit for batterie. They in the castil likewise shot verie soze at the Englishmen, but did no great harme, sauing that there were thre of the footmen hurt. In the palace which was a pretie house the duchesse of Chatelleraunt was at that time resident, to whom sir William Dzurie did repaire, offering hir all the courtesie he might, with all that to hir appertained, willing hir not to feare anie thing: and for hir more assurance, he committed hir to the charge of sir Thomas Paners.

The foure and twentieth of Maie, the generall gaue summons vnto the castil. And because they within made stiffelie in dentall to make surrender thereof vnto him, he was driuen to send to Striueling for foure great peeces of ordinance meet to make batterie. In the meane time, the earles of Lennor and Hoxton with the hoisemen, and some shot, marched into the countrie to a verie faire house of the abbat

of Biltwinings nere adioining, whose name was Dalwen Hamilton, which house they burnt and utterly defaced, spoiling it, and raising it downe to the earth. They burnt and spoiled also seuentene houses more belonging to men of that surname, situate nere thereabouts, wherof one belonged vnto a lady that had married with the sister of James Hamilton of Bodweie haugh, which she the regent. There were also burnt seuen other faire houses belonging to others that were not of that surname: but yet were of their friends and allies. Moreover, there were diuerse other of their kindred and allies that came in with humble submission, and assured themselves, firmitie promising from themselves their obedience to the king.

The five and twentieth of Maie sir William Dzurie the generall retired his people vpon a policie from the castil, and left it without either watch or ward for that night. The next daie he sent sir George Careie to the castil with a trumpet, to know if they within would deliuer it vp, befoze the great ordinance should come, which the capitaine utterly refused to do. Whereupon the small shot clapt suddenly round about the house, and kept them within occupied, till that a whole culuering & a demie culuering came to them from Sterling, the which with foure of the English small field peeces were in the night following planted against the castil, and being shot off, a bullet of one of the great peeces passed through the walles into the castil.

The seuen and twentieth of Maie about foure of the clocke in the morning, the generall sent a trumpet to giue summons againe to the castil: vnto whome the capitaine answered, that he cared not for them, & so bad them do their worst, for he would not yeld the place to them at anie hand. Whereupon immediatlie the whole fire began to plaie in such sort, that within foure boies both sides of the house were battered through: at the sight whereof the capitaine was so dismayed, that forthwith he cried for parlee, and so the shot was staied. Fow vpon humble sute the capitaine was admitted to speake with the generall, and so comming to talke with him, at length he agreed to yeld: whereupon, the prouost marshall was sent into the castil to take possession thereof. The generall permitted them verie courteously to depart with their furniture, and other such stuffe as they could carie with them. There came out of the house nine and thirtie persons one and other, foure and thirtie men, thre boies, and two women, and therewith was the castil blowne vp and rased, and the armie laie that night in the towne, and in places about it.

The next daie, being the eight and twentieth of Maie they departed from thence: the earles of Lennor, Mar, and Glenearne, with other of the nobilitie of Scotland of the kings part taking their leaues, with their companie returned to Glasco: and sir George Careie with the hoisemen came that night to Lithquo, where also the rest of the English forces met. A castil called Combernabod belonging to the lord Fleming was yelded to the generals hands, who vpon bond of assurance that the house should remaine at the deuotion of the queene of England, was contented to spare it from fire and spoile. But this was not the first nor last courtesie which the generall shewed in this iourne, vnto such as in anie respect were thought worthy of his fauour. Amongst other the ladie of Aldington being great with child, mistrusting hir selfe (or hir husbands double dealing towards our countrie) in great feare began to flee. But sir William Dzurie hearing thereof, sent hir word he came not to make warres with women, but rather to shew pittie to the weake and comfort-  
less:

The abbat of Hamilton burnt.

The Churchyard.

The castil summoned.

The castil battered.

The castil destroyed.

The capitaine of the castil demeritly parlee.

Lithquo spoken from downe from the direction.

The prouost and other were bound.

The ladie of Aldington.

The duke of Lennox.

less, & harme. Sh should the prou prepare ment a treason declar red and and lik league land an ued to I fter impote ning th heretof vnder h be purp the prou which th end the English hemem Scotis noble n saued f But ned ere partied interce asfoze t whose n table a their re the totu diuerse to be in confert he) the e paire, h pen bit Gods, breach, was si that ca of mis heauie people pitifall king o of the sute, a of Ma the gei people the pzo soloto were: themi cie of e earle should condit regen they h that n licenc sh to passed for the the pet bu

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less, and thereupon she staid, and had no further harme.

The nine and twentieth of Maie, when the armie should dislodge from Lithquo, the generall called for the prouost of the towne, and commanded him to prepare with all expedition, to receiue a iust punishment and correction thorough the whole towne for treason, and unpardonable offenses committed: and declaring that the inhabitants thereof had succoured and supported traitors to the realme of England, and likewise to their owne king, contrarie to the leagues and quietnesse of both the realmes of England and Scotland, for which cause he was fullie resolved to ouerthrow that town & receptacle of traitors. If therefore there were anie women in childbed or impotent people within that towne, he gaue warning thus aforesaid to conueie them out of it: and herewith also commanding each capteine & souldier vnder his charge, to see due execution of that which he purposed in this behalfe to haue done, he willed the prouost to appoint a place conuenient, into the which the goods of the towne might be brought, to the end that the same should neither be spoiled by the English souldiers, neither yet consumed through vehemencie of fire, but to be preserved all whole to the Scottish mens vse. Further, he granted, that euerie noble mans lodging and capitains house should be saved from fire.

But now the time being come for this determined execution, the earle of Arboton, that still accompanied the English generall, offered himselfe as an intercessor to intreat and sue for a pardon, bringing aforesaid the generall a multitude of wailing people, whose mournfull and most pitious cries were lamentable and verie importunate. The generall hearing their requests, made answer, that for manie causes the towne ought to be destroyed, considering how diuerse enemies (whose insolent practises were not to be suffered) had alwaies there a common resort to conferre of their wicked deuises: and further (quoth he) the courtesie that is shewed to such places of repaire, hath emboldened the rest of Scotland to vse open violence and secret villanies, to the preiudice of Gods glorie, hinderance of the weale publike, and breach of god lawes and policies: and therefore it was fit and most meet for a warning to thousands in that case of extremitie, to rase out such monuments of mischief. But at length, notwithstanding these heauie words vttered by sir William Dzurie, the people of all sorts so pressed about him, & made such pitifull cries and sorrowfull noise, with children sucking of their mothers breasts, that he taking ruth of their miserable estates, at this their lamentable sute, and speciallie at the great instance of the earle of Arboton, who came bareheaded to speake for them, the generall was contented to saue the towne and people therein: taking good band and assurance of the prouost and chiefe of the towne, that they should follow the campe, and at all times appeare when they were called for at Wbertwike, and there to submit themselves, their towne and goods, to the clemencie of the queens highnesse; and to such order as the earle of Sussex his maiesties generall lieutenant should by consent thinke necessarie: to which band & conditions they of Lithquo agreed. And for that their regent was slaine, & none since instituted to whome they had giuen faith of allegiance; they confessed, that none might command them anie waie without licence of him, to whome they had made this band, sth to him both their promise and obligation was passed. And in this sort they continued bound to him for their good behauiours.

The Duke of Chatelleraults palace in Lithquo was yet burnt and rased, and marching to another house

belonging to the said duke, called Kente, distant from Lithquo about a mile or more, they likewise burned the same. Thus hauing done their pleasures at Lithquo, and in the countrie about that towne, they marched from thence to a proper house and castle, belonging to the lord Seton, called Aetherie, which the enemies had fortified. But yet when the ladie of that house came to the generall, and made humble petition on hir knees for his fauor, offering to him the keyes of that place in most humble wise, she found such courtesie at his hands, that with condition that she & a baron with hir should enter bands for assurance, that the castle should euer afterwards remaine at the queens of Englands pleasure, he took hir the keyes againe, leauing hir in possession of hir house and goods, without doing hir anie further displeasure.

This night the armie came to Edinburgh, where certaine of the companie that made hast to get thither somewhat before the rest, receiued some discourtesie: for they were spoiled in the streets of their furniture, & such other things as they had about them. But when the generall with the rest of the armie was come nere to the towne, and had knowledge of such foule disorder, he thought not good to enter the towne, without standing so sure on his gard, that he should not need to doubt any double dealing, or crooked measure. Which sure handling of the matter did not onelie shew the deuiler thereof to haue good conduct and experience: but in verie deed avoided no small inconuenience and mischief, that by the enemies was finelie contriued (through a fraie to be made in the suburbs) so that a great slaughter had burst out suddenlie, and no small bloodshed followed, if God and god guiding of the people had not staied and turned awaie that imminent danger. To be short, the generall sent sir Thomas Spaners with two bands of souldiers, vnder one ensigne, to seize vpon the gates at their first arrtriall, and so the pretended conspiracie was happlie prevented: for the residue of the power was no longer entred the towne, but that keeping themselves in order to cleere the streets, and to command the inhabitants the better, they spent that night standing on their gard, as the case required. When the morning was come, sir William Dzurie smelling out the couert practise, and naughtie meaning of some, demanded iustice and strict punishment of such offenses and things as he would truelie laie to the charges of some in that towne: and told them flatlie, if remedie were not the soner prouided, and satisfaction made for the follies and outrage committed, he would be quicklie reuenged, to the displeasure and shame of all the contriuers of that same mad and mischeuous presumption.

Whereupon, not onelie such things as had bin taken from those few souldiers, which first entred the towne ouer night, were not onelie restored: but diuerse malefactors were also deliuered to the generall, to be executed and ordered by his discretion; who seeing their submission, mercifullie & franklie sent them awaie vnto their captiues: & so these byrolles were pacified and things set in quiet. After they had rested in Edinburgh a two daies, the first of June they disloded. The generall coming to Seton the chiefe castle & house of the lord Seton, the ladie was readie there also to present him the keyes, with like humble submission as before: and thereupon received the like fauor for this house, as was shewed to hir for the other. That night they lodged at Waddington. It was determined that the pile of Wbertwike should haue bene ouerthrowne: but vpon sute and bands taken of diuerse gentlemen, the place was spared, and the offenders receiued to mercie.

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sanctis palatib; burned.

Reithrie. The ladie Seton.

Some of the English armie spoiled in Edinburgh.

T. Churchyard.

Sir Thomas Spaners with his two bands vnder one ensigne.

Restoration made of things taken awaie from the souldiers.

Seton castle spard at the sute of the ladie.

Wbertwike saved from ruine by occasion.

And

And so the next date, the generall with the horsemen came through to Berwikke, a iournie of two and thirtie long miles.

The happte  
successe of the  
foresaid biage  
vnder taken by  
the English.

I. Stow.  
A bull from  
Rome hang-  
ged on the bi-  
shop of Lon-  
dons gate.

A. F.  
See the view  
of a scotious  
bull ripped by  
by John Iewell  
late bishop of  
Salisbury  
printed 1582.

• Pag. 3.

• Pag. 7.

• Pag. 23.

• Pag. 36.

• Pag. 42.

• Pag. 44.

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• Pag. 50.

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The footbands lodged the same night at Coldingham with sir Robert Conestable, who the next date the third of June came with them unto Berwikke. And so ended this iournie, to the great commendation of the generall and capitaine: and consequentlie to all the gentlemen and souldiours that had bene forth in the same, as well for the good successe which it pleased God the author of all good and prosperous euents to grant to them, as also for their dutifull obedience to all warlike discipline, their painfull travels sustained, their manlie forwardnesse and skilfull practise in martiall polices still shewed, as occasion of seruice was anie where offered. But now to retorne to the doings at home. Whilest this iournie was made (as ye haue heard) into Scotland, the five & twentieth of Aprill in the morning was found hanging on the bishop of London's palace gate in Pauls churchyard, a bull which latelie had bene sent from Rome, containing diuerse horrible treasons against the queens maiestie: for the which one John Ffelton was thortlie after apprehended, and committed to the tower of London. And because the said bull may appeare and shew it selfe in nature and kind, it is behoofull here to interlace some rotings of the same, as I haue gathered them out of one that I am sure had a conscience to tell the truth: which I therefore am the willinger to insert, that the world may iudge the heinousnesse of Ffeltons fact, in firing so pestilent a libell vpon a prelates gate in a place of common conourse, and against the queens excellent maiestie.

• Sententia declaratoria contra Elisabeth, &c.

**P**ius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, &c. Misit sacrificium, preces, ieiunia, ciborum delectum, calicatum illa (regina Elisabetha) aboleuit. Eadem occupato regno supremi ecclesia capitis locum in omni Anglia, eiusque precipua auctoritatem atque iurisdictionem monstruose sibi usurpans, regnum ipsum rursus in miseriam exitum reuocauit. Regnum conciliis Anglica nobilitate conflatum diremit. Homines obscuris compleuit. Homines hereticis compleuit. Ad quam uelut ad asylum omnium infestissimi perfugium inuenerunt, &c. Declaramus predictam Elisabetham, eius adherentes in predictis anathematis sententia incurrisse. Quinetiam ipsam preterea regi predicti iure, necnon omni & quocunque domino, dignitate, privilegioque priuatum. Precipimus & interdiciamus vniuersis & singulis proceribus, subditis, & populis, & alijs predictis, ne illi eiusque monitis, mandatis & legibus audeant obedire: qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus. Omnes qui illi quomodocunque iurauerunt, a iuramento huiusmodi ac omni prorsus dominij fidelitatis & obsequij debito perpetuo absolutos declaramus, &c.

• A sentence denounced against Elisabeth, &c.

**I**us bishop, seruant of Gods seruants, &c. Shee (queene Elisabeth) hath cleane put awaie the sacrifice of the masse, prayers, fastings, choise or difference of meats & single life. Shee inuaded the kingdome, & by usurping monstrouslie the place of the supreme head of the church in all England, and the cheefe authoritie & iurisdiction of the same, hath againe brought the said realme into miserable destruction. Shee hath removed the noble men of England from the kings counsell. Shee hath made hir counsell of poore, darke, beggerlie fellows, and hath placed them ouer

the people. These counsellors are not onlie poore & beggerlie, but also heretikes. Unto hir all such as are the worst of the people resort, and are by hir receiued into safe protection, &c. We make it known, that Elisabeth aforesaid, as manie as stand on hir side in the matters abouenamed, haue run into the danger of our curse. We make it also known, that we haue depriued hir from that right she pretended to haue in the kingdome aforesaid, and also from all and euerie hir authoritie, dignitie, and priuilege. We charge and forbid all and euerie the nobles, and subiects, and people, and others aforesaid, that they be not so hardie as to obeye hir or hir will, or commandements, or lawes, vpon paine of the like accursse vpon them. We pronounce that all whosoever by anie occasion haue taken their oth vnto hir, are for euer discharged of such their oth, and also from all fealtie and seruice, which was due to hir by reason of hir government, &c.

Here hath euerie true subiect to see whether Felton was not a friend to Pius Quintus, in so easilie being induced and dravne to prefer his proceedings against the lords anointed; for whose sake if he had had a thousand liues, true loialtie would haue inuited him to the losse of them all, if occasion had so required; considering that hir maiestie hath alwaies deserved well of hir people, for whome she ever had a tender care, as one reporteth that saith he heard with his owne ears hir maiestie commending hir subiects to the careful and wise government of hir counsell and iudges, when she spake thus vnto them. Haue care ouer my people. You haue my place. Do vpon that which I ought to do. They are my people. Cerie man oppresseth them, and spoileth them without mercie. They cannot reuenge their quarrell, nor help themselves. See vnto them, see vnto them, for they are my charge. I charge you euen as God hath charged me. I care not for my selfe, my life is not deare to me, my care is for my people. I praye God who soeuer succedd me be as careful as I am. They which might know what cares I beare, would not thinke I toke anie great ioie in wearing the crowne.

Could a mother speake more tenderlie for hir infant, than this god queene speaketh for hir people? And shall the people be so vngratious to a prince so grations, as to attempt anie thing that should discontent hir highnesse? A mercifull hart she hath alwaies had, before she attained the crowne, a mercifull hart she hath now possessing the scepter: manie times remitting and pardoning offenses intended and practised against hir owne person: which C. O. noteth in his Eirenarchia siue Elisabetha, speaking of hir maiestie in this point vertie traitie & vncontrollable:

Nobilis & prestans est ignorantia virtutis.  
Hac quamquam potius est, si vult, excellit & vult.  
Mentis inest, iram strictis compescit habenis.  
Delictis multam grauius quandoque remittit.  
Hoc priuata prius nondum diademate sumpta.  
Fecerat, hoc facit & princeps diademate sumpta.

Multis Elisabetha virtutibus.

The seauen and twentieth of Aprill, Thomas Boxtou and Christopher Boxtou of Dorsetshire, being both condemned of high treason for the late rebellion in the north, were dravven from the tower of London to Tibborne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered. In this yeare also conspired certaine gentlemen with other in the countie of Dorsetshire, who purposed was on Whosmunday daie at Warlesborne kille, with sound of trumpet and drum to haue raised an army, and then to proclaime their dutie pretensed against strangers and others. This matter was discovered by Thomas Ket one of the conspircators vnto John Benleie, who forthwith sent the same Ket with a conestable to the next iustice, before whose

The Boxtous conspired.

Conspiracie in Dorsetshire, and whereupon it toke beginning.

The duke of Norfolk removed. Felton assigned with other offenders, and all condemned.

Felton and others executed by treason.

The quantity of the sentence.

I remember into Scotland by the name of Bullen.

Went by fire and sword in Scotland.

Knights made by the name of Bullen.

ther iustices he opened the whole matter. Whereupon maister Druie Durie immediatlie apprehended John Throckmorton, and after him manie gentlemen of the citie of Norwich, and the countie of Suffolke, who were all committed to prison, and at the next sessions of goale deliuerie at the castell of Norwich, the seauententh of Iulie befoze sir Robert Catlin knight lord chiefe iustice, Gilbert Gerard the quenes attornie generall, and other iustices, ten of them were indicted of high treason, and some others of contempt. Diuerse of them were condemned, and had iudgement the one and twentieth of August: and afterward thre of them were hanged, bowelled, and quartered, which were John Throckmorton of Norwich gentleman, who stood mute at his arraignment, but at the gallows confessed himselfe to be the chiefe conspirator, and that none had deserued to die but he, for that he had procured them. With him was executed Thomas Brooke of Kolfbie gentleman on the thirtieth of August, and George Dedman of Cringleford gentleman was likewise executed the second of September.

The fourth of August, the duke of Suffolke was removed from the tower of London to the Charterhouse nere vnto Smithfield. The same daie was arraigned at the Guildhall of London, John Felton, for hanging the foresaid bull of pope Pius Quintus on the gate of the bishop of London's palace: and also two yong men for coining & clipping of coine, who all were found guiltie of high treason, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, & quartered. The eighth of August John Felton was drawen from Fleetgate into Pauls churchyard, and there hanged on a gallows new set vp that morning befoze the bishops palace gate; and being cut downe alive, he was bowelled and quartered. After this, the same morning the shiriffes returned to Fleetgate, and so to Whitehall with two yong men, which were there executed for coining and clipping, as is aforesaid.

The two and twentieth of August the earle of Sussex, lord lieutenant generall for the quenes maiestie in the north, and the lord Scrope warden of the west marches, with diuerse others, marched from Carleill with the quens armie and force of the north as well of horsemen as footmen into Scotland, passing ouer the riuers of Esk, Tyne & Swale, which riuers of Swale parteth England and Scotland, and so to Doornocke wood belonging to Edward Wrore, the lord of Worslow, and then to Annan a strong house of the lord Harris, which they rased and ouerthrew with others thereabouts: from thence to Hoddham, which they burnt and blew vp: from thence to Bennell, a towne belonging to the lord Cotwille, which they burnt: from thence to Donfrise, which they sacked and spoiled of such paltrie as the fugitiues had left, and also rased and ouerthrew a sumptuous house belonging to the quene of Scots, in the keeping of the lord Harris. Then passing the riuers of Longher, they burnt and spoiled Cotwilles, and Dootrache, and returned to Donfrise, and so to the towne of Bankend, which they burnt, with another house pertaining to William Marwell of the Isles, and so to the castell of Carlauarocke standing in a marsh, (nott an arme of the sea, which parteth Annerdale and Calowale; which castell they blew vp, and returned homeward, transporting their ordinance oter quicksands and bogs, where neuer the like was done before, and so came to Doornocke wood.

The eight of August they marched towards Carleill, where (by the waie) they burnt and ouerthrew two houses, the one being Arthur Greames alias Carleill, the other rich George, two notable thieues. The same daie at night after the lord lieutenants coming to Carleill he made knights, sir Edward Pa-

kings, sir Francis Russell, sir Valentine Browne, sir William Hilton, sir Robert Stapleton, sir Henry Curwen, sir Simon Busgraue. This yere the first of October chanced a terrible tempest of wind and raine both by sea and land, by meanes whereof manie ships perished, & much hurt was done in diuerse parts of the realme, as by a little pamphlet set forth therof by Thomas Knell minister apocret, the effect whereof insueth. About midnight the water overflowed so much, that men were faine to forsake their beds, & one woman drowned, where also were lost a great number of sheepe, oxen, kine, horse, and other cattell. Among other there, one maister Cartwright gentleman, hauing his house inclosed round about, the water came in so much, that a cart being laden with thornes did swim about the ground. Hee lost by the same flood, sheepe, and other cattell, to the value of an hundred pounds. The same gentleman had a close gate by the high waies side, where the water ran ouer so extremelie, that at the fall thereof it made such an hole, that it was foztie foot deepe: so that no man could passe that waie without great danger. To the filling vp of the said hole or pit, was cast in by the men of the said towne fure and twentie lodes of faggots, & twentie lodes of horse dung, which said faggots and horse dung filled not the hole. Also one maister Lee at the friers in Bedford, hauing a faire yard, wherein was great store of elme trees, whereof the scole were blown downe, with the roots pulled cleane out of the ground. Also he had a close of conies that were cleane destroyed.

The sea brake in betwixt Walsby and Walsoken, and at the crosse heies draweing Alneie, and old Lin, saint Marie Teding, saint Marie Tid, saint Johns Wauple, Walton & Walsoken, Ommele, Jarmanes, and Stow bridge, all being the space of ten miles. At the crosse heies the godman of the tunc had built an house with a strong foundation joining vnto an other house being old and not so strong, wherein were certeine ghefts. And when the water came in so violentlie, the godman of the house being in the stronger house, called the men out of the old house, and they would haue gone downe the stairs, but the water was so high that they could not come downe, wherefore they went backe againe, and brake an hole into the other house, where they went thorough, and the last man was no sooner in, but the old house fell downe. The walles of the houses were broken downe, and the houses that were tied at the manger (which was made fast in the ground) did swim in the water; when the stable was cleane carried awaie, untill the waters were allwaged, and were saued alive, and the people were constrained to get vp to the highest parts of the house, and so to be carried awaie in botes.

At Yarmouth a great part of the bridge was carried awaie. The house vpon the haven called the haven house, wherein was one Nicholas Jossellin the haven man & his son, with all their toles, were carried into the marshes six miles from the haven, where it stood upright, and where they abode long without meat or drinke. Also at Yermans Bridge street was verte much hurt done by the extreame floods that were there. Also one Thomas Smith of Yarmouth lost a ship, with seauen men and a boie in it. Also at Newmarke by Yarmouth were lost twelue saile. Also a great hulke, laden with oile and pitch, was lost at Woreise sand, and about twentie men lost therein, and thirtie saued by the hulke bote. These towne and villages were ouerflowed, that is to saie, Walsby, Cuthbert, Parson Dyoue, and Wolsbottle. This Wolsbottle being an almshouse (and the water breaking downe the walls of it) the wind blew the cloths off from the bed of a poore man & his wife:

Tempest by sea and land which did much hurt.

Tho. Knell, what hurt this tempest did in Bedfordshire.

A wonder of an hole made in the ground by a watercourse.

what hurt this tempest did in the countie of Suffolke.

A piece of Yarmouth bridge borne awaie with water.

what hurt this tempest did in the bishopricke of Ely.

See the view of the sedition bull, pag. 72, 73.

The quantity of the sedition bull, pag. 72, 73.

Amphip's of Elizabeth's time.

The quantity of the sedition bull, pag. 72, 73.

Conspiracie of Suffolke and whereupon it took beginning.

The duke of Suffolke removed from the tower of London to the Charterhouse.

John Felton arraigned with other offenders, and all condemned.

John Felton and two yong men executed for treason.

John Felton and two yong men executed for treason.

John Felton and two yong men executed for treason.

who being cold, awaked, and suddenlie slept out of his bed to reach up his cloths, and slipt up to the bel-  
lie in water, and then he thinking himselfe to be in  
danger (as he was in deed) and knowing the best  
waie to escape the danger of the water, he took his  
wife on his necke, and carried hir awaie, and so were  
both saued.

At the same time in Wilsbych was a garden, a ter-  
nise plate, & a bowling allie walled about with bzicke  
(which was worth twentie pounds by yeare to the  
owner) was quite destroyed by the water. Spumble  
chappell, the whole towne was lost, except thre hou-  
ses. A ship was dyuen upon an house, the sailers  
thinking they had bene upon a rocke, committed  
themselves to God: and thre of the mariners lept  
out of the ship, and chanced to take hold on the house  
top, and so saued themselves: and the wife of the  
same lieng in childbed, by climbing up into the top of  
the house, was also saued by the mariners, hir hus-  
band and child being both drowned. Likewise, the  
church was whole ouerthrowne except the steeple.  
Betwene Boston and Pelcastell were threescore  
sea vessels, as small ships, cratres, and such like, lost  
upon the coasts of Boston, Humerston, Parth chap-  
pell, Letnie, Stepenie, Percots, Kelbie, & Grims-  
bie, where no ship can come in without a pilot, which  
were all lost, with goods, cozne, & cattell, with all the  
salt cotes, where the chiefe and finest salt was made,  
were vtterlie destroyed, to the vtter vndowing of  
manie a man, and great lamentation both of old and  
yong.

Wentford bzidge, being verie strong, of eight ar-  
ches in length, had thre of the arches broken, and  
cleane carried awaie. Master Smith at the swan  
there had his house (being thre stories high) over-  
flowed vnto the thirde storie, and the wals of the sta-  
ble were broken downe, and the horses tied to the  
manger were all drowned. Manie men had great  
losse, as well of shepe, kine, oren, great mares,  
colts of the bzeed of the great horses, and other cat-  
tell innumerable, of which the names manie of them  
shall here follow. Master Welham lost eleuen hun-  
dred shepe at Spumble chappell. In Summercote  
were lost five hundred shepe, that were of the inha-  
bitants there. Also betwene Humerston & Grims-  
bie were lost eleuen hundred shepe of one master  
Spensers, whose shepheard about middaie, com-  
ming to his wife, asked his dinner: and the being  
more bold than manerlie, said, he should haue none  
of hir. Then he chanced to loke toward the marshes  
where the shepe were, and saw the water bzeake in  
so fiercelie, that the shepe would be lost, if they were  
not brought from thence, said, that he was not a god  
shepheard that would not venture his life for his  
shepe, & so went freight to dzyue them from thence,  
but he & his shepe were both drowned, and after the  
water being gone, he was found dead, standing vp-  
right in a ditch.

Master Whimblebie lost two hundred and twentie  
shepe, master Wmoeke lost foure hundred shepe,  
& master Parth five hundred, master Spadison lost  
a ship, master William Askugh of Belseie, sir Hugh  
Askugh, master Sperin, master Fitz Williams of  
Applithope, lost by estimation twentie thousand cat-  
tell, one and other. Some was ouerflowne vnto the  
midwaie of the height of the church. Steeping was  
wholie carried awaie, where was a waiane lode of  
willow tops, the bodie of the waiane with the wil-  
lowes carried one waie, and the apiltree and wheles  
an other waie. In the towne of saint Odes, the wa-  
ter flowed into the towne in such abundance, that  
it ran thorough the towne and church, being in the  
middest thereof, hanging about the churchyard a bzicke  
wall of two yards high, was so ouerflowne, that

botes were rowed ouer it, without touching of the  
same. Also a little from Huntington, were thre men  
riding vpon the causeie, being then ouerflowne (the  
water on the causeie being not deepe) and thinking  
no danger therein, chanced to come into a place  
where the water had galled awaie the earth, and the  
grauell, were carried awaie with the water: and wil-  
lowes growing on both sides the waie, two of them  
caught hold on the willowes, and lest their horses,  
and saued themselves: and the thirde chanced to catch  
a verie little twig of willow betwene his fingers,  
hanging verie little hold, and forsaking his horse,  
which was carried a great waie from him, had much  
paine to keepe his hold on the twig, and hold his head  
aboue the water, and his horse returning with force  
against the streame, came againe vnto him, and vnder  
him: by which meanes he set his feet vpon him,  
and gat better hold of the willow, and so saued him  
selfe, and the horse was immediatlie carried awaie,  
that he neuer saw him after.

Also Holland, Leuerington, Pelton chappell in  
the sea, long Sutton & Holbich were ouerflowne.  
And in this countrie also was great losse of cattell.  
In the low parts in Poreland, in a little towne cal-  
led Cliffield, there was a man, his wife, and a suck-  
ing child in hir armes ouerwhelmed and slaine by the  
violence of the waters, and of the boisterous winds.  
The water called Auen, that passeth by the towne  
called Stratford vpon Auen, did run with such vio-  
lence, that meeting with the water called the Se-  
uerne, dyoue it backe ten miles against the course,  
ouerflowing much ground, and drowning much cat-  
tell. In Pelport panell were two houses ouer-  
throwne, and in one of them an old man and an old  
woman were ouerwhelmed and slaine. And in the  
same towne, on the backs side of the Saracens head,  
the water spzang out of the hard grauellie ground,  
and flowed so fast, that certeine merchants (sitting  
there at dinner) were faine to rise and depart from  
thence to saue themselves. Sir Henrie Ale knight  
(dwelling at Quarrington) lost by the floods the  
number of thre thousand shepe, besides horses and  
other cattell, a great number.

In the Wilsby at Kie (a place so called) the water  
came in so suddenlie, and flowed so high about mid-  
night, that it was eight or nine foot high in mens  
houses: insomuch that if one William White had  
not called them vp, some of them had like to haue  
bene drowned. And the same William White ha-  
ving a bote, set out a great compante of them out of  
their windowes, and carried them to dzye land as  
fast as he could fetch them, which were in great dan-  
ger and feare, and glad to escape with their liues.  
Sporeouer, the water came in so vehementlie there,  
that it bzeake into the marshes, and made such waie,  
that where of late yeares, and now before this great  
flood came, a cockebote could not passe in at a low  
water, now a fisherman dzyuing fir sot water and  
moze maie come in at a low water, and at a full sea  
the greatest ship that the queenes maiestie hath may  
come in, and haue good harborough there. The conti-  
nuance of the same will not onelie be profitable to  
the most part of the inhabitants there, but also com-  
modious vnto all the queenes subiects travelling by  
sea.

And whereas one of the owners of a great part of  
the same marshes had certeine poles set vp therein  
(and being verie met and in conuenient place of the  
same marsh) for the dzyeng of their fishing nets, and  
received monie perrelie of those that dzyed their nets  
there sufficientlie inough: yet he caused his seruant  
to pull vp the poles, and laie them in an house stan-  
ding in the same marsh: and also commanded his  
seruant to giue them warning, that they should no  
more

what hurt  
this tempest  
did in Lin-  
colnshire.

Threescore  
sea vessels lost  
in this tem-  
pest.

Great losse of  
cattell both  
great and  
small.

Scripture  
abused.

what hurt  
this tempest  
did in Hun-  
tingtonshire.

A man was  
overwhelmed  
serued from  
drowning.

Part in the  
tempest an  
huntington  
of the stream

what hurt  
this tempest  
did in Hun-  
tingtonshire  
and  
Worcestershire.

Part in the  
tempest  
huntington  
shire by this  
tempest.

A bote dyou  
ned after it  
was dead.

Part in the

Part done  
this tempest  
huntington  
&  
Worcestershire.

A strange  
tempest  
was brought  
by the in-  
flowing of the  
water.

Ande Rege  
The queene  
going to the  
toure after  
it was fini-  
shed.

She giueth  
to name the  
toure  
change.



more hang their nets there, except they would come and compound with him for it. And the same night (by Gods providence) it came so to passe, that according to his saying (though contrarie to his good will and mind) they are not like to hang their nets there any more, because of the depth of the water is so great, and like to continue. In hope of continuance of the same new opened haven, certaine men of the same towne have begun to build faire barks to travell the seas, the which in continuance of time will be a great furtherance to the maintenance of the queenes naute. At the blacke shore end, before the said floud, no bote could passe further than the shore end; and now a bote that draweth six foot water may come in at a low water. Without the barre, the water is deeper than it was by two foot and more in the chanel.

At Plum hill marsh, foure miles from Kite, the water came in so outrageouslie, that it brake downe the marsh wals, one master Wurtle being owner thereof, who lost by the same a thousand one hundred threescore and two of his shepe, and it is thought that the marsh is never like to be gotten againe. Also at Crith beach, a mariner riding by the marshes, seeing two maidens in the marshes, and perceiving the waters breaking in so fast, that the maidens were not like to escape, rode unto them, and one of them gat by behind him, & the other took hold on the horses taile, and by that means were both saved from drowning. In the same marsh were drowned a great number of shepe. Also there in a marsh land that was sowne, were two boies keeping crows in the after none, & seeing the water breaking in so behementlie, gat them into a cart that was not farre from them, where they were faine to tarry untill the next tide, which came in so boisterouslie, that it had like to have overthrowne both the cart & boies. And the one of them being more stronger than the other, kept the other in his armes, where he with cold, wet, and feare, died: so that he was faine to let him fall from him into the water, when he perceived that he was past recoverie. A little from that place were also drowned a thousand shepe, and also manie other cattell.

From a towne called Kainant, unto the towne named Pauldon, all along by the water side were the marshes all overflowne, wherein were a great number of cattell drowned. In Clate were two ships laden with Danke ware which came to shore, with no man in them, nor any man could tell of whence they were. In Clate the dwellers there lost a verie great parcell of salt and herrings barrellled, being housed in an house walled with bricke three foot thicke, and yet the wall was broken downe. Also, there was lost much sacker ground, with manie other things mo, to the great hinderance of manie a man. Also, in Walderwicke, Dunwich, and Blat broke, was great losse of board, plank, timber, and salt. A great part of the bridge by Magdalene college was borne cleane awaye, and manie trees were turned up by the root.

The thre and twentieth of Januare, the queenes maiestie, accompanied with hir nobilitie, came from hir house at the Strand, called Summerst place, and entered the cite of London by Temple bar, Fleetstreet, Cheape, and so by the north side of the Burse, to sir Thomas Creshams in Bishops gate street where she dined. After dinner, hir grace returned through Chesham, entered the Burse on the south side, and after hir highnesse had bestowed euerie part thereof about ground, especially the palace, which was richlie furnished with all sorts of the best wares in the cite, she caused the same Burse by an herald and a trumpet, to be proclaimed the good

all exchange, so to be called from thenselouth, and not otherwise.

The seventeenth of Februarie at a place called Binnafton, nere Parleth hill in the countie of Hereford, was sene the ground to open, and certeine rockes with a peece of ground removed, and went forward the space of foure daies, making at the first a terrible noise as it went on the earth. It removed it selfe betwene six of the clocke in the evening, & seven the next morning fortie paces, carrying great trees and shepecotes, some shepecotes with three score shepe in them, some trees fell into the chinkes, other that grew on the same ground, grow now as firmelie on a hill; and some that stood east, stand west; and those that stood west, stand east. The depth of the hole where it first brake out is thirtie foot, the breadth of the breach is eight score yards, and in length aboute twentie score yards. It overthrowe Binnafton chapel. Also two high waies be removed nigh one hundred yards, with the trees of the hedgerowes. The ground in all is six and twentie acres: and where tillage ground was, there is pasture left in place; and where was pasture, there is tillage ground gone upon it. The ground as it removed dyaue the earth before it, & at the lower part overthrowe the ground, so that it is growen to a great hill of twelve sadams high. It removed from saturday till monday at night following, and so staied.

Moreover this yeare about Candelmas, sir Thomas Sackville, baron of Buckhurst was sent in ambassage from the queenes maiestie to Charles the ninth french king, as well to congratulate for his marriage with the daughter of the emperour Maximilian, as for other weightie affaires. And as his ambassage was great, so was his charge no lesse in furnishing himselfe and traine accordingly, being both in number and furniture such in euerie point, as did appertene; and his receiving and intertinement in France by the king and others was agreeable thereto, for he was receiued upon the coast by the gouernours of the fortified townes right honorabile by order from the king. Among other the baron of Botolphsell was one, who being verie well mounted and appointed, lest not his lordship before he came to the court, and from thence accompanied him backe untill his imbarquement homewards.

In the maine countries he was accompanied with the gouernours and nobles of the places about. And in the good townes where he passed, he was presented by the chiefe magistrates, wherein their good wills were to be thankfullie accepted, though his lordships rewards far overvalued their presents. At his approach nere to Paris he was incountered on the waie for courtesie sake, by two marqueses of Orans and Saluces, this being of the house of Savoy, and the other of the worthy familie of Foix. These wanted not such as accompanied them, and the same euen of the best sort. At the last the ladies first audience, which was at the castle of St. Hill, otherwise called Bullogne nere Paris (where the king then late) the queenes Almaine coaches were handeled furnished were sent to Paris for him, in one of the which his lordship with the marqueses of Orans rode towards the court, were manie other, esaping from a theod turne and great mishap, by reason the same coach was overthrowen by the watch waggoners their negligence, who in a disorderly galloping the field made an other short turne, where with the wheel was destroyed.

The lord ambassade at the arrival at the place was right honorable receiued, he was harboured by dinner, and then verie sumptuouslie: which by him was not less intreated to the uttermost, and rather with the better: for his liberalitie unto the french was

A strange kind of earth moving in the countie of Hereford.

Sir Thomas Sackville ambassador to the french king.

This intertinement was verie honorable.

The first part of the coaches was destroyed by the watch waggoners negligence.

The lord ambassade was harboured by dinner, and then verie sumptuouslie.



Storie ceter-  
ed a commis-  
ion to search  
of English  
wikes.

Storie inter-  
eth the  
werthow of  
England.

St plottozne  
eth to appe-  
hend Storie.

Storie scari-  
ched the Eng-  
lish ships for  
bookes, and is  
apprehended  
and brought  
into England.

Storie a trait-  
or hanged,  
drawne and  
quartered.

St combat  
appointed at  
Tutill but  
not tried.

Come and  
inter com-  
mants.

Storie  
inter-  
eth the  
werthow of  
England.

Storie  
inter-  
eth the  
werthow of  
England.

Storie  
inter-  
eth the  
werthow of  
England.

Storie  
inter-  
eth the  
werthow of  
England.

upon the said Thomas Paramore brought before  
the iudges of the common pleas at Westminster,  
one George Thorne, a big, broad, strong set fellow, &  
the plaintiffs Henrie Pailer, maister of defence, and  
servant to the right honourable the earle of Leicester,  
a proper slender man, & not so tall as the other.  
Thorne cast downe a gantlet, which Pailer took vp,  
upon the sundaie before the battell should be tried.  
On the next morrow, the matter was staied, & the par-  
ties agreed, that Paramore being in possession should  
have the land, & was bound in five hundred pounds  
to consider the plaintiffs, as upon hearing the mat-  
ter the iudges should award. The queenes maiestie  
abhorring bloodshed, & (as the poet vertie well saith)  
(*Tristia sanguinei deuitans prelia campi*)  
was the taker vp of the matter, in this wise. It was  
thought good, that for Paramores assurance, the or-  
der should be kept touching the combat, and that the  
plaintiffs Loto and Rime should make default of ap-  
pearance; but that yet such as were suerties for Pailer  
their champions appearance, should bring him in;  
and likewise those that were suerties for Thorne,  
should bring in the same Thorne in discharge of  
their band: and that the court should sit in Tutill  
fields, where was prepared one plot of ground, of one  
and twentie yards square, double railed for the com-  
bat. Without the west square a stage being set vp  
for the iudges, representing the court of the common  
pleas.

All the compasse without the lists was set with  
scaffolds one above another, for people to stand and  
behold. There were behind the square where the sub-  
ges sat, two tents, the one for Pailer, the other for  
Thorne. Thorne was there in the morning timelie,  
Pailer about seauen of the clocke came thorough  
London, apparelled in a dublet, and galle galcoine  
braces all of crimson sattin, cut and rased, a hat of  
blacke velvet, with a red feather and band, before him  
drums and fises plating. The gantlet cast downe by  
George Thorne was bozne before the said Pailer  
upon a sword's point, and his baston (a staffe of an  
ell long made taper wise tipped with bozne) with his  
shield of hard leather was bozne after him, by Al-  
ham a yeoman of the queenes gard. He came into  
the palace at Westminster, and staing not long be-  
fore the hall doze, came backe into the Kings street,  
and so along thorough the Sanctuarie and Tutill  
street into the field, where he staied till past nine of  
the clocke, and then sir Jerome Bowes brought him  
to his tent: Thorne being in the tent with sir Hen-  
rie Cheinie long before.

About ten of the clocke, the court of common  
pleas removed, & came to the place prepared. When  
the lord chiefe iustice, with two other his associats  
were set, then Loto was called solemnelie to come in,  
or else to lose his wit of right. Then after a certeine  
time, the suerties of Henrie Pailer were called to  
bring in the said Pailer, champion for Simon Loto.  
And shortly thereupon, sir Jerome Bowes, leading  
Pailer by the hand, entred with him the lists, bring-  
ing him downe that square by which he entred, be-  
ing on the left hand of the iudges, and so about till he  
came to the next square, iust against the iudges, and  
there making courtelie, first with one leg and then  
with the other, passed forth till he came to the middle  
of the place, and then made the like obeisance, and so  
passing till they came to the barre, there he made the  
like courtelie, and his shield was held vp aloft over  
his head. Pailer put off his netherstocks, and so  
barefoot and barelegged, saue his like scauiloners to  
the ankles, and his dublet sleeves tied vp above the el-  
bow, and bareheaded, came in, as is aforesaid. Then  
were the suerties of George Thorne called to bring  
in the same Thorne: and immediatlie sir Henrie

Cheinie entering at the upper end on the right hand  
of the iudges, used the like order in comming about  
by his side, as Pailer had before on that other side:  
and so comming to the barre with like obeisance,  
held vp his shield. Proclamation was made that  
none should touch the barres, nor presume to come  
within the same, except such as were appointed.

After all this solemne order was finished, the lord  
chiefe iustice rehearsing the maner of bringing the  
wit of right by Simon Loto, of the answer made  
thereunto by Paramore, of the proceeding therein,  
and how Paramore had challenged to defend his  
right to the land by battell, by his champion Tho-  
mas Thorne, and of the accepting the triall that was  
by Loto with his champion Henrie Pailer: & then  
for default of appearance in Loto, he adiudged the  
land to Paramore, & dismissed the champion, acqui-  
ting the suerties of their bands. He also willed Hen-  
rie Pailer to render againe to George Thorne his  
gantlet. Whereunto the said Pailer answered, that his  
lordship might command him anie thing, but wil-  
linglie he wold not render the said gantlet to Thorne  
except he could win it. And further he challenged the  
said Thorne to play with him halfe a score blowes, to  
shew some pastime to the lord chiefe iustice; to the o-  
ther there assembled. But Thorne answered, that he  
came to fight, & would not plaie. Then the lord chiefe  
iustice commending Pailer for his valiant courage,  
commanded them both quietlie to depart the field, &c.

On the firste of Julie, Rebecca Chamber, late  
wife to Thomas Chamber of Beriettelham, was  
found culpable of poisoning the said Thomas Cham-  
ber her husband, at the assises holden at Maidstone  
in the countie of Kent. For the which fact she having  
well deserued) was there burnt on the next morrow.  
The seventh of September, the duke of Norfolkke  
was removed from the Charterhouse, to the tower  
of London prisoner. The two and twentieth of Sep-  
tember deceased John Zelwell bishop of Saltsburie,  
in his life a most eloquent and diligent preacher,  
but a far more painefull and studious writer, as his  
wokes remaining do beare witnesse, whereby his  
same shall neuer die. The ninth of November, a  
sermon was preached in Paules church at London,  
by maister William Foulkes of Cambridge, to giue  
thanks to almightie God for the victorie, which of his  
mercifull clemencie it had pleased him to grant to  
the christians in the Lenant seas, against the com-  
mon enemies of our faith, the Turks, the seventh of  
October last past. His theame was taken out of the  
firste psalme of Dauid's psalter, the fourth verse.

There were present at this sermon, the lord mai-  
or of London sir William Allen, with the aldermen  
and craftsmen in their lueries. And in the evening  
there were bonefiers made through the citie, with  
banketting and great reioicing, as god cause there  
was, for a victorie of so great importance vnto the  
whole state of the christian common-wealth. In the  
which were taken one hundred and thirtie vessels,  
that is, one hundred and seuentene galleies, and thir-  
tene galleots, beside other vessels that were bou-  
ged, abandoned, and let go at large abroad in the  
seas, as galleies, foists, and galleots, to the number  
of fourescore, or thereabouts. And of their chiefe-  
teins name in that bloudie battell, these we find by  
name as principall: Halie Bassa high admerall of  
the whole naue, Amar Beie capteine of the Fanis-  
saries, Assan Beie the sonne of Barbarossa, with  
his sonne Spehemet Beie gouernor of Mistellene,  
Gider Beie gouernour of Chio, Caplan Beie go-  
uernour of the Rhodes, Pernis Aga gouernour of  
Africa otherwise Mahomeda, Mustafa Seclu-  
bie high treasurer, Amis Clueaga capteine of Gal-  
lipolie, Tramontana chiefe maister of the Tur-  
kish

The lord  
chiefe iustice  
toucheth the  
present case.

Pailer cha-  
lengerth  
Thorne at a  
few blowes.

A woman  
burnt at  
Maidstone  
for poisoning.

Duke of  
Norfolkke  
sent to the  
tower.  
Bishop of Salts-  
burie de-  
ceased.

A sermon in  
Paules  
church for  
victorie  
gainst the  
Turkes.

The assemble  
at this scrmo.

Contareno,

Principals  
among the  
Turkes  
name.

The whole  
number of  
the slain.  
Bizari.  
Contareno.

Bizari.

Persons that  
escaped from  
this discom-  
fiture.

Woties that  
fell into the  
christians  
hands.

The number  
of the christian  
gallies & the  
Turkes.

Christian cap-  
tives set at li-  
bertye 14000.

Contareno.  
The number  
of christians  
that died.  
Bizari.

Contareno.

The space  
how long the  
battel conti-  
nued.

high emperours otome galle, Caracoja, and also ma-  
rie others, whose names were too long to rehearse:  
but the whole number that were slain of the Turkes  
could not be perfectly knowne, by reason that ma-  
nie were drowned in the sea, which was not to fight.

Some yet affirme, that there were slain of them  
in all, to the number of one and twentie thousand;  
although other speake but of fiftene thousand. But  
Contareno writeth, that there were slain and ta-  
ken 29990. Of which number he reckoneth 3846 to  
haue remained prisoners, and among them were  
these persons of name, Mahemet Beie, Sainus  
Beie, and Sirocho Beie. There escaped yet from  
this discomfiture, Bartau, generall of all the men  
of warre and soldiers by land, Ochalie, Spurate  
Kale with his sonne, and Hali Genouise, and with  
them about fortye gallies, foists, and fregats. More-  
ouer, there were found in the Turkish gallies that  
came into the hands of the christians, one hundred  
and sixtene double canons, two hundred firtie and  
five demie canons, and sixtene other great peeces  
of yaffe. For it is to be remembred, that not one  
of the Turkish gallies, but also the christians were  
thoroughly armed, furnished, and appointed with  
men, munition, and ordnance in euerye behalfe.

In Hali Bassa his gallee there were aboord three  
hundred harquebushers Fanillaries, and an hun-  
dred archers. In the gallee of Don Gloyan de Au-  
stria chiefe admerall of the christians, were four  
hundred harquebushers Spaniards, of the tierce of  
Sardigna, beside a great number of lords and gen-  
tlemen, and also beside the rowers: and in euerye o-  
ther gallee were 200 fighting men at the least,  
beside the rowers, & in some 300, & other some 400  
according to the mould of the vessels. The number  
of the christian gallies and galliots, were in all two  
hundred and two, besides six great galleasses. The  
Turkes had their gallies, galliots, and foists, to the  
number of two hundred and fiftie, as appeareth by  
the account afoze made, of those that were taken,  
abandoned, and escaped. There were belivered and  
set at libertye, about twelue thousand, some say four-  
tene thousand christian captiues, whome the Turkes  
kept for slaues, and had them chained there aboord  
with them in their gallies. But this victorie was  
not got without great losse of the christians, for be-  
side Augustine Barbarigo, the principall prouedi-  
toze of the Venetians, there died seuentene other  
gentlemen of Venice, being men of good estimati-  
on, John Cardone, & Barnardine Cardone Spa-  
niards, Virgilio and Rozatio Urbin Romans,  
Troilo, Sabello, Marco Polino, besides diuerse  
other nobles and gentlemen of name, as well Ita-  
lians, as Spaniards, and Almans.

In all, there died of the christians to the number  
of seauen thousand six hundred fiftie and six, beside  
those that were hurt, being in like number to them  
that were slain, among whom was don John de Au-  
stria, generall of all the christian armie there, Seba-  
stian Veniero the Venetians generall, & the counte  
de Santa Floze with diuerse others. Moreouer,  
there were christian gallies bouged, three of the Ve-  
netians, one of the popes, one belonging to the duke  
of Sauoye, and another to the knights of Malta.  
There was one also taken & led auaie by Ochalie,  
and his companie. Such was the successe of this bat-  
tell, which continued for the space of six houres, in the  
end whereof the victorie remaining with the christi-  
ans, caused no small reioysing through all parties of  
christendome. For if this victorie had bene followed,  
with his gracions helpe and assistance that was the  
giuer thereof, the proud and loftie hozne of the Ma-  
maelite had bene so brused, as peraduenture his  
courage would haue quailed to put forth the same so

speedlie as he did. But such is the malice of the time,  
that the christians haue more pleasure to draine their  
weapons one against another, than against that  
common enimie of vs all, who regardeth neither pro-  
testant nor catholike (they may be sure) those of the  
Greekish church nor others, as if the mercifull prouide-  
nce of the Lord of hosts do not in time disappoint  
his proceedings, it will be too soon perceived, though  
happilie too late to stop the breach, when the flood hath  
got head, and once wonne passage through the banke.

It were therfore to be wished of all those that ten-  
der the suertie of the christian commonwealth, that  
princes would permit their subjects to liue in libertie  
of conscience, concerning matters of faith: and that  
subjects againe would be readie in dutifull wise, to  
obey their princes in matters of ciuill government,  
so that compounding their controuersies among  
themselves, with tollerable conditions, they might  
employe their forces against the common enimie, to  
the benefit of the whole christian world, which (the  
more is the pittie) they haue so long exercised one a-  
gainst another, to each others destruction. And as for  
matters in variance about religion, rather to decleare  
the same with the word, than with the sword, an in-  
strument full vnfit for that purpose, and not lightlie  
used nor allowed of by the ancient fathers in time of  
the primitive church. But fith this is rather to be  
wished than hoped for, by anye apparant likelihood,  
considering the strange contrarietie of humors now  
reigning among men in sundrie parts of christen-  
dome, let vs leaue the success of our wish to the ple-  
sure of God, the author of all good haps, who ruleth  
the hartes of princes (as the poet saith) verie true

*In manibus sunt regum animi; quocumq; volunt  
Fert sua, vertit eos*

and frameth the peoples minds as seemeth best to  
his diuine prouidence. And withall, let vs also hum-  
bly offer to him our prayers, instantlie beseeching  
him to spare vs in mercie, and not to rewarde vs af-  
ter our iniquities: but rather by his omnipotent  
powe to turne from vs the violence of our enimies,  
in abridging their forces, as it may seeme good to his  
mercifull fauour and great clemencie.

The thirtieth of December Kethold Greie was by  
the queenes maiestie restored earle of Kent. The  
thirteenth of Januarie deceased sir William Peter  
knight, who for his iudgement and pregnant wit had  
bene secretarie and of the priue councill to foure  
kings and queenes of this realme, and seauen times  
ambassador abroad in forren lands: he augmented  
Exeter college in Oxford with lands, to the value of  
an hundred pounds by yeare: and also builded ten  
almes houses in the parish of Ingershore for twen-  
tie poore people, ten within the house, and ten without  
the house, hauing euerye one two pence the daie, a  
winter gowne, and two load of wood, and among  
them feeding for six kine winter and summer, and a  
chapeine to saie them seruitie daillie.

The sixteenth of Januarie the lord Thomas Ho-  
ward duke of Norfolkke was arreigned at West-  
minster hall, before George lord Talbot, earle of  
Shrewesburie, high steward of England for that  
daie, and there by his peeres found gilty of high trea-  
son, and had iudgement accordingly. The eleuenthy  
of Februarie Kencelm Barneie, and Edmund Pa-  
ther were dathen from the tower of London, and  
Henrie Wolfe from the Spithalfe in Southwiche,  
all three to Tiburne and there hanged, bowelled, and  
quartered for treason; Barneie and Pather for con-  
spiracie, and Wolfe for counterfeiting of the queens  
maiesties hand.

The queenes maiestie hearing credible by re-  
port, that certayne lewd persons, under  
pretence of

A common  
fault among  
christians.

God comfort  
us if that faith be  
the faith of  
Christ & his  
true church.

Conuictors  
beis, lead,  
other churi  
gods, are  
be punish-  
the exampl  
their too mi  
followers.

Sir William  
Dunlet lord  
treasuror  
deceased.

His ancient  
and honozal  
liuice.

Three thou-  
sand chosen  
persons for  
pillmen and  
gunners out  
of halles.

Training b  
of young fol-  
dows in the  
cub.

Master at  
Greenwich  
before the  
queens.

Earles of Ef-  
sex and Lin-  
colne created

Anno Reg. 14.  
Kethold Greie  
earle of Kent  
I. Sept. 1572  
Sir William  
Peter deceased  
his charita-  
ble deata.

I. 573  
Duke of Norfolk  
of folke arreigned  
for treason.

Master,  
Barneie, and  
Pather were  
dathen.

I. 573  
I. 573  
I. 573



executing commissions for inquiries to be made for lands concealed, contrarie to his maiesties meaning, chalenging lands, stocks of monie, plate, &c. let- ting not also to make pretense to the bels, led, and o- ther such things belonging unto parish churches or chappels. His maiestie meaning speedilie to with- stand such manner of vnlawfull practises, comman- ded, that all commissions then extant and not deter- mined, for inquisition of anie manner of conceale- ments, should be by *superficies*, out of his exchequer re- uoked. And also appointed speedie remedie to be had against such extorsioners, as more at large appeareth by proclamation, concluding thus. Finally, his ma- iestie would his iustices of assise to haue some speci- all care, not onelie to the premisses, but also to the re- forming of certeine couetous & iniurious attempts, of diuerse that of late time by other colour than for his maiesties vse, had taken auaite the led of churches and chappels; yea and bels also out of steeple, and other common goods belonging to parishes: an example not to be suffered unpunished, nor unrefo- med. And so his maiestie estones chargeth his ius- tices of his assise to prouide seuerer remedie, both for punishment and reformation thereof. Dated at Westmynster the thirtieth daie of Februarie, the fourteenth yeare of his reigne.]

The tenth of March deceased sir William Paule knight, lord saint John, earle of Wiltshire, mar- quesse of Winchester, knight of the honorable order of the garter, one of the quenes maiesties priue counsell, and lord high treasurer of England, at his manor of Walsing. This worthy man was borne in the yeare of our Lord 1483, the first yeare of king Richard the third, and liued about the age of foure score and seauen yeares, in six kings and quenes daies. He serued six kings and quenes, Henrie the seauenth, Henrie the eight, Edward the first, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth. All these he serued faithfully, and of them was greatlie fauou- red. Himselfe did see the children of his childrens children, growing to the number of one hundred and thye. A rare blessing giuen by God to men of his calling.

On the five and twentieth and six and twentieth of March, by the commandement of the quenes ma- iestie his counsell, the citizens of London assem- bling at their seuerall halles; the masters collected and chose out the most likeli and actiue persons of e- uerie their companies, to the number of thye thou- sand, whome they appointed to be pikemen and shot. The pikemen were forthwith armed in faire corselets and other furniture according therunto; the gunners had euerie of them his caluer with the furniture, and murrans on their heads. To these were appoin- ted diuerse vallant captians, who to traine them by in warlike feats, mustered them thise euerie weeke, sometimes in the artillerie yard, teaching the gun- ners to handle their peeces, sometimes at the piles end, & in saint Georges field, teaching them to skir- mish. In the which skirnish on the piles end the tenth of Aprill, one of the gunners of the goldsmiths companie was shot in the side with a pece of a scou- ring picke left in one of the caluers, wherof he died, and was buried the twelue of Aprill in Pauls church- yard; all the gunners marching from the piles end in battell raie, shot off their caluers at his graue.

On Maie daie they mustered at Greenwich be- fore the quenes maiestie, where they shewed manie warlike feats, but were much hindered by the wea- ther, which was all daie showing, they returned that present night to London, and were discharged the next morrow. The fourth of Maie Walter De- uereux, lord Ferrers of Chartleie, and vicount of Hereford was created earle of Essex; and Edward

Finces lord Clinton and Sate high admirall of En- gland was created earle of Lincoln. The eight of Maie the parlement began at Westmynster, and that same daie in the parlement by the quenes ma- iesties writs, sir Henrie Compton knight, lord of Compton in the Hote, sir Henrie Cheinie knight lord of Todington, sir William Paulet knight of Walsing, & sir Henrie Norris knight lord of Ricot, were called barons into the higher house. In this parlement, for so much as the whole realme of Eng- land was exceedinglie pestered with roges, vaga- bunds, and sturdie beggers, by meanes whereof da- lie happened diuerse horrible murders, thess, and o- ther great outrages: it was enacted, that all persons about the age of fouretene yeres, being taken beg- ging, vagarant, & wandering disorderlie, should be apprehended, whipped, and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with a hot iron of one inch com- passe for the first time so taken.

The foure & twentieth of Maie, Martine Bullocke was hanged on a gibet by the well with two buckets in Bishops gate street of London, for robbing, and most shamefullie murdering of a merchant named Arthur Hall, in the parsonage of S. Martine by the said well. This Martine had procured the said Ar- thur Hall to come to the said parsonage, to buie of him certeine plate. But after the said Arthur had well viewed the same, he said; This is none of your plate, it hath doctor Gardeners marke, and I know it to be his: What is true said Martine Bullocke, but he hath appointed me to sell it, &c. After this talke, whilest the said Arthur was weigeng the plate, the same Martine fetcht out of the kitchen a thicke wash- ing battle, and comming behind him stroke the said Arthur on the head, that he felled him with the first stroke; and then strake him againe, and after toke the said Arthurs dagger, and stiked him, and with his knife cut his throte: and after would haue trul- sed him in a Danske chest, but the same was too short. Whereupon he tumbled him downe a paire of stairs, and after thinking to haue buried him in the cellar, his legs being broken with the first fall, and stiffe, he could not draw him downe the cellar stairs being winding. Wherefore he cut off his legs with an hatchet, and in the end trussed him with straw in a drie vat: and saieing it was his apparell and bookes, caused the same to be carried to the water side, and so shipped to Rie. But as God would haue it, there was suspicion gathered against the murderer, wher- by he was examined before alderman Branch then one of the shiriffes of London, but so small likelihood appeared that he should be guiltie, that there was an honest man dwelling in saint Laurence Pontneis named Robert Cox a clothworker, who supposing the offendor to be cleare in the matter, undertoke for his forthcomming. Whereupon Bullocke being suf- fered to go at libertie, slipt awaie, first to West- minster; and there taking bote, passed by the riuer: and comming on land beyond Kingston, passed forth fill he came to Whingham, in the forrest of Wiltshire: and from thence (what moued him, I leaue to the se- cret iudgement of God) he came backe againe un- to London, lodging at the red lion in Holborne.

In the meane time the foresaid Cox, upon know- ledge had that Bullocke was withdrawen out of the waie, was not onelie had in some suspicion, but also committed to ward: albeit so as he had libertie to take order to send abroad such as should make sute after Bullocke. And amongst other that went forth, one of his seruants was sent to Rie, whether the drie vat was conueied: and comming thither, the same drie vat was opened, wherein the mangled corps of Hall was found: whereby the truth of the matter

W d d d d v. j. came

Barons made.

Roges burnt through the eare.

Martine Bullocke hanged at the well with two buckets.

Fellonie and murder com- mitted.

The manner of the murder committed.

Wherewith the murderer

The murder- er examined.

He hath liber- tie notwithstanding his offense.



The que bat, when the murdered man was put to be trauelped, defcried.

Carle of Lincolne and other ambassadors into France.

The manner of the ambassadors intertainment.

League with France confirmed in France.

The ambassadors returned out of France. The duke of Norfolke beheaded.

Schardius in reb. gest. sub Max. mil. imperat. fecundo pag. 2513.

came to light, and by the god prouidence of God, the reuealer of such enill facts, Wollocke was at the verie same time discouered at the place in Wolborne afore mentioned, and there apprehended, did receiue (as pe haue heard) due punishment for his heinous and most wicked offense.

The six and twentieth of Maie, the right honorable earle of Lincolne, departed from London towards France ambassador, being accompanied with the lord Dacres, the lord Rich, the lord Talbot, the lord Sands, and the lord Clinton, sir Arthur Chambernotwne, sir Jerome Bowes, and sir Edward Hastings knights, with diuerse other gentlemen, who taking ship at Dover, cut ouer to Bullongne, where they were verie honorablie receiued, and conueied by iournies to Paris, where they were lodged in a house of the kings named le chasteau de Loure, being attended vpon of the kings officers. Five daies after they went to the king at a house called Spadill, where the king with his two brethren, the admerall, & the most part of the nobles of France met them: a distance from the place, & brought them to the house: where they dined, and abode till sundae following, from whence the king and his nobles with the nobles of England came to Paris. The king, his two brethren, & our ambassador riding in one coach together, and the nobles of England and France being so placed also in coaches, came to the said castell of Loure, and there dined. After dinner the king, our ambassador, with the nobilitie of both realmes, went to a church named saint Germaine, where the French king, his brethren, and nobilitie heard euen song. The noblemen of England withdrawing them into a chappell till euen song was done, were then fetched thence by the nobles of France to the king and his brethren that awaited their comming, where was confirmed the league which had bene concluded at Blois the nineteenth of Aprill, deputies being there for the French partie, Francis Montmorencie, Ketsold Birago, Sebastian de Laubespine, and Paule de Foix: and for the queene of England, sir Thomas Smith, and maister Walsingham ambassadors.

This being done, they departed without the wals of Paris, to a garden of pleasure, where they supped. After supper, the king departed to his place of Spadill, and the nobles of England vnto the castell of Loure. On mondaie, the admerall feasted the nobles of England: vpon tuesday, the duke of Aniou the kings brother, and on wednesday the duke of Alanson his younger brother, and so passed in feasting and banketting, with rich gifts on both parts. On fridaie, the nobles of England toke leaue of the king, and on sundaie came to saint Denis, and after to Bullongne, where they toke ship, and returned into England the fourth of Iulie. The second of June in the morning, betwaine the houres of seven and eight, Thomas Howard duke of Norfolke, was beheaded on a scaffold newlie set vp on tower hill. This execution in a short time was spread abroad, for fame, which (as the poet saith in few words

*volat leuibus sublata per aethera pennis*)

had founded the same farre and neere: insomuch that in tract of time, as men had leasure to laie their collections togither, among other things this is recozded: even of strangers. For the execution of an honorable personage must needs be so much the more notorious, as his misdeed is dishonorable. Touching the duke therefore this I find in Schardius (holwouer he came to the knowledge thereof) a moderne hystorien, and doctor of the laies in Basill. The duke of Norfolke, who (as we haue said) was condemned for treason the sixteenth daie of Januarie, was brought out of the tower of London, to a plaine hard

by, which they call the hill; in the middle thereof a scaffold had bene builded manie yeares ago serving for execution: which being old was both rotten and ruinous. For queene Elisabeth hauing with mercie gouerned hir commonwealth, there was no punishment inflicted there vpon anie for the space of foureene yeares. Wherefore a new scaffold must needs be made. Which when the duke at seven of the clocke in the morning had mounted, hauing on a silken doublet, & a long gowne of like fine stufte, all blacke, earnestlie he beheld the people round about with his cap on his head. Now when he had stood still a prettie while, and cast his eyes vpon the scaffold, he asked whereabouts he might best stand to speake vnto the people: For the scaffold was foure square, and the people came flocking from all places. Now when he was directed to the east side thereof, and the people had muttered and whispered diuerslie among themselves, maister Alexander Nowell deane of Paules besought them that were present to be silent and still. Then began the duke to speake to the people as foloweth.

The duke of Norfolkes vvords vttered on the scaffold at tower hill when he should be executed

**I**S no rare thing (god people) to see a man come hither to die, albeit since this queens most blessed reigne I be the first, I praise God I be the last. The people said Amen. It is a hard matter for a man of my calling to vse long speech in such an audience, either for that audacitie serues me not, or for that comming to such an end as I do, the feare of death troubleth me: and therefore I beseech you all heartlie to beare with me, I will not be long, I will make a short speech and diuide my talke into thre parts. And first concerning my offense towards my prince, wherein some thing I haue to confesse against my selfe, and in some thing to clere my selfe. I come not to complaine against my peres, I do acquit them, I haue deserved to die, it is not unknowne. I haue dealt with the queene of Scots in verie great and high matters, without making my prince praiue thereunto, other wise than I ought to haue done.

There is one thing, which greatly troubleth my conscience, that is: when I was first deliuered out of this place, I made a submission, & promised the queene neuer to deale further in that matter; and yet contrarie to my promise I meant & did otherwise, I am sorrie for it. It was reported I made a vow and toke a solemne oth, and receiued the communion vpon it, that is not true: the other was too much. It was reported also I went about to destroye the citie of London: I take God to my witnesse I neuer meant to hurt this citie. I haue dealt with suspected persons, and such as haue shewed themselves enemies to the state; especiallie one I will name, to wit one Radulpho, whom I neuer talked withall but once, and then I liked not his dealing, he shewed me two letters which he said came from the pope.

Then said one of the thiriffes of London, God my lord be short: he said, I will be short, I haue not much to saie, god gentlemen beare witnesse, I come not to clere my selfe. I saw two letters, the one inclosed and the other disciuered. I was charged to confeder with the rebels, I take God to witnesse I did neuer. The secondarie interrupted him and said, I praise you my lord go not about to clere your selfe, you haue bene tried as honourable, as anie noble man hath euer bene in this land: I praise you make short, for the houre is past, it is vpon the perill of their liues (meaning the thiriffes) they can not suffer you.

For men ones heare and see the queenes behaviour.

The attitude, behaviour, & gesture of the duke at his execution.

Maister Nowell deane of Paules the dukes ghostly father.

He meant confession his relig

He confel himselfe bound to queens maistie.

He sheweth howe he should be executed.

He putteth people in mind of Lartins words betwixt him & Edward.

He protesteth and manie wayes sheweth howe the euill of his praiue

He sheweth the world to be a game, &

He instructeth himselfe against the sinne of malicie.

Foreign nation  
may here and  
there of the  
piousness  
of the  
government.

The attire,  
behaviour, &  
gesture of the  
duke at his  
execution.

Master  
Powell borne  
of Powles the  
dukes school-  
master.

The duke  
confelleth his  
offence against  
the queenes  
maiestie.

He is solee for  
the violating  
of his promise  
made to the  
queene.

He maketh  
himselfe to claue  
himselfe in his  
owne point.

He meaneth  
confession of  
his religion.

He confelleth  
himselfe much  
bound to the  
queenes  
maiestie.

He meaneth  
he was one of  
the  
counsellors.

He putteth the  
queenes mind  
to remembrance  
of his offence  
against the king  
his sonne.

He prayeth  
for his name  
and prayeth  
for the effect  
of his prayer.

He prayeth  
for all  
the world to  
be saved, &c.

He prayeth  
for the  
soules of  
all the  
faithful.

Wh I praye you giue me leaue a little, I doe confesse  
my fault. This is my confession, I doe confesse it,  
notwithstanding my religion. It hath been reported  
I haue bene a papist, a confederat with papists, a  
friend to them, and a maintainer of them, and of their  
religion: I take God to witness I am none, nor  
uer was a papist since I knew what religion ment.  
I haue had friends, yea familiar friends, yea perad-  
venture seruants that haue bene papists, with whom  
I haue bozine: but I take God to witness I am  
none, I utter the desse the pope and his religion, and  
I hope to be saved onlie by my faith in Iesus Christ:  
and I utter the abhorre all mans traditions. And if  
at any time I did some countenance to any papist,  
whereby any goodman of the church was offended,  
I aske them mercede: there is no man that allow-  
eth better of this religion than I doe. When he was  
desired againe to be short. But touching the god-  
nesse of the queenes maiestie. I am much bound to  
his grace. I doe thanke his humble for that he hath  
forgiuen all my offences, and hath prolonged my life  
so long. Whise he hath bene to me, I haue  
bene looked for here long before this time, God send  
his long ouer you to reigne, he hath promised me to  
be gracious to my poore orphan children. God grant  
my death maie end all troubles. And if any of you  
haue any one faction, or two, or three, or mo, let him  
giue ouer & forsake it. Manie with and desire diuerse  
things: but they know not what they wish. They  
seek their owne destruction. If euerie man should  
haue his wish, God knoweth how manie would re-  
pent, whatsoeuer they are.

The queene hath promised in my death to forgiue  
all, and I praye God that the maie liue manie yeeres.  
I remember well the words of that good father and  
holle martyr Latimer. He told the people, that for  
their wickednesse God would take awaie his bles-  
sing from them. I praye God the contrarie, that your  
god life maie be such, that God maie turne awaie  
those plagues that he hath thretened. He spake it in an  
honorable place, in the pulpit, before king Edward:  
yet let not this place discredit my words. I praye  
God preserve the queenes maiestie, and that the maie  
liue and reigne ouer you manie yeeres: euen to the  
worlds end, which I beleue that some one alius shall  
see. Then he kneeled downe and prayed, and master  
Powell kneeled downe by him and wept, with ma-  
nie others. His prayer was vnto God for the conti-  
nuance of the truth of his gospel; he prayed also in-  
stantly for the queenes most prosperous reigne, and  
kneeling vpon his knees he said two psalms, to wit  
*Miserere* and *Domine ne in furore*, and in the first psalme  
he prayed to build the wals of Ierusalem, according  
to the psalme. Master Powell said, What is meant  
of Christs church. I know that well (said he) I meane  
not the church of Rome, I abhorre it, but the church  
of England and of all the world wheresoeuer it be.

I haue forgotten one thing, I thanke the God  
that hath put me in mind of it. I forgiue all the world  
and I aske all the world forgiveness: and I protest  
before God, if I knew any particular man I had  
offended, I would name him aske him forgiveness.  
When he read the other psalme, wherein adulterie is  
mentioned, and when he came to that point, he said:  
I would I were as cleare in euerie thing as in that,  
saying for thought, and that is as euill. Then he said  
a collect, and in the end he said, *In manus tuas Domine*,  
&c. in Latine and English. And then he desired the  
people to praye for him while he liued, for (quoth he)  
I looke not to haue any excuse after my death. When  
he imbraced Sir Henrie Leic, and after a few secret  
words betwene them, Master Powell stood up and  
said to the people. He doth desire you all with one  
voice to saie Lord haue mercede vpon him, and after

to saie no more words, nor to make any shont or  
stirring for troubling of him in his last visitation.  
Then the duke kneeled downe, and master Powell  
bowed himselfe towards him with manie imbra-  
sing, and toke there leaue each of other. When the ex-  
ecutioner desired him kneeling to forgiue him: and  
he toke him by the hand and forgaue him, and then  
requested sight of the axe; Master Powell said, The  
sight will trouble you. He answered, No, let me see  
it: but he shewed it not, & then he laied his necke vpon  
the blocke. Then the executioner said; My lord  
your head lieth not well. I will make it lie well, saith  
he, & therewith lifting vp his bodie he laied his necke  
euen vpon the blocke, which done it was cut cleane  
off at one stroke. This was the end of the duke  
of Northfolke, a man whose life God had limited,  
as also the estate wherein he sometimes flourished:  
both which (as all things else) in a short time vanished.  
Let all degrees therefore learne, both by precept and  
example to know God principallie, secondlie their  
sovereigne Gods annointed, and finally themselves  
to be subiects: forgetting their owne honour, which  
passeth men vpon manie times with the wind of vain  
glorie, euen to their owne ouerthrow, whilest they  
become insolent, and dreame that the transitory ad-  
uancements of this world will make them princes,  
princes pères; naie (monstrous madnesse) gods,  
whereas all things are mutable and momentanie,  
and the higher that a man doth cline, the greater is  
his fall: as verie aptlie saith the poet in these words:

*Hoc fragili varijs voluntur casibus orbe  
Omnia, celsa ruit turris grauiore ruina.*

### The discourse and catalog of all the dukes of England by creation or descent since the time of the conquest.

**T**wo sentences, the one an Italian pro-  
uerbe, the other an old English byword  
haue moued me to make this collection  
(at the request of an other) of all the  
dukes of England. First the Italian said that  
France cannot abide any treasure, England  
and dukes, nor Scotland any kings, the truth wher-  
of need no confirming examples to be set downe,  
sith (as saith the philosopher) things subiect to the sense  
need no further profe. Secondlie the English saying  
hath been, that a bag of five shillings shall beare all  
the dukes of England & Scotland, being spoken in  
no sense of disgrace to that honorable title: but one-  
lie to shew that the time should come, wherein there  
should be no dukes in England or Scotland. How  
true the same is in England, and likelie againe to  
be in Scotland (being once before verified in that  
realme, for about five years past, there was no duke  
there also when the duke of Aineur was banished):  
uerie man doth well perceiue. For the death of this  
Thomas duke of Northfolke, being the last of that  
honour hath iustified the same in England. And the  
tumults in Scotland may perhaps shew the veritie  
the same in that countrie, in which there were neuer  
so few dukes, as that they cannot make the first and  
smallest number for being but one in that countrie,  
and he verie pong (which is the duke of Aineur) if he  
should miscarie, the same would againe also be as  
true there as it is now here. For which cause to per-  
petuat the memories of such antiquities and titles  
of honor, as age hath consumed with the persons  
which intoted such prehemences in England, I will  
from the first creation of any duke since the con-  
quest recite the creation, descent, and succession of  
all the dukes of England, shewing first the time of  
the creation of such dukes, & secondlie the descent of  
all such dukes as are lineallie issued out of that crea-  
tion,

The collectie  
of Francis  
Botemille  
alias Chin,  
in the yeare of  
Christs 1589.

Edward the  
blacke prince,  
duke of Corn-  
wall.

Henrie Plana-  
tagenet duke  
of Lancaster.

John of  
Gant duke  
of Lancaster.

tion, which follow as they came in one line.

Edward (the eldest sonne of king Edward the third) being surnamed the blacke prince, was made duke of Cornewall the eleuenth of Edward the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1337, when he was yet but yong. This yong prince was the first duke in England since the conquest, and Cornewall was by that creation the first place that was erected to a dukedome. Which duke, being the flower of chivalrie in his time, died about the fiftith yeare of king Edward the third; in the yeare of Christ 1376, and was buried at Canturburie.

Henrie Plantagenet *alias* Tort Colle (because his head leaned somewhat to one shoulder like the great Macedone king Alexander, whose valure in feats of armes this Henrie did also imitate) being sonne to Henrie of Monmouth earle of Lancaster, was in like sort earle of Lancaster by descent. After which he was created earle of Darbie, as some saie in the eleauenth yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1337, other saie in the fourteenth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our saluation 1340. He was created duke of Lancaster as some haue in the six & twentieth yeare of Edward the third, as other haue the seauen & twentieth, and as the third sort haue the eight & twentieth yeare of Edward the third. He was lord steward of England, & lieutenant of Guines. This man was wise, glorious in fortune, and full of honor in feats of armes, whilst he was yong: he died the nine and thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, being one of the first knights which were made at the first institution of the honorable order of the garter, and the second duke that was made in England. He had issue two daughters & heires, Patow married to William duke of Bauare, earle of Henalt, Zealand & Holand, which after became mad; & Blanch married to John of Gant, fourth sonne to Edward the third.

John Plantagenet, surnamed of Gant in Flanders, where he was borne, the fourth sonne to king Edward the third, was first by his father in the five and thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1361, made duke of Lancaster, so that he was duke of Lancaster, earle of Lincoln, Salisburie, Darbie and Leicester, king of Castile & Arne, and steward of England. He married three wiues, the first was Blanch the daughter and heire of Henrie duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Lincoln, Sarisburie & Darbie, in whose right he obtained all those titles of honor, whome he married in the thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord 1359, and by hir had issue Henrie Plantagenet duke of Hereford; Philip married in the tenth yeare of Richard the second (in the yeare of Christ 1386, as some saie; or rather 1385, as others haue) to the king of Portingale; and Elisabeth married to John Holland erle of Huntingdon. His second wife was Constance eldest daughter to Peter king of Castile, whom he married in the six & fortieth yeare of Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ 1372, by whome he had issue Margaret married to the king of Castile, which Constance died in the yeare of Christ 1394, as saith Ypodigma. His third wife was Katharine the widow of John Swinford, and daughter to sir Walein Haet *alias* Guien king at armes, whom he married in the ninthteenth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ 1395, or as some saie 1396, by this woman he had before marriage Thomas Beaufort, John Beaufort, Henrie Beaufort cardinal of Winchester, & Jane married to Rafe Penill earle of Westmerland, all which children were in the twentieth of Richard the second, being in the yeare 1396, legitimated by parlement: at which time the said John of Gant gaue them the surname of Beau-

fort. This John of Gant was also earle of Richmond and constable of France in the time of Richard the second, who made him also duke of Aquitaine in the fourteenth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare 1390. This John of Gant died in the two & twentieth yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare 1398, or as saith Ypodigma 1399, & was buried in the quere of Saint Pauls church of London, on the north side.

Henrie Plantagenet *alias* Henrie of Bolinbroke so surnamed of the place of his birth, the eldest son of the said John, was by inheritance duke of Lancaster, earle of Leicester, Salisburie, Darbie, and Lincoln. He was created duke of Hereford by Richard the second, who made him earle of Darbie, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, in the yeare of Christ 1386, and after made him duke of Hereford in the 21 yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1397. Which Henrie of Bolinbroke married in the 2 yeare of the reigne of Richard the second, in the yeare of Christ 1386, Marie the second daughter, & one of the heires of Humfrie Bohune earle of Hereford & Essex, and constable of England, which woman died in the yeare of Christ 1394, about the eighteenth yeare of Richard the second. This Henrie was after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth.

Lionell Plantagenet surnamed Lionell of Antwerpe in Brabant, because he was there borne, being the third son of king Edward the third, was erle of Ulster in Ireland by his wife, and created duke of Clarence in the 36 yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1462; but other saie he was made duke in the 33 yeare of Edward the third. He had two wiues, the first Elisabeth, some saie Eleanor (but rightlie as I do suppose) the daughter of William Burgh earle of Ulster, by whom he had issue Philip married to Edmund earle of March: the second wife was Felant or Melant daughter to Calcas duke of Millane, to whom he was married, as saith the English chronicle, in the two and fortieth yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of Christ 1368: which yeare the Italians count 1367, by whom he had no issue. This Lionell was sometime regent of France, & died 1368.

Edmund of Langley, sixth son to Edward the third made earle of Cambridge about the six and thirtieth yeare of Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1361, was made duke of Yorke in the eight, or (as some haue) the ninth yeare of the said king Richard the second. He in the six and fortieth yeare of king Edward the third, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1372, married Isabell one of the daughters of Peter king of Castile, and sister by the mother to Constance second wife to John of Gant duke of Lancaster, brother to this Edmund, who was about the twentieth yeare of Richard the second protektor of England, while the king was in Ireland, which Isabell died in the yeare of Christ 1394, being about the eighteenth yeare of Richard the second, & by the kings commandement was buried in the friers of Langley. This Edmund had issue by his wife Isabell Edward earle of Rutland, and duke Albermerle, Richard earle of Cambridge, and one daughter called Constance married to Thomas lord Spencer: he died the second (as some haue) or rather the third (as others haue) of Henrie the 4, in the yeare of Christ, as saith Ypodigma 1402, and was buried at Langley.

Edward Plantagenet son and heire of Edmund of Langley duke of Yorke, was in the fourteenth of Richard the second created erle of Rutland in his fathers life, in the yeare of Christ 1390, and in the twentieth yeare of Richard the second, or rather the 21 of the same king, being the yeare of Christ 1397, he was made duke of Albermerle or Aumerle, and after his fathers death he was duke of Yorke: he was slaine at the battell of Agincourt, in the third yeare

Henrie Plana-  
tagenet duke  
of Lancaster  
and Hertford,  
king of Eng-  
land.

Lionell Plana-  
tagenet duke  
of Clarence.

Edmund  
Plantagenet  
duke of York.

Thomas  
Plantagenet  
surnamed of  
woolstoke  
duke of Glo-  
cester.

Thomas  
Holland duke  
of Surreie.

yeare of Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1415, he married Margaret, or rather more trulie Philip the ladie Fitzwater, and widow to sir John Collafer knight, bastard sonne to sir John Collafer of Ceredone or Saredone knight in Dorsetshire. And here because I haue mentioned the name of Collafer, although it be digressing from my first purposes, onlie to treat of the dukes of England, I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat of these two knights, of the Collafers, sir John the father, and sir John the sonne. This sir John Collafer the father being the sonne of John Collafer esquier (whose ancestours as farre as I can learne had their first originall from Roger Collafer of Ceredone in the time of king John, and was buried in *Domo capitulari de Brueva in com. oxon.*) married Anne the daughter and heire of sir Thomas Langleie lord of Langleie in Dorsetshire (now at this date in the yeare 1585, by grant of queene Elisabeth, in the possession of Robert Sutton or Dudleie earle of Leicester) which Anne died shortly after without anie issue by him. After whose death this sir John Collafer married Iabell the ladie of Millenden (dwelling at Millenden) and of Queintone in Buckinghamshire, the being daughter to sir Barnard Bocas. But this sir John Collafer hauing no issue by the said Elisabeth, and desirous by some meanes or other to continue his name (which yet he could not make perpetuall nor of anie long continuance) made choise in the life of his wife Iabell of another woman, whome he used for procreations cause, and by hir had issue two bastards, one called Jennet Pulham after prioresse of Burnham by Windsoze, and an other bastard called after the father John Collafer, who in following time became a knight. Afterward this sir John the father died at Queintone in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, seauentie and nine, falling partlie in the second and thirde yeare of Henrie the fourth, and was buried at the Graie friers in Dorset, whose wife Iabell was after buried in Millenden priorie.

After the death of this sir John the father, sir John Collafer knight his base sonne being lord of Langleie, married Phillip ladie Fitzwater, after married to this duke of Poike (as before is said) which sir John Collafer died at Wallingfoyd, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, ninetie and six, being the twentieth yeare of Richard the second, and was buried at Westminster, nere vnto the towne of Richard the second. Which ladie Phillip died in the time of Henrie the first, and was buried at Westminster, nere vnto hir husband, whose flatelie tome is yet extant, on the south side almost directlie oueragainst the towne of Richard the second. Thus this much for the name of Collafer; and so againe to the dukes of England.

Thomas Plantagenet, otherwise called Thomas of Woodstocke, first sonne to king Edward the third, was created earle of Buckingham, the first yeare of Richard the second, in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, seauentie and seauen, the daie of his coronation before dinner. This man was high constable of England, and created duke of Gloucester, in the eight yeare of Richard the second, of whom is more especiall mention made in the treatise of the constables of England, pag. 867.

Thomas Holland, brother by the mothers side to king Richard the second, and sonne to the lord Thomas Holland (earle of Kent, in the right of Jane, daughter and heire to Edmund Plantagenet, surnamed of Woodstocke earle of Kent) was advanced to the title of duke of Surrie in the two and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second, being the yeare of Christ one thousand, three hundred, ninetie

and seauen, he married Alice the daughter of Richard Fitzallen earle of Arundell. He had issue six daughters & heires; Margaret married to John Beaumont earle of Summerset, and marquesse Dorset; Alice married to Thomas Montacute earle of Salisbury; Elisabeth, married to John lord Peuill sonne to Rafe Peuill the first earle of Westmerland, and after his death to Edward Chareleton lord Poike; Joane married to Edmund of Langleie duke of Poike; and Bridget a nun at Barking. This man with others, at a parlement held the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, three hundred, ninetie and nine, was deprived of his name of duke, & of all honours, together with the dignities belonging to a duke, & was after in the same yeare (rebellling against king Henrie the fourth) taken by the men of Cirencester, and beheaded in the same towne, after that he had caused the towne to be set on fire.

John Holland full brother to Thomas Holland, and halfe brother to Richard the second, was created earle of Huntingdon in the fourteenth yeare of king Richard the second, and made duke of Excester at a parlement holden in the one & twentieth yeare of the same king, though some attribute that to the twentieth yeare of king Richard. This man at a parlement held in the first of Henrie the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1399, was disgraced from his title of duke, and was after taken at Wyetwell in Essex in a mill, and beheaded at Wallie in the said shire, in the said first yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, he married Elisabeth the daughter of John of Cant duke of Lancaster, and had issue John Holland earle of Huntingdon.

John Holland earle of Huntingdon was (as it seemeth) made by Henrie the fourth (after the death of the duke of Excester his father) & admitted to be duke of Excester, he married Anne the daughter of Edmund earle of Stafford, he had issue Henrie Holland duke of Excester, and Anne married to sir John Peuill knight, brother of Rafe the third of that name earle of Westmerland, he died the six and twentieth of king Henrie the first on the first of August, being the yeare of Christ 1448, and was buried at St. Bartharins nigh the tower of London. After which his first wife he married Anne the daughter of John Montacute earle of Salisbury, by whome he had no issue.

Henrie Holland sonne of John Holland was (after the death of his father) duke of Excester, he was disinherited in the first of Edward the fourth at a parlement held then in the yeare 1461, he married Anne daughter to Richard duke of Poike, and sister to king Edward the fourth, which Anne at hir owne sute on the twelue of Nouember in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1471, was diuorced from the said duke of Excester. Shortly after which, in the yeare of Christ 1413, being in the thirtenth of Edward the fourth, this duke was found dead in the sea betwene Dover & Calles, but how he came there none could certenlie declare. He died without issue, leaving his sister Anne his heire, married (as before) to John Peuill brother to Rafe earle of Westmerland.

Robert Were earle of Orford and marquesse of Dubline was in the yeare of Christ 1386, in the tenth of Richard the second created duke of Ireland, he died without issue at Louaine in great penurie and vncration of mind, as hath Ypodigma, in the yeare of Christ 1392, being about the sixteenth of king Richard the second, he married the daughter of Ingerrame de Couise earle of Bedford, and after diuorced from hir he married Lancercrona one of meane parentage.

John Holland duke of Excester.

John Holland duke of Excester.

Henrie Holland duke of Excester.

Robert Were duke of Ireland.

Margaret  
Segraue  
duchess of  
Norfolk.

Margaret ladic Segraue the daughter and heire of Thomas Brotherton earle of Norfolk and marshall of England, was created duchesse of Norfolk in the one and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second, she had two husbands, whereof the first was John lord Segraue; by whom she had issue Elisabeth married to John Howbzeie the third of that name. His second husband was sir Walter Manny knight of the order, by whom she had a daughter married to John lord Hastings erle of Penbroke. This duchesse Margaret died in the yeare of Christ 1399, being about the thre and twentieth of Richard the second, and was buried in the frier Spinoz of London.

Thomas lord  
Howbzeie  
duke of Nor-  
folk.

Thomas lord Howbzeie second sonne of Elisabeth Segraue and John lord Howbzeie his husband was advanced to the dukedome of Norfolk, in the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of Richard the second. Shortly after which he was appeled by Henrie earle of Bullingbroke of treason, and caried to the castell of Windsoze, where he was strongly and safely garded, hauing a time of combat granted to determine the cause betwene the two dukes the sixteenth daie of September, in the two and twentieth of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1398. But in the end the matter was so ordered, that this duke of Norfolk was banished for ever: whereupon taking his iourneie to Jerusalem, he died at Venice in his returne fro the said cite of Jerusalem in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, about the yeare of our redemption 1399. He married Elisabeth one of the daughters and heires of Richard erle of Arundell Warren and Surreie, by whom he had issue John duke of Norfolk, and thre daughters, Elisabeth married to Michaell de la Pole the younger earle of Suffolke, Margaret married unto sir Robert Howard knight, and Isabel married to sir James Barkleie.

John How-  
bzeie duke of  
Norfolk.

John Howbzeie earle of Nottingham marshall of England and duke of Norfolk, baron Segraue and Wober, was buried in the Charterhouse within the ile of Erholme, he married Katharine the daughter of Rafe the first earle of Westmerland, by whom he had issue John duke of Norfolk.

John How-  
bzeie duke of  
Norfolk.

John lord Howbzeie the first baron of the name of Howbzeie, sonne to John duke of Norfolk, was after his father duke of Norfolk. This John was buried in Welford priore, who marieng Celenor the daughter of William lord Burchier earle of Ewe, had issue John duke of Norfolk.

John How-  
bzeie duke of  
Norfolk.

John the last duke of Norfolk of the surname of Howbzeie, the sonne of John the last before mentioned, was in his fathers life time created earle of Warren and Surreie by king Henrie the first, and after the death of his father was duke of Norfolk. This John the last duke died in his castell of Fremmingham, in the yeare 1461, being the second yeare of king Edward the fourth. He married Elisabeth daughter to John lord Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, by whom he had issue one onelie daughter and heire, married to Richard duke of York second son to Edward the fourth.

Th: Planta-  
genet duke of  
Clarence.

Thomas Plantagenet second sonne to Henrie the fourth, was created duke of Clarence in the eleuenth yeare of his father, being about the yeare of our redemption 1409, and was afterward in the 13 of the same king created earle of Armerle, and high steward of England: he was slaine the two and twentieth of March, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of the victorious king Henrie the fifth, in the yeare of our redemption 1420, beginning the yeare of our Lord on the five and twentieth daie of March. He married Margaret the daughter of Thomas Holland earle of Kent, and died without issue legitimat, hauing a base sonne called John the bassard of Cla-

rence.

John Plantagenet third son to Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Bedford, at the parlement of Leicester, in the yeare of Christ 1414, in the second of king Henrie the fifth. Of this man is more large mention made in my discourse of the protectors of England.

Humfreie Plantagenet fourth sonne of Henrie the fourth, was by his father created duke of Gloucester, who for the nobilitie of his mind and vertuous life, was made protector of England. Of whom is more spoken in my former discourse of the protectors of England.

John Beaufort (which name of Beaufort was given by John of Cant to his children which he had by Katharine Swineford, when they were made legitimate by parlement, about the one and twentieth yeare of king Richard the second as is before touched) was created marquesse Dorset by Henrie the fourth, and after advanced to the honour of duke of Summerfet, in the first yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1412. He married Margaret the daughter of sir John Beanchampe lord of Powicke, he had issue Margaret married to Edmund Haddam earle of Richmond father to king Henrie the seventh: after the death of which Edmund she was married to Thomas lord Stonleie, afterward by Henrie the seventh created earle of Darbie, and after unto Henrie sonne to Humfreie duke of Buckingham. This duke of Summerfet died the two and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, and was buried at Winborne, in the yeare of Christ 1444. And his daughter the ladic Margaret died at Westminster on the nine and twentieth of June, in the first yeare of king Henrie the eighth, in the yeare of Christ a thousand five hundred and nine, about thre score and five yeares after the death of his father.

Thomas Beaufort sonne to John of Cant duke of Lancaster and Katharine Swineford was created duke of Excester, in the first yeare of king Henrie the fifth, of whom is mention made in my protectors.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of John Beaufort duke of Summerfet, was created earle Dorset in the seventh yeare of king Henrie the fifth. He was created marquesse Dorset and duke of Summerfet by king Henrie the first, he was made regent of Normandie, and lost the whole countrie to the French: for which after his coming out of Normandie in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, he was on the first of December the same yeare, being the yeare of our Lord 1450, apprehended and put under arrest, and his goods by the commons solie despoiled and caried awaie from the Blacke friers. He was slaine at the battell of S. Albons in Poits, the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our Lord 1455, and was with Henrie Berke earle of Northumberland, and Thomas lord Clifford buried at S. Albons. He married two times, the first was Celenor the daughter of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwick, & widow to Thomas lord Rolle, by whom he had issue Henrie duke of Summerfet, Edmund duke of Summerfet, John marques Dorset, Margaret married to Humfreie duke of Buckingham, Elisabeth married to sir Henrie Lewes knight, Celenor married to James Butler earle of Wiltshire, and after to sir Robert Spenser, Anne married to sir William Pastone knight, and Jone married to the lord Moth of Ireland. His second wife was Jone, who was after married to Henrie Somersfield knight, of the which Edmund duke of Summerfet, and the other lords poet John

John Plantagenet  
duke of Bedford.

Humfreie  
Plantagenet  
duke of Gloucester.

See pag. 125

John Beaufort  
duke of Summerfet.

John Beaufort  
duke of Excester.

In the year  
of Christ  
1460.

Thomas  
Beaufort  
duke of Excester.

Edmund  
Beaufort  
duke of Summerfet.

The battell  
fought  
fourteenth of  
March in the  
yeare 1461, a  
rounding to the  
account of the  
that begin  
the yeare at  
January.  
About 2000  
laine, where  
much knight  
& gentlemen.



Gower with the same verses hereafter following:

*Quos mors quos Martis fors saeva, suaq; sororis  
Bella prostravit, vultu medioque necavit,  
Mors sic occisos tumulaverat hic simul ipsos,  
Postq; necem requie causavit habere perennem  
Et medium sine quo vult hic requiescere nemo,  
Hic lis, hic pugna mors est qui terminat arma,  
Mors fors & Mauors qui straverunt dominos hos.*

Henrie Beaufort eldest sonne to Edmund duke of Summerfet was after the death of his father erle of Dorset, marquisse Dorset, and duke of Summerfet, he was capitaine of Calis; who with other nobles in the nine and thirtieth of Henrie the first slue the duke of Poike at the battell of Wakefield, in the yeare of our redemption 1460; according to the accompt of England. Shortly after which, is Henrie the first, whom this duke supported all that he could, was depofed, & Edward the fourth crowned. Touching which depofing of the one, & crowning of the other, although it be impertinent to the treatise of the dukes of England, having here so good place therfore, I will set downe such verses as I have found in I. Whethamsted, adding further such other verses also as I find in him, concerning a battell fiercely fought at Fferibrig in Poikefhire, in this sort:

*X. numero seni lapsi sunt circiter anni,  
Postquam successit lex iuris, iurēne rexit,  
Anglorum regnum vis non ius rexe rat ipsum  
Iam noua progenies, quia caelo venit ab alto  
Saturni soboles, qua nomine dicitur alto  
Edwardus quartus, Richardo sanguine iunctus  
Creditur a multis, redeunt Saturnia nostris  
Temporibus secula, visq; nephas simul vna  
Deperit, iura lex & pax sunt reditura.  
Fraus etiamque dolus cessabunt, ac violentus  
Raptus auaritia, subeunt verumque fidesque:  
Haec spes plebis erat, clerici chorus haecq; putabat.  
Det ceu speratur regnum Deus ut statuatur,  
Et plebs tranquille vivat clerus atq; quiete.*

Then of the time of that former recited warre, in which the northerne men were overcomen, there were these verses made, upon the excesse and cruell which they outrageouslie committed in the south parts of England, without regard of God, obedience to their naturall prince, reverence to the church, lone to their native countrie, or benefite to themselves:

*M. semel X. sena centum quater I. simul vno  
In Martis mense terdena denique luce,  
In patria Borea Ferrebrig prope iugera villa,  
Pugna fuit plebis acris nimis & satis atrox.  
Vicerat Arcthos in bello Martius heros,  
Junior Edwardus Hector novus alter Achilles  
Prostravit multos Austro tunc cesserat Arcthos,  
Et doluit casum supra X. bis millia, quorum  
Quamplures domini plures & erant generosi  
Illius patria flos ut fors tunc cecidere.  
Et merito, quonia spoliarunt nequiter Austrum.  
Laus agitur Domino, sit honor sit gloria Christo  
Cessat nunc status grandis Borea q; boatus,  
Ing, Austrum cecidit, Aequalis ventum variavit,  
Est Boreas mordens, & valde ventus adurens,  
Est Ausfer iustus, vult morsu rodere morsus,  
Et male mordentes bene vires tollere eidem,  
Est Zephyrus placidus, est suavis frater & eius,  
Hinc Boreasq; Aquilo pro nunc clauduntur in antro.*

Furthermore, touching the title of the same king Edward the fourth to the government of the kingdom of England, and of his right and truth thereunto were these following verses composed, to declare the depofition of king Henrie the first, as be

foresaid in the coronation of Edward the fourth, and how the same kingdome of England, with all the members thereof, did belong to Edward the fourth, as unto the rightfull lineall heire to the same with his pedigree, prouting the same also in this sort:

*In sibi coniunctis<sup>a</sup> Edwardi semine natis  
Ortus erat primo<sup>b</sup> Leonellus<sup>c</sup> Iohnque secundo,  
Cedat lex regni vultu iunior ut seniori.  
Attamen<sup>d</sup> Henricus haeres genitrisque Iohannis  
Per vim sceptrigerum regimen tuleratque coronam,  
Et tenuit multum sed non sine viribus annis.  
Illi successit rex<sup>e</sup> qui si non caruisset  
Instituta titulo, non Hector dignior ipso:  
Non iudex Eacus, non ore politus<sup>f</sup> Vlysses.  
Ipso defuncto successit<sup>g</sup> filius in quo  
Stirps ea cessavit. Haeres rectus remeavit  
Scilicet<sup>h</sup> Edwardus Leonelli proximus haeres,  
Hic petijt regimen,<sup>i</sup> rex obstat, datque negamen.  
Res agitur belli, vicit sanguis Leonelli,  
Et palmam tulerat<sup>j</sup> Henricus rex fugiebat  
Bello finito, multo quoque sanguine fuso  
Quum victor secum palmam ferretque triumphum,  
Fendicat hoc iterum, plebs applaudabat eidem  
Clamabatque fili<sup>k</sup> Pius felicitior omni  
Rege vel Augusto, melior regat Octaviano.  
Hac vox cunctorum, clamor fuit ac populorum.  
Rex igitur factus, rex in solioque levatus  
Quod factum fuerat iterum bene consolidabat,  
Iurēque quo potuit, vim praefuit, ius renouavit.  
Sic vetus id dictum fuerat bene verificatum,  
De male quassus vix gaudet tertius haeres.  
Stare diu nequit mala quamquam vis stabilivit  
Im, nescitque mori, valeat licet ense feriri.  
Ex bene patris bene crevit honos quoque virtus.  
O rota versatilis nimis obq; rotabilis axis!  
Sorte nonerante fatiq; modum variante,  
Corruit<sup>l</sup> Henricus isto sub nomine sextus,  
Et casum tulerat, titulus sibi deficiebat  
Defectiq; bonus, heus pro moderamine sensus  
Proq; bono campi cor defuit Hercules illi,  
Matris non patris fuit ortus filius exorti,  
Martem non coluit nimis a<sup>m</sup> patre degeneravit  
Quo melior miles non Tencer erat vel Atrides,  
Sine timor Phrygijs Aiax robustus in armis.  
Hic fuit in verbis rex mitis, rex pietatis,  
Attamen in factis nimia vir simplicitatis.  
Hinc postquam triginta novem rex praefuit annis,  
Caeca manu fortuna rotam quasi fortis in armis  
Voluerat, & regimen capiebat regis, eundem  
Compulsa ac subito sic dicere, sum sine regno.  
Oh fors prosperior, oh gratia sortisq; maior!  
Qui diuturna nimis fuit expectatio plebis,  
Sed mittendus erat, iam dante Deo veniebat  
Hic Martin soboles, & nomine<sup>o</sup> Martius heros.  
Marte triumphante ius sceptri usq; corona,  
Vt decuit sumpsit, ut debuit ac sibi iunxit,  
Tunc bona spes fuerat fors prospera quod renouaret,  
Letaque pro voto colere plebs secula sub ipso  
Dei Deus, ac faciat bona ne spes irrita fiat.*

Thus after this long digression from the matter of the duke of Summerfet, because I would set downe all the verses of Whethamsted, I must yet also ad other verses found in his register, mentioning some part of the doings of the northerne men before spoken of: which verses although they should have gone before, yet I thinke better here than not at all to write them in this sort. Shortly after the foresaid battell of Wakefield wherin the duke of Poike was slaine, and before the depofing of king Henrie the first, he had a battell at S. Albons, called the second battell of S. Albons with the northerne men (following the queene & this duke of Summerfets faction) & now were come as far as S. Albons, on Shrove-tuesday the seuenteenth daie of Februarie in the said

<sup>a</sup> King Edward & third.  
<sup>b</sup> Leonell duke of Clarence third sonne to Edward the third.  
<sup>c</sup> John of Gaunt fourth sonne to Edward the 3.  
<sup>d</sup> Henrie the fourth.  
<sup>e</sup> Henrie the first.  
<sup>f</sup> Henrie the first.  
<sup>g</sup> Edward the fourth.  
<sup>h</sup> Henrie the first.  
<sup>i</sup> Henrie the first.  
<sup>j</sup> Edward the fourth.

King Henrie the first his disposition described.

<sup>m</sup> Henrie the first.

<sup>n</sup> Henrie the first.

<sup>o</sup> Edward erle of March, after king Edward the fourth.

in Plans  
mer dube  
sefolo.

ntreie  
ntagenet  
of Glo  
r.

pag. 1069

n Beau-  
duke of  
umerfet.

Henrie Beaufort  
duke of  
summerfet.

In the preate  
of Chyph  
1460.

mas  
ufozt  
of Ex  
r.

uond  
ufozt  
of  
umerfet.

The battell of  
Fferibrig the  
ninth of  
March in the  
year 1461, ac-  
cording to the  
accompt of the  
north begin  
to recitat  
January.  
June 20000  
sine, suberof  
sed brought  
tymentem.

The 17 of  
February  
1461 after the  
account of  
such as begin  
the yeare at  
Januarye.  
Southerne  
men.

said yeare of Christ 1460, where the king was put to  
flight, and fled to the queene. Touching which battell  
also, thus writeth that learned abbat of saint Al-  
bans John Whethamsted in his ancient register :

*M. simul x. feno centum quater 1. simul vno,  
Quum lux septena fuerat mensi quog, dena,  
Numinis illius venerantur quod morientes,  
Inter \* Solares pugnantes & Boreales,  
Magna cohors cecidit, duo millia plebs numeravit,  
Sors apud Albani villam protomartyris almi,  
Et pugna campum, casis dedit & tumultum,  
Quod dolet ac doluit annis multisq, dolebit,  
Villicus ac monachus prope eos habitator & omnis,  
Principio pugna potiores Marte fuere.  
Australes, tandem vicit Boreasque triumphum  
Abstulerat secum, stat fors mox versa retrorsum,  
Martis ut euentum fore scires sic dubiosum.  
Et veniunt cynophes, culices, brisique locuste,  
Et vastant segetes: alia musca quoque multa,  
Sic aduenerunt similes illis Boreales,  
Austri totius. His iudex sit Radamantus,  
Et Minos Creta, coniunctus eis Eacusque,  
Atque modum pena pensent seu demerere,  
Prix infernalis pro pena sufficit ipsi,  
Aut focus aut furia licent essent agmine mille,  
Gens est Cerberus, gens Sphingia, gens Briarea,  
Latratu, raptu, spolij pradaque voratu,  
Laud haec laus Boreas, laus est haec laus sine laude.*

Thus to returne to the duke of Summerfet, we  
saie that afterward in the first yeare of king Ed-  
ward the fourth, the said duke of Summerfet fled to  
Pozke to king Henrie the first, and the queene, who al-  
together fled from thence to Berwikke, and so to E-  
denburgh. Whereupon by parliament in the first  
yeare of Edward the fourth 1461, this duke was  
attainted, and his goods and lands seised for the king.  
But after that time king Edward the fourth besie-  
ging the castles of Wamburgh, Dunstunburgh,  
and Alnelwikke, this duke of Summerfet and others  
yielded those forts to the king on Christmas euen, in  
the third yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our  
redemption 1463. For which cause this duke was  
taken againe into the kings favour, who gaue him a  
thousand marks by yeare, whereof he was neuer  
paid. Notwithstanding all which, in the yeare follo-  
wing, being the fourth yeare of Edward the fourth,  
in Pate, in the yeare of Christ 1464, this duke with  
others raised an armie against the king, in which bat-  
tell he was taken (with Robert erle of Hungerford)  
by John Nevill earle of Northumberland, and be-  
headed. He died without lawfull issue, leaving be-  
hind him a base sonne called Charles Summerfet,  
by king Henrie the eight created earle of Worcester.  
Her.

Edmund  
Beaufort  
duke of Sum-  
merfet.

Edmund Beaufort sonne of the foresaid Ed-  
mund, and brother and heire to this last Henrie duke  
of Summerfet, was also duke of Summerfet. This  
man in the eleventh yeare of Edward the fourth, be-  
ing the yeare of Christ 1471, fleeing into the church  
of Teukeshurke at the battell of Teukeshurke (which  
queene Margaret the wife of Henrie the first and his  
sonne prince Edward had against king Edward the  
fourth) lost then the field. After which this duke was  
taken out of the church, and was there beheaded in  
the said eleventh yeare of king Edward the fourth,  
and died without issue.

Richard Plantagenet  
duke of York.

Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Ri-  
chard earle of Cambridge, was created duke of  
York by king Henrie the first: he was also earle of  
Cambridge, Ulster and March, lord of Wiltmore  
and Clare, lieutenant of the realme of France and  
duche of Normandie. Of this man see more in the  
protectors of England.

George Plantagenet

George Plantagenet the second sonne to Richard

duke of York, was made duke of Clarence by his  
elder brother king Edward the fourth when he came  
to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ 1461, being the  
first yeare of his reigne. Of this George I haue som-  
what intreated in my discourse of the constables of  
England, pag. 869, and in my discourse of the protec-  
tors of England.

Richard Plantagenet, the third sonne of Richard  
duke of York, and brother to George duke of Cla-  
rence, was made duke of Gloucester by king Ed-  
ward the fourth, in the first yeare of his reigne, being  
the yeare in which God took on him the forme of a  
seruant 1461, of whome I haue discoursed in my  
constables of England, pag. 869, and in my collec-  
tion of the protectors of England.

Henrie Beauchampe, the sonne of Richard Beau-  
champe earle of Warwick by Isabell ladie Spen-  
ser his second wife, succeeded his father in all his in-  
heritances the twentieth of Pate, in the seventeenth  
yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our  
redemption 1439. For then the said Richard Beau-  
champe died at Rone in Normandie. This Henrie  
after that his inheritance had bene kept two years  
in the kings hands, was dismisst of his wardship,  
and restored to his livings with great glorie. For he  
was crowned king of the Ile of Wight (as saith  
John Stow) by the kings owne hand, and nominated  
chiefe earle of England, in the twentieth yeare of the  
said king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of  
Christ 1442. Shortly after, in the two and twentieth  
yeare of the said king Henrie the first, in the yeare of  
our redemption 1444, he was created duke of  
Warwicke, unto whome the king gaue the castell of  
Wigbirston or Birston, with all the appurtenances  
which king John kept in his hands, to which duke al-  
so the king gaue the Isles of Carnseie and Jerseie.  
About two yeares after which, on the foure and twen-  
tith of the same king Henrie the first, being the yeare  
of our redemption 1446, died this duke of War-  
wicke, whose stile was duke of Warwicke chiefe earle  
of England, lord Spenser and Aburgauennie, king  
of the Ile of Wight, Carnseie and Jerseie, and lord  
of the castell of Birston. He died without issue, and  
was buried at Teukeshurke, whereby his inheri-  
tance came to his foure sisters, which were by Eliza-  
beth one of the daughters and heires of Thomas  
lord Barcheleie, Lile and Teles, first wife unto his  
father. Margaret his eldest sister, married to John  
Talbot first earle of Shrewsburie of that name: E-  
lenor the second sister, first married to Thomas lord  
Kosse, and after to Edmund duke of Summerfet: re-  
becca the third sister, married to George Nevill  
lord Latimer: whose other fourth sister (by Isabell  
the second wife unto Richard earle Beauchampe,  
daughter to Thomas lord Spenser, and mother also  
to the aforesaid Henrie duke of Warwicke, who  
died without issue) was Anne, married to Richard  
Nevill earle of Salisbury.

Humphrey Stafford earle Stafford, created duke  
of Buckingham in the two and twentieth yeare of  
king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redem-  
tion 1444, was slaine at the battell of Bosham-  
ton. Of this man see more in my discourse of the co-  
nestables of England, pag. 868.

Henrie sonne to the said Humphrey duke of Buc-  
kingham was beheaded in the first yeare of Richard  
the third, in the yeare of our redemption 1483. Of  
this man is more set downe in my discourse of the  
constables of England, pag. 869.

Edward Stafford, sonne to the said Henrie, was  
duke of Buckingham, being beheaded in the thir-  
teenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight,  
which was the yeare of our redemption 1521, of whom  
also I haue intreated in the said discourse of the con-  
stables

William de I  
Pole duke of  
Suffolke.

John de la  
Pole duke  
of Suffolke.

Richard  
Plantagenet  
duke of York

George Plantagenet  
duke of Suffolke.

John de la  
Pole duke  
of Suffolke.

Henrie Staf-  
ford duke of  
Buckingham

Edmund  
Stafford  
duke of Buck-  
ingham

William de la  
Pole duke of  
Suffolke.

ables of England pag. 870.

William de la Pole earle of Suffolke created  
marques of Suffolke in the two & twentieth of king  
Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption  
1444, was shortly after also created duke of Suff-  
folke, & in the eight & twentieth of the said king Hen-  
rie the first, falling in the yeare 1450, was banished  
the realme for five yeares, to pacifie the hard opinion  
which the commons had conceived against him. He  
toke ship to performe his banishment the third of  
Maie, and sailed towards France, but was on the  
sea encountered by a ship of the tower named the  
Nicholas, by which he was taken and beheaded, and  
his bodie cast by at Dover sands, and buried in the  
charterhouse at Hull. He married Alice the daughter  
and heire of Thomas Chaucer, son to that famous  
poet Geffrey Chaucer, by which wife the maner of  
Cwelve, commonlie called Pewelme in Drford-  
shire came to the Poles. This duke & his wife did  
there build a new parish church of Cwelve standing  
on a hill, and founded a pretie hospitall called Gods  
house, at the west end of Cwelve parish church, to  
which house he gave the manours of Hamrige in  
Hamphyre, Conocke in Wiltsyre, and Berth  
in Buckinghamshire. He also founded an hospitall  
at Dornington castell. This Alice wife of duke  
William, surviving his husband, was after buried  
in the parish church of Cwelve, on the southside of  
the high altar, in a rich tome of alabaster, with an  
image in the habit of a dutchesse crowned, lying on  
the same tome, and having this epitaph: *Orate pro ani-  
ma serenissima principisse Alisie Sulfolchie huius ecclesie  
patrone, qua obiit 20 die mensis Maij, anno Domini 1475,  
littera dominicali A.*

John de la  
Pole duke  
of Suffolke.

John de la Pole son to the said William de la  
Pole duke of Suffolke, was also duke of Suffolke  
after the death of his father. This man on the eight-  
teenth of Aprill in the fiftenth yeare of king Edward  
the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1475,  
was knighted by the king. He married Elisabeth  
daughter to Richard duke of Yorke, and sister to Ed-  
ward the fourth, by whom he had issue Edmund erle  
of Suffolke; John that by Edward the fourth was  
created earle of Lincoln; and Anne, who by pro-  
curement of king Richard the third was married to  
the duke of Northfolke, eldest son to the king of Scots.

Richard  
Plantagenet  
duke of Yorke.

Richard Plantagenet second sonne to king Ed-  
ward the fourth, was by his father created duke of  
Yorke, in the 15 yeare of his reigne, being the yeare  
of our Lord 1474, at a parlement in the said fif-  
teenth yeare of Edward the fourth. This duke on  
the fiftenth of Januarie in the seauententh yeare of  
king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our re-  
demption 1477, was married to ladie Anne daugh-  
ter and heire to John Mortmure duke of Suffolke,  
and was in the first yeare of the reigne of the tyrant  
king Richard the third his uncle most unnaturallie  
murdered in the tower, in the yeare of Christ 1483.

George Plantagenet  
duke of Bedford.

George Plantagenet third sonne to king Ed-  
ward the fourth was created duke of Bedford by his  
father, in the yeare of our redemption 1470, and died  
without issue being verie young.

John Howard  
duke of Norfolk.

John Howard lord Howard (the son of sir Ro-  
bert Howard knight, and of Margarete his wife, one  
of the daughters and heires of Thomas lord How-  
bzeie duke of Suffolke, earle of Nottingham, and  
marshall of England) was created duke of Suff-  
folke, and marshall of England, in the first yeare of  
the usurping king Richard the third, being the yeare  
of our redemption 1483. This man following the  
part of the said king Richard, was at the battell of  
Bosworth in Lecestershire (fought in the third yeare  
of the said king Richard, in the yeare of Christ 1485)  
slaine with the said king Richard. He had two wives,

Katharine the daughter of William lord Howls,  
by whom he had issue Thomas earle of Surreie, af-  
ter made duke of Suffolke by king Henrie the  
eighth; Anne married to sir Edmund Gorge knight;  
Isabell married to sir Roger Mortimer of Essex;  
Jane married to sir John Timberleie; and Marg-  
aret married to sir John Windham: his second wife  
was Margarete the daughter of sir John Chedworth  
knight, by whom he had Katharine married to sir  
John Bourchier lord Warrs.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie sonne of the  
said John was created duke of Suffolke, in the fift  
yeare of king Henrie the eighth, being about the  
yeare of Christ 1514. Of him is more mention in  
my discourse of the lord treasurers of England.

Thomas Howard created earle of Surreie in  
the fift yeare of king Henrie the eighth, being high  
admirall and lord treasurer of England, was duke  
of Suffolke, after the death of his father, which fell  
in the firstenth yeare of king Henrie the eighth, being  
the yeare of our redemption 1524. Of this man is  
also more intreated in my discourse of the lord trea-  
surers.

Thomas Howard the third duke of the name of  
Thomas, and the fourth of the name of Howard,  
was son to Henrie Howard earle of Surreie sonne  
to the last before recited Thomas Howard duke of  
Suffolke. This man, being the last duke that lived  
in England, & occasioned me to make this discourse  
of the dukes, was beheaded on tower hill the sea-  
uententh of September, in the thirtenth yeare of  
the now reigning prince Elisabeth, being the yeare  
of Christ 1571, and buried in the chappell of the to-  
wer. He married thre wives; his first wife was Ma-  
rie one of the daughters and heires of Henrie Fitz-  
allen earle of Arundell, by whom he had issue Philip  
earle of Arundell; his second wife was Margarete  
daughter & onlie heire to Thomas Audleie knight,  
chancellor of England, and lord Audleie of Saffron  
Walden, the widow of the lord Henrie Audleie  
youngest son to John Sutton of Dublie duke of Nor-  
thumberland, by which second wife this duke had is-  
sue Thomas, William, Elisabeth, & Margarete; his  
third wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir James  
Leiboarne knight, and widow of the lord Daeres of  
Giffelamb, by whom he had no issue.

Henrie the second son of king Henrie the seventh  
was by his father created duke of Yorke at West-  
minster, in the eleuenth yeare of his reigne, be-  
ing the yeare of our redemption 1495, or thereabouts.  
This man was after king of England by the name  
of king Henrie the eighth.

Jasper of Hatfield the sonne of Owen Tencher  
esquier, by Katharine daughter to the French king,  
and widow to king Henrie the fift, was by king  
Henrie the first his brother on the mothers side crea-  
ted earle of Penbroke, in the yeare of Christ 1452;  
after which in the five and thirtieth yeare of the said  
king he was made earle of Cambridge: and lastlie,  
in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the  
seauenth he was created duke of Bedford on Sol-  
mon and Iudas 2, in the yeare of our redemption  
1485, but died without issue the eightenth daie of  
December, in the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king  
Henrie the seauenth, in the yeare of Christ 1496, and  
was buried at Kenilham.

Charles Brandon the son of sir William Bran-  
don knight, slaine on the part of king Henrie the se-  
uenth at Bosworth field, was created viscount Lisle,  
and after on Candlemasse daie in the yeare of Christ  
1413, being the fift yeare of king Henrie the eighth  
he was created duke of Suffolke. He married thre  
wives; the first was Anne daughter of sir Anthoine  
Botwone knight; the second Marie, second daughter  
of

Thomas Ho-  
ward duke of  
Suffolke.

Thomas Ho-  
ward duke of  
Suffolke.

Thomas Ho-  
ward duke of  
Suffolke.

Henrie Ten-  
cher duke of  
Yorke.

Jasper of  
Hatfield duke  
of Bedford.

Charles  
Brandon  
duke of  
Suffolke.

hard Duke  
of Gloucester.

erie Wema-  
me duke  
of Warwick.

infreie  
tastord  
ke of York  
ingham.

erie Stale  
d duke of  
ackingham

duerd  
tastord  
ke of York  
ingham.

of king Henrie the seatienth, & told so to the king of France, by whom he had issue Henrie earle of Lincolne, and Francis married to Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke; his third wife was Katharine the daughter & onlie heire of William lord Willoughbie of Ersete, by whome he had issue Henrie and Charles both dukes of Suffolke one after another, who both died within one houre of the sweat at Cambridge. This Charles the father died in the yere of Christ 1545, and was buried at Windsor: & of the two dukes the sons thus writeth John Parkhurst sometime placed in the bishops see of Norwich:

*Frater Amyclai Pollux cum Castore*

*Potuisse cum morte depaciscier,*

*Vt cum alter illorum esset mortuus, tamen*

*Alter superesset, & reuersus sortibus*

*Vicissim uterque utriusque morte videret.*

*Cur Parca nunc crudelior est, quam olim fuit?*

*Frater duos nuper ea, quales habuimus*

*Nec vidit unquam, nec videbit Anglia*

*Lumina duo, duoque propugnacula*

*Fortissima virtutis, reique publica,*

*Crudelis ab uno peremisse funere.*

*Virtus nequaquam illam, nec egregia indoles*

*Mouit, nec Edwardi regis, nec optima*

*Matris, neque totius gemitus Britannia.*

*O dura dura mors! o saeva numina!*

Henrie Fitz  
Roie duke of  
Richmont.

Henrie Fitz Roie the base son to king Henrie the eight, begotten vpon Elisabeth Blunt the ladie Talbois, was by his father first created earle of Summerset and Northampton, and after duke of Richmont. This duke was verte forward in the knowledge of tongs, and also in knightlie activitie, as may appere by due consideration of the hystorie in place where he is mentioned. He loued John Leland the reuerend antiquarie, who presented vnto the said duke a booke of copies, whereby he might learne to write Romane letters great & small, as appereth by this herastichon, which I find among the said John Lelands written epigrams in this maner set downe:

*Quo Romana modomaisculalittera pingi,*

*Pingi quo possit littera parua modo,*

*Etic liber ecce tibi signis monstrabit apertis*

*Princeps, Aonysses & alumne gregis:*

*Qui tibi si placeat (quod certe spero futurum)*

*Maxima pro paruo munere dona dabis.]*

He died without issue the two and twentieth of Iulie, in the eight and twentieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of our redemption 1536, and was buried at Wetherford in Suffolke, hauing married Marie the daughter of Thomas Howard duke of Suffolke.

Edward  
Seimor duke  
of Sum-  
merfet.

Edward Seimor knight (the son of sir John Seimor knight) was created vicount Beauchampe in Gaie, the eight and twentieth yere of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of our redemption 1536, & was after in the nine & twentieth yere of the same king on the eighteenth daie of October, in the yere of Christ 1537 created earle of Hertford. When king Henrie being dead, he in the first yere of king Edward the first, which was the yere of our redemption 1546, was made protecto of England, and immediately thereupon created duke of Summerfet, being vncle by the mothers side vnto the said king Edward the first. This man had manie honours and offices, as maie appere by his stile, which he preferred before a missiue persualorie sent to the Scots for the marriage of their yong quene Marie to our yong king Edward the first in this sort: Edward by the grace of God duke of Summerfet, earle of Hertford, vicount Beauchampe lord Seimor, vncle to the kings highnesse of England, gouernor of his most roiall person, and protector of all his realmes, dominions, and subiects, lieutenant generall of his maiesties ar-

mies both by sea and land, treasurer and earle marshal of England, gouernor of the shires of Cornwelie and Ierleie, and knight of the most honorable order of the garter, &c. This stile he had, which I haue bene the more willing to set downe, because I do not remember that anie subiect did with like thew publicly anie such stile before his time. Which honours he did not long inioie: for were it for malice of some of the nobilitie, disdainning such honours; or for cause in him offending the laws, or for his ouer carelesse disposition, that suspected no such euill from his enemies: he was the second time on the first of October in the first yere of king Edward the first, being the yere of Christ 1551 committed prisoner to the tower, and the two and twentieth daie of Januarie following he was beheaded at tower hill, and buried in the tower chappell. He had two wiues, wherof the first was Katharine the daughter of sir William Willfall of Wadland knight, by whome he had a son called Edward: his second wife was Anne the daughter of sir Edward Stanhope, by whom he had issue Edward earle of Hertford, Henrie now liuing, and Edward, with Anne (married the third of June, in the fourth yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, in the yere one thousand five hundred and fiftie to John lord Dupleie, eldest sonne to John earle of Marwike and duke of Northumberland) zone, Marie, Katharine, and Elisabeth.

Henrie Greie marquesse Dorset, lord Feters of Grobie, Harrington, Boneuile and Asteie, was at Hampton court created duke of Suffolke, on the eleuenth of October, in the first yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, being the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fiftie and one: who in the first yere of quene Marie, being the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and thre, supposing that the quene would marrie a stranger, did flee into Leicester and Marwikes shires with a small companie, making proclamation against the quenes marriage with the prince of Spaine: but the people inclined not vnto him. Whereupon a companie being sent out after him, vnder the leading of the earle of Huntington, the first daie of Februarie proclamation was made at London, that the duke was discomfited and fled with his two brethren. After which the tenth of Februarie, the duke with his brother sir John Greie was brought from Couentrie (where he remained thre daies after his taking, in the house and custodie of Christopher Warren alderman of that towne) by the earle of Huntington, & attended with thre hundred men to the tower. Where remaining a certaine space, he was on the thre and twentieth of Februarie beheaded at tower hill; and buried in the chappell of the tower (as I haue heard). He married Francis one of the daughters to Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, by whom he had issue Jane, married to Gilsford the sonne of John duke of Northumberland, and died without issue; Katharine and Marie.

John Sutton of Dupleie created by king Henrie the eight vicount Lisle, being admerall, lord great chamberleine, lord great maister and earle of Marwike, was after on the eleuenth daie of October, the first yere of king Edward the first, being the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, created duke of Northumberland. He, after the death of king Edward, took armes, and proclaimed quene Jane, daughter to Henrie duke of Suffolke; meaning to exclude quene Marie. But shortly after perceiuing quene Marie to be proclaimed at London, this duke did also proclame hit at Cambridge. Notwithstanding all which he was arrested in the kings college there by one maister Sleg sergeant at armes, and after anio arrested by the earle

French ambassador  
Charles the  
ninth came into  
England.

Henrie Greie  
duke of Suffolke.

League betwixt  
France continued  
at Westminster

George  
sent to  
Windsor.

Sir William  
Cecil  
lord treasurer,  
lord privie  
seale, lord  
chamberleine  
with other  
advisers.

John Sutton  
son of Dupleie  
duke of North-  
umberland.

Collected by  
Francis Thir  
in this year  
of Christ  
1555.

earle of Arundell. Henrie Fitzallen (sent thither for that cause) who brought him to London, where this duke was the five and twentieth of Julie, in the said first yeare of queene Marie committed to the tower. Shortly after which, he was the eighteenth of August following arraigned at Westminister, there condemned, and beheaded on tower hill the two and twentieth of the same moneth: whose bodie with the head was buried in the tower, he being the last duke that was created in England. He married Jane the daughter of sir Edward Gilford knight, the sister and heire to sir Henrie Gilford knight, of whose children I will not speake, because they are yet fresh in memorie. And thus farre Francis Thin, touching the creation and the succession in lineall descents of all the dukes of England since the conquest.

About the ninth of June, Francis duke of Pontmorencie, chiefe marshall of France, gouvernour and lieutenant of the Isle of France, generall to Charles the ninth king of France, and Paule de Foix of the private counsell of the said king, and Bertrand de Saligners, lord de la Mothescelon, knights of the order of S. Michaele, ambassadors for the same king, arrived at Douer. The fourteenth daie they shot London bridge toward Summer set house at the Strand, where they were lodged. The fifteenth daie being Sunday, the said ambassadors repaired to the White hall, where they were honourable received of the queenes maiestie, with hir nobilitie: and there in hir graces chappell, about one of the clocke in the after none, the articles of treatie, league or confederacie and sure friendship (concluded at Blois the nineteenth of Aprill as is afore shewed) betwixt the queenes maiestie, and the French king being read, the same was by hir maiestie and his ambassadors confirmed to be obserued and kept, without innovation or violation, &c. The rest of that daie, with great part of the night following, was spent in great triumph, with sumptuous bankets.

The eighteenth of June, the feast of saint George was holden at Windsor, where the French ambassadors were roiallie feasted, & Francis duke of Pontmorencie was created knight of the most honourable order of the garter. The eight and twentieth daie of June, the forenamed ambassadors departed from London toward France. The fourteenth of June, Thomas lord Wharton deceased in his house of Chanon rolo at Westminister. The thirtieth daie of Julie, the queenes maiestie at Whitehall made sir William Cecil lord of Burghleie, lord high treasurer of England: lord William Howard, late lord chamberleine, lord priue seale: the earle of Suffe, lord chamberleine: sir Thomas Smith principall secretarie: and Christopher Hatton, esquier capteine of the gard.

A treatise of the treasurers of England  
set downe out of ancient histories and records,  
as they succeeded in order of time and  
in the reignes of the kings.

**H**is adorning of sir William Cecil knight, lord Burghleie with the honour of lord treasurer of England, hath rowled my enuied pen thorough the malicious barking of some (who suppose nothing well but that they do themselves, whereby gaine maie rise unto their posteritie) in this liberall sort to set downe the names and times of such treasurers as haue liued in England, as hereafter I will do the chancelors, and that with as good authoritie as these secret backbiters can challenge anie cunning to themselves, who suppose euerie blast of their mouth to come forth of Trophonius den, and that they spake from the tri-

uet. As I will not arrogate anie thing to my selfe, for in truth I saie with Socrates, *Hoc tantum scio quod nihil scio*, or derogate from them that which their woz, thinke maie merit: so shall I be glad (with nothing is at the first so perfect, but that somewhat maie be either augmented or amended to and in it) that this maie whet those enuious persons to deliuer anie thing to the world, that maie in controlling my labours benefit their countrie, which if they will not do, let them cease their euill speeches: for *Qui pergit dicere qua libet, quae non vult audire*. And truelie for mine owne part, I will *Canere palinodiam*, and yield them an honourable victorie, if anie better shall be produced: and be heartlie glad, that truth (which is all that I seeke) maie be brought to perfection. Now how well I haue done it, my selfe must not be iudge, desiring pardon of such as either with wise modestie can or ought to iudge, or with rare antiquities can or will correct what I haue done: if thorough ignorance we haue committed anie escapes or imperfections: further promising, that if hereafter we eue any of our owne error: or if anie other either friend for good will, or aduersarie for desire of reprehension shall open the same vnto me: I will not for defence of mine estimation, or of pride, or of contention by wranglings or quarrelling upon authorities, histories and records, willfullie persist in those faults: but be glad to heare of them, and in the whole and large discourse of the liues of the lord treasurers (almost perfected) corrected them. For (as I said) it is truth of antiquities that I seeke for, which being had (either by good intention of my welwillling friends, or by occasion and reprehension of my enuious emulators) I greatly esteeme not. And so to the matter.

Saint Dunstan (for I vse that name more for Saint Dunstan, antiquities than deuoutnesse cause) was treasurer to Cadred or Eldred king of England, who began his reigne in the yeare that the word became flesh, nine hundred fortye and six: of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker in his booke of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of *Edo Deuerus* the two and twentieth bishop of that see: *Edmundo* (the king of England) *defuncto*, *Eadredus* corona regia ab *Odone* redimitus, & rem publicam administrans, *Dunstanum* (in eius vita plenius patebit) tam singulari amore prosequutus est, ut omnes regni thesauros illius custodire commendaret.

Hugoline was treasurer and chamberleine to Edward the confessor, he gaue Deane and South: high to Westminister, which Edward the confessor did afterward confirme to that house.

Edo halfe brother to William the Conqueror erle of Kent bishop of Baieur and chiefe iustice of England, was treasurer in the time of the conqueror, who had at his death (as saith Anonymus M.S.) sixtie thousand pounds, *Excepto auro, & gemmis, & vasis, & palys*.

Cesfreie lord Clinton treasurer and chamberleine to Henrie the first, he about the thirtieth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand, one hundred and twelue, did found the priorie of Benelworth, and was after accused of treason in the one and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie the first: but (as it seemed) restored (in short time after) to the kings fauour.

Ranulph bishop of Durham, was treasurer to the king, whose Florentius Wigornienis calleth *Pracipuum regis placitorem & regni exactorem*, whose last word *Exactor* some men do English treasurer. Of this man is more said in the chancelors of England.

Roger bishop of Sarisburie treasurer & chancelor of England, as appeareth by Leland, writing in this sort: Roger bishop of Sarum treasurer & chancelor to Henrie the first, made the castell of Wiles such a coslie and so strong a fort, as was neuer before nor since

Saint Dunstan.

Hugoline.

Edo bishop of Baieur.

Cesfreie lord Clinton.

Ranulph bishop of Durham.

Roger bishop of Sarisburie.

French ambassadors  
came to  
England.

the Gate  
of the  
Duke.

League with  
France con-  
firmed at  
Westminister.

S. Georges  
feast at  
Windsor.

Sir William  
Cecil  
treasurer  
made priue  
seale, lord  
chamberleine,  
and other  
offices.

in the  
Duke of  
Buckingham.

Called by  
Francis Thin  
in this yeare  
of the Duke.



since set vp by anie bishop of England. The keepe or  
dungeon of it set vpon a hill cast by hand, is a peere  
of worke of incredible cost. There appeare in the gate  
of it six or seauen places for portulices, and much  
goodlie building was in it. It is now in ruine, and  
part of the front of the towers of the gate of the  
keepe, and the chappell in it, were carried full vnprofi-  
table to the building of master Beintons house at  
Bromham, scant thre miles off. There remaine  
diuerse goodlie towers, yet in the vtter wall of the  
castell: but all going to ruine. The principall gate  
that leadeth into the towne is yet of great strength,  
and hath places of seauen or eight portulices. Thus  
much Leland in his commentaries of England,  
which I haue here set downe, partlie to proue Roger  
bishop of Salisburie to be tresuroz, and partlie to  
commit to the world all such collections and notes as  
I can get of his. Besides which, to proue the same  
Roger tresuroz at the latter end of the reigne of  
Henrie the first, togither with William de Pont-  
learch at the entering of king Stephan into Eng-  
land, thus writeth one Anonymall chronicle M. S.  
*Stephanus cum intravit Angliam, Rogerus Saresberiensem &  
Willielmum de Pontlearchum custodes thesaurorum ad se tradu-  
xit: which William de Pontlearch was a witnesse  
with William Stigill to a certeine charter which  
Ranulph bishop of Durham made to the monkes of  
Durham, commonlie called S. Cutberts monkes,  
wherin he confirmed to them Blakestone, Standzop  
and Sandzopshire, with the wood of Hentworth on the  
east part of Harneburne, as farre as it goeth to the  
sea. This Roger bishop of Salisburie died in the  
yeare of our redemption one thousand, one hundred,  
thirtie and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king  
Stephan, of whome mention is made in the chan-  
cellors of England.*

William de  
Pontlearch.

Rigellus bis-  
hop of Elie.

Rigellus the second, bishop of Elie, nephew to  
Roger bishop of Sarum, and tresuroz to Henrie  
the first, was aduanced vnto that bishoprike of Elie,  
in the yeare of our redemption, one thousand,  
one hundred, thirtie and thre, the fift calends of  
June, being the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne  
of Henrie the first, at whose going downe to be in-  
stalled in the said bishoprike, he was receiued, with  
such ioie, that all the whole street of Elie thorough  
which he should passe, was hanged with curtains and  
carpets, with seats set on ech side; and the monkes, ca-  
nons, and clerks, meeting him with procession with  
diuers other priests standing round about them. Af-  
ter his installation he returned to the dispatch of the  
affaires of the kingdome, committing the charge of  
his bishoprike to one Rafe sometime a monke of  
Glaffenburie, and now become an apostata. Great  
contention was betwene this man and king Ste-  
phan. He bought the tresurozship for the summe of  
foure hundred marks of Henrie the second for his  
sonne Richard *Filius Rigelli*, or Fitz Bele, otherwise  
called Richard of Elie. He gouerned the bishoprike  
six and thirtie yeares, as most saie, and builded saint  
Johns college in Cambridge.

But touching the time of his death, and the yeares  
of his bishoprike, I cannot as yet set downe anie  
thing perferable; but onelie this contradiation found  
in the written booke of Elie, which I suppose to haue  
risen by the negligence of the transcriber: which is,  
that he gouerned the six of Elie six and thirtie yeares,  
and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one  
hundred firtie and six, the third calends of June, the  
first houre of the first ferie or fridaie. Which by no ac-  
count can fall to be true, accounting from the time  
of the first obtaining of the bishoprike in the thre and  
thirtieth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our  
Lord one thousand one hundred thirtie and thre. For  
if you adde the six and thirtie yeares of his gouerne-

ment to the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hun-  
dred thirtie and thre, then must he die in the yeare of  
grace one thousand one hundred firtie and nine. And  
if you will haue him to die in the yeare one thousand  
one hundred firtie and six, then can he gouerne but  
thre and thirtie yeares: which thre and thirtie added  
to the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thir-  
tie and thre, in which he began his gouernement, as  
all authoys agree, make the value of one thousand  
one hundred firtie and six yeares of our Lord. So that  
considering the discordancie of the time of his death  
found in the written booke of his life, we cannot (I  
saie) as yet set downe anie certeinie of his death.  
Though I suppose that to be the truest which I find in  
Triuet, who affirmeth that he died in the yeare of  
Christ one thousand one hundred firtie and nine, and  
the fiftieth of king Henrie the second, after that he  
had gouerned six and thirtie yeares. He was hono-  
rable buried in the church of saint Ethelred of Elie  
before the altar dedicated to the holie crosse.

Richard de Elie or Fitzneale, sonne of the said Richard  
Rigellus bishop of Elie, was made tresuroz to R. Elie.  
Henrie the second, by the purchase of his father Ri-  
gellus, when the king went to the wars of Tolous.  
Of whom the historie of Elie writeth, that after the  
buriall of Rigellus his father, this Richard being al-  
so an enemie to the church of Elie, as his father had  
bene before, made hault to passe ouer the seas to king  
Henrie the second, fearing that some euill would be  
prepared against him, if the church should haue sent  
anie other thither before him. At whose coming to  
the king, he accused the monkes of manie things, and  
did therewith so edge the king against them, that  
the king sending into England, charged by Wil-  
nerus one of his chaplens, that the prior of Elie  
should be depofed, & the monkes with all their goods  
to be proferibed and banished. This man being tre-  
suroz to king Henrie the second, the treasure of the  
said Henrie the second at his death came vnto one  
hundred thousand marks; notwithstanding the ex-  
cellente charges of the king manie waies. Which Ri-  
chard being bishop of London, by the name of Ri-  
chard the third, and the kings tresuroz, was chosen  
to that sex in the yeare of our redemption one thou-  
sand one hundred eightie and nine, being the first  
yeare of king Richard the first, and was consecrated  
bishop at Lambeth, by Baldwine archbishop of  
Canturburie, in the yeare of Christ 1190: he died  
the fourth ides of September, in the yeare of grace  
1198, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first.  
William of Elie being of kin to the last Richard  
bishop of London, was tresuroz to king Richard  
the first, and to king John. To which William then  
tresuroz, Richard his kinsman the bishop of Lon-  
don An. Dom. 1196 being the seuenth yeare of the  
reigne of Richard the first, and the same number of  
yeares of the gouernement of the said Richard in the  
bishoprike of London, did giue all his houses in  
Westminster, which the said William did long after  
giue to the abbat and monkes of Westminster, as by  
the charter therof appeares by me in this last abridgement.

*Præmissis Christi fidelibus, ad quos præfatus scriptum pene-  
nerit, Gulielmus de Elie quondam regum Anglia thesaurarius  
salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra me dedisse, &c: Deo  
& monachis Westminster, &c: pro animabus Richardi &  
Iohannis regum Anglia, & pro anima Richardi London  
episcopi, &c: domos meas, & curiam cum pertinentiis in  
villa Westminster, &c: quas habui ex dono Richardi episcopi  
London, & quæ sunt de feodo Westminster, &c: testis Eusta-  
chius Fauconbridge domini regis thesaurarius, &c. He died  
in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred  
twentie two, being the first yeare of the long reigne  
of king Henrie the third, as noted Matthew Pa-  
ris and Westminster, who write that then obiit Guliel-*

Beane of  
Pauls trea-  
suroz.

Walter Gisle  
bishop of wor-  
ceter.

Giffre arch-  
deacon of  
Borwich.

John Ruthall

Eustace de  
Fauconbridge  
bishop of Lon-  
don.

John de Font  
was of Font-  
m.

*mus Eliensis Anglie thesaurarius.*

A deane of Paules was treasurer to the king, as appeareth by Mat. Parker, in the life of Hubert archb. shop of Canturburie, writing after this maner: *Eodem tempore* (which was a time betwene the creating of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie in the yere of Christ 1194, being the first yere of Richard the first, and the death of the said Richard the first, which fell in the yere of Christ 1199) *ecclesia Pauline decanus ararj regj custos fuit, sive (ut vocant) thesaurarius*: and so goeth on with a discourse of his miserable death.

Walter Gize bishop of Worcester, whom some call treasurer, in the eleventh of king John, whereunto I do not yet agree, leaving it to the iudgement of others, and to the finall receiving or rejecting of him, in the large booke of the whole lynes of the lord treasurers of England.

Geffrey archdeacon of Norwich, treasurer to king John, who forsooke his maister the king excommunicat by the pope: as writeth Matthew Parker in the life of Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, in these following words: *Inter quos* (meaning the bishops, which durst not openly publish the excommunication of the king, but secretly cast libels about the high wates, which gave notice therof) *quem ad sscum regium Gausfridus Noruicensis archidiaconus negotijs regis intendens sedisset, cepit assidentibus exponere excommunicationis sententiam, in regem iam latam, affirmavitque non esse tutum capellani & ecclesiasticis dignitatibus beneficiisque affectis servire regi amplius. Ideoque aulam deserens, ad ecclesiastica beneficia (qua regis servicio acquisierat) secessit. Rex hunc tam proditorie a se deficientem per Williel. Talbot militem prehendit & ad se reduci fecit, eumque in publica custodia seruatum (donec sue pœna sue conscientie a radio pertusus vita fuit, & exspiravit) detinuit: whose maner of death is in this sort set downe by Matth. Paris pag. 305, that he was committed to prison, *Post dies paucos, rege prefato* (which was king John) *inbente, capta indutus plumbea, tam victualium penuria quam ipsius capæ ponderositate copressus migravit ad dominum.* Much about which time (as I suppose) which was the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred and nine, being about the eleventh yere of B. John, the checker was by the king removed from London to Northampton (in hatred of the Londoners) untill Christmas.*

John Ruthall *Custos officij thesaurarij*, as is proued out of the records of the checker, had that office in the third yere of Henrie the third, in the yere 1219.

Eustachius de Fauconbridge, a iustice to receiue fines, chancellor of the checker & treasurer to Henrie the third, was by the bishop of Rochester consecrated bishop of London, in the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred twentie & one, being the first yere of king Henrie the third. Which Eustachius in the yere 1222, with the deane & chapter of London, had great sutes against William abbat of Westminster: he was treasurer in the third yere of king Henrie the third, being about the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred and nineteene: he died the daie before the kalends of Nouember in the yere of Christ 1228, being the thirteenth of king Henrie the third, and is buried on the south side of the quere of Paules (besides Henrie Wengham) vnder a faire monument of marble, ouer whom on the wall is this inscription: *Hic iacet Eustachius de Fauconbridge quondam episcopus huius ecclesie, qui multa bona contulit ministris ecclesie sancti Pauli.*

Ioannes de Fontibus, or John de Fontnes was bishop of Ely and treasurer in the ninth and eleventh yere of king Henrie the third, and before, as I take it. This man being abbat of Fontnes, and (as autho:rs saie) *Vir simplex & iustus, ac recedens a malo*, was at Westminster made bishop of Ely, in the yere of Christ 1220: he died after that he had bin bishop five

yeres & od moneths, in the yere of Christ 1225, being the ninth yere of Henrie the third, & was buried in the church of Ely, toward the altar of S. Andrew.

Walter Walclerke or Skillese clerke, treasurer of England, was made bishop of Carlisle, in the yere of our Lord 1223, being about the seventh yere of Henrie the third, who in the yere of Christ 1223, being the seventeenth of the said king, was by the counsell of Peter de Laroche bishop of Winchester not onlie removed from his office of treasurer, but also put to the fine of 100 marks, which he paid, with the losse of certeine holbs, giuen him by charter, during his life. After which he would haue fled beyond the seas, but entering the ship at Dover, he & all his were staied and euillie intreated by the kings seruants. This man, in the yere of Christ 1246, being the thirtieth yere of Henrie the third, did on the daie of Peter and Paule at Drenford enter into the habit of the frier preachers. After which, in the yere of Christ 1248, being about the two & thirtieth of Henrie the third, he surrendered his soule to God.

Ranulph Witon by some is made treasurer of England, but vntill as I suppose: for in truth he was but treasurer of the chamber, for anie thing I can learne, and removed from that place in the first yere of king Henrie the third, in the yere of Grace 1232, in whose place came Peter de Riual. Of this Ranulph is mention had in the chancelloz. Besides which, about this time I read, that Hubert of Worwote was treasurer: for thus writeth Iohannes Londoniensis. *Rex* (about the yere of our Lord 1232) *fecit ipsam* (which was Hubert of Worwote) *sum iusticiarium principalem totius Anglie, & postea thesaurarium.*

Peter de Riual, in Latine called *Petrus de Riualis*, Peter de Riual was treasurer of the chamber, and treasurer of the king, chamberleine of England and Ireland, gardian of all the forrests of England, of all the escheats, of all the ports of the sea, and of all the pilles of England and Ireland: being so deere to the king (as hath Matthew Westminster) that *Expulsis castrorum custodiibus per totam fere Angliam, rex omnia sub ipsius Petri custodia commendarat.* This man was made treasurer after Walter Walclerke, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie and three, being about the seventeenth yere of king Henrie the third, and in the eighteenth yere of king Henrie the third, who (as I gather) was together with Peter bishop of Winchester, Stephan de Segraue, & Robert Passlew, called to accounts, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred thirtie & foure, for the kings treasure and scale euillie imployed & kept. Whereupon Peter de Riualis hid himselfe in the cathedrall church of Winchester. Which Peter bishop of Winchester & Peter de Riualis the king removed by the perswasion of Edmund of Abindon bishop of Canturburie, as they before had removed Walter Walclerke. After which it seemeth that growing into fauor againe, this *Petrus de Riualis* was in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie & seven, being the one & fortieth yere of king Henrie the third, made treasurer of the chamber. For thus writeth Matthew Paris: *Circa festum sancti Michaelis* (which was in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and seven) *mortuo Hurtado domini regis conciliario & clerico speciali ac thesaurario de cameraregis, subrogatur Petrus de Riualis.* Under this Peter de Riualis did Robert Passlew keepe the kings treasure. Touching which Robert Passlew, whom some will haue onlie treasurer of the chamber, some to be treasurer of England, & some to be vnder treasurer vnder Peter de Riualis, I will set downe out of severall autho:rs what I haue read therof, leaving to the reader to thinke thereof what he list at this time, sith I determine

Walter Walclerke bishop of Carlisle.

Ranulph Witon.

Robert Passlew whether treasurer of England or no.

termine fullie hereafter (not hauing now lesseure  
therefore) to define the same in my large volume of  
the lines of the lord treasuroz. Thus therefore touch-  
ing him twiteth Matthew Parker. *Quo etiam tempore*  
(which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand two  
hundred fortye and foure, being about the eighteenth  
yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third) *Robertus de*  
*Passelew, qui in thesauris regis custodiendis et augendis to-*  
*tus uersatus est, eoque nomine regi charus, ab ecclesia cathe-*  
*dralis Ciceritensis canonicis, qui regi placere studuerant, Cice-*  
*ritensis episcopus electus est. Quod Bonifacius Cantuariensis*  
*archiepiscopus indigne tulit, et episcopus provincia sua conuocatis,*  
*in difficultibus quibusdam et nodosis questionibus per Lincol-*  
*niensem episcopum compositis serio examinatis, deinde electione*  
*recessa hunc Robertum repulit, et Richardum quendam de*  
*Wiz loco suo (inconsulto rege) substituit. Pert* twiteth Mat-  
thew Westminster, that in the yeare of Christ 1233,  
being the feuenteenth of Henrie the third, the nobilitie  
accused manie of the kings counsellors, amongst  
whome they placed *Robertum Passelew thesaurarium*. A-  
gaine a little after he saith: *Et sic abscondit se iterum Ro-*  
*bertus Passelew, qui post Walterum Carleolensem officium*  
*thesaurarii administrauerat*. Of whose death Matthew  
Paris twiteth thus: *Eodem quoque anno (which was 1252,*  
being the five and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the third)  
*octavo idus Iunij, obiit apud Waltham Robertus Passelew*  
*archidiaconus Lewis, &c.* whome I will here leaue, al-  
though not in that place in which he should come, if I  
had once resolved with my selfe that he had bene  
treasuroz of England. But because I had to speake  
of him with Peter de Kiuallis, I thought here in  
one place to set downe what I had read of them both;  
and so to loine them after their death, which were so  
fast ioined in offices during their liues.

Hugh Pate-  
shull.

Hugh Pateshull, treasuroz of the ercheher, which  
was treasuroz of the grenewar, or of the seale, was  
also treasuroz to the king in the eighteenth and nine-  
teenth yeare of his reigne, and after made iustice of  
all England: as Matthew Paris hath set downe in  
these wordes, *Rex autem fretus consilio saniori (in the yeare of*  
*Christ 1234, being the 18 yeare of Henrie the third)*  
*Hugonem de Pateshull clericum filium uidelicet Simonis de*  
*Pateshull, qui quandoque habenas moderabatur totius regni*  
*iusticiarii, virum fidelem et honestum, loco predictorum*  
(which were Stephan Segraue chiefe iustice of En-  
gland and Peter de Kiuallis treasuroz) *subrogauit*.  
Administ'rauerat enim idem Hugo officium scaccarii antea  
laudabiliter, secundum quod appellatur secretum sigillum cu-  
stodiendi, et definitam pecuniam a vicecomitibus recipiendo:  
quare plenior fides est ei adhibita, paterna fidelitate testimonio  
fidei perhibente. He was confirmed bishop of Coe-  
ntrie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred  
and fortye, being the 24 yeare of Henrie the third, who  
(hauing bin the kings tresuroz before) did now with  
great soleimnitie take his leaue of the barons of the  
ercheher with teares, and they all rose vp and kissed  
him. Of whose elcation (in the yeare of our Lord  
one thousand two hundred thirtie and nine) to that bi-  
shoppe, thus further twiteth the said Matth. touch-  
ing the monks of Coeuntrye. *Eligerunt secundum*  
*predictam formam dominum Hugonem de Pateshull, &c.*  
*canonicum sancti Pauli London: et domini regis cancellarium,*  
*in episcopum et custodem animarum suarum. Concerning*  
whome I collected this note out of the register of  
Westminster, that Philip Coleuille knight, the  
sonne of William Coleuille, the sonne of Agnes  
Foliot, gaue to Richard abbat of Westminster all  
his part of the inheritance which was Robert Fol-  
iots, brother to the said Agnes, in Langden. Porton,  
and Chalnet; twiteth Rafe bishop of Chichester  
chancelloz, and Hugh Pateshull treasuroz in the  
nineteenth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the third,  
which Pateshull Matthew Westminster, in the yeare  
of Grace 1234, calleth *summum thesaurarium*.

*Galfridus Templarius*, whome some will haue treasu-  
ro, but by what reason I cannot conceine as yet, and  
therefore will not obstinatie reiect him, nor haillie  
receiue him into this place of the treasuro: of this  
man is moze spoken amongst the chancellors.

Galfridus Tem-  
plarius.

William Hauerhull, a canon of Paules church  
in London, was made treasuroz to king Henrie the  
third, the yeare of our redemption one thousand two  
hundred and fortye, being the foure and twentieth  
yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie, in which  
place he continued in the eight and twentieth yeare  
of the said Henrie the third, being the yeare of our  
redemption 1244. He died at London in the yeare  
one thousand two hundred fiftie two, being the six  
and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the  
third, as saith the addition to Matthew Paris fol.  
1128, after which the said author fol. 1226, laied his  
death, in the yeare of Christ 1256, being the 39 yeare  
of king Henrie the third, such error is crept into his  
stories by the negligence of the transcriber: but I  
suppose the first note of his death to be the truer, be-  
cause the same is confirmed by Matth. West. spea-  
king in the said yeare 1252 of the death of this man,  
for whose epitaph these folowing verses were made:

*Hic iacet Hauerhulle iaces protothesaurarie regis,*  
*Hinc Hauerhulle gemis non paritura talem:*  
*Fercula culta dabas, empyrea uina pluebas,*  
*A modesto Christus cibis et esca tibi.*

\* Parisius.

\* Parisius.

I haue also read a note of one William Hauerhull  
(which might be this man) which saith that William  
Hauerhull the sonne of Witzmarus de Hauerhull,  
gaue houses in Cheapeside to the abbeie of West-  
minster, and that one Thomas de Hauerhull was  
the sonne and heire of William Hauerhull.

John Crat-  
hall.

Richard de Barking abbat of Westminster, as  
twiteth the liues of the abbats, was one especiall  
counsellor to Henrie the third, chiefe baron of the  
ercheher, and treasuroz of England, who I suppose  
did follow William Hauerhull. For his death, which  
happened on the thre and twentieth daie of Nouem-  
ber, in the thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the third, in  
the yeare of Christ 1246, after that he had bene ab-  
bat foure and twentie yeeres, must needs proue him  
to be treasuroz before Philip Louell: yea and perad-  
uenture (as is most likelie) before Hugh Pateshull.  
Pet Matthew Paris, speaking of the death of Ha-  
uerhull, will needs haue Philip Louell to succeed  
William Hauerhull, as after shall appere. This Ri-  
chard de Barking was buried in Westminster  
church, before the middle of the altar in our ladie cha-  
pell in a tome of marble, which after in the time of  
William Colchester abbat of that place, was pulled  
downe by frier Combe, a sacrific of that house of  
Westminster, who laied a faire plaine marble stone  
ouer him, with this present epitaph thus inscribed:

Richard de  
Barking.

John abbat  
of Peterbo-  
row.

Nicholas de  
Cin.

Thomas de  
Wimondham

*Richardus Barking prior et post indyem abbas,*  
*Henrici regis prudens fuit iste minister:*  
*Enius erat prima laus, insula rebus opima,*  
*Altera laus eque Thorp, census, Ocham, decimeque,*  
*Tertia Mortone castrum simili ratione,*  
*Et regis quarta de multis commoda charta,*  
*Clementis festo mundo migravit ab isto,*  
*M. Domini C. lxxi. sextoque sub anno,*  
*Cui datur uenia parte pia uirgo Maria.*

Philip Louell or Louell, was in this order ad-  
uanced to the office of treasuroz, as apereeth by these  
wordes of Matthew Paris upon the death of Willi-  
am Hauerhull. *Et cum crederetur quod dominus rex*  
*Iohannem Franciscum officio Wilhelmi (which was Ha-*  
*uerhull) subrogaret, fabricatis rumoribus quod idem Iohan-*  
*nes in partibus remotis Anglia borealibus (ut contra quos-*  
*dam religiofos plantauerat) obisset, constituit dominus rex*  
*Philippum Louell clericum, virum prudentem, facundum*  
*et generosum, in loco memorati Wilhelmi summum the-*  
*saurarium,*

Philip  
Louell.

John Chisill

Philip de  
Cin.

*aurarii, quod factum est apud sanctu Albanu, procurante ut dicitur Iohanne Mansell amico Philippi speciali.* This man was tresuroz in the 35 and until the 42 yeare of Henrie the third, & was in the same yeare depozed by the barons, he died at Hameleste, in the yeare of Christ 1259, whose executors were Philip Louell & Robert de Perconton. But his goods after his death the king commanded to be confiscat. And here before I go any further, I thinke it not amisse to note that some haue mistaken themselves in the account of the kings tresuroz much about this time, making these persons Walter Bzudell & Peter Catchporker or Chaceporker to be the kings tresuroz, which by no account of yeares can be true, for they were the quenes and not the kings tresuroz, as may appere both by Mat. Paris and Mat. Westmin. whereof the first writeth thus: *Obijt & Walterus de Brudell eiusdem regina thesaurarius, which he placeth in the pere of Christ 1255, being the thirtieth ninth yeare of king Henrie the third.* Of the second person Chaceporker thus writeth Mat. West. in the yeare of Christ 1254: *Veniens autem rex ad mare nec ventum habes prosperum, apud Boloniam moratus est inuitus, ubi obijt Petrus Chaceporker natione Piccardensis, regina thesaurarius & regis clericus & conciliaris specialis.* And thus this much by the waie of the two tresuroz of the quenes, supposed by some (but not rightlie) to haue bene the kings.

John Crakehall archdeacon of Bedford was tresuroz in 42, 43, 44 yeare of Henrie the third, to whom the king in the forty fourth of his reigne, being the yeare of Christ 1260, gaue a prebendarie, where in being inuested, he was from thence remoued by a former collation therof made to one John le Gras. The said Crakehall after died the same yeare at London.

John abbat of Peterborough was by the barons in the 44 yeare of Henrie the third made tresuroz, as the other officers of the king also were, Nicholas of Clie was then made chancelloz, & Hugh de Spenser chiefe iustice, which office of tresurozship this John continued, in the 46 yeare of Henrie the first, 1262.

Nicholas de Clie so called because he was archdeacon of Clie, was tresuroz to the king in the seven and fourth of Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1263, whereof I haue seene this note of record. *Memorandum quod in crastino Pasche, Anno 47 H.3. In presentia Rogeri le Bigot comite Norfolke & magistralli Anglia, Hugoe le Bigot, Arnoldi de Berkeley baron, de seccario magistri, Iohannis de Chisill cancellari. regis, &c. Recepit magister Nicholam archidiaconum Eliensis thesaurarius subscripta in thesauraria dom. regis, &c.* This man as before appeareth had bin chancelloz, of whom is mention made in my following tretise of the chancelloz.

Thomas Wilmundham. This man being chiefe chanter of Wilsfield, was by the barons in the yeare of Christ 1258, in the one and fourth yeare of king Henrie the third, made tresuroz (at the exchequer) of the seale or place where the writs be sealed with greene war, after which he was tresuroz to the king in the 50, 51, & 52 yeares of king Henrie the third.

John Chisill sometime chancelloz was tresuroz in the four & fifti yeare of Henrie the third, being about the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred thre score and nine. He was deane of Paules, choler bishop of London in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie and thre, and consecrat to that place in the yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, in which place he continued about five yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption 1279, being in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of the victorious prince king Edward the first of that name. See more of this Chisill in my following discourse of the chancelloz.

Philip de Clie was tresuroz (as appeareth by the records of the exchequer) in the 56 yeare of king Hen-

rie the third, and in the first yeare of king Edward the first, partlie falling in the yeare of our redemption 1272, and 1273.

Joseph de Chancie, whom one anonymall author calleth John de Chancie, but not rightlie as I suppose, was tresuroz in the second yeare of the scourger of the Scots king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1274.

William Gifford bishop of Bath and Wells was tresuroz to Edward the first, he was remoued to Poike in the yeare of Christ 1265, this man is by manie chronicles, and that perhaps most trulie called Walter Gifford. He died in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1279 as hath Nicholas Triuet. Of this man see more in the chancelloz of England.

Robert Burnell bishop of Bath and Wells chancelloz of England, and tresuroz to king Edward the first, is by the Welsh historie pag. 328, called chiefe iustice of England. Leland reporteth that an abbat told him how that a bishop Burnell built the castell of Aton Burnell. Of this man shall be more spoken hereafter in the chancelloz of England.

Joseph de Chancie the second time tresuroz to king Edward the first, in the first yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption 1278, was also prioz of S. Johns Jerusalem in Anglia, as I take it; and by an other name called the lord of S. Johns of the knights of the Rhodes in England.

Thomas Becke archdeacon of Dorchester, was tresuroz in the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1278 as some haue, but 1279 as other haue (by the witnesse of Leland, out of a monke of Glaffenburie) in his booke De assertione Arthuri, reciting the words of the said monke in this sort.

*Anno Domini 1267: Eadueardus rex Henrici tertij filius, venit cum regina sua Glasconiam. Die vero Martis proxima sequenti, fuit rex & tota curia accepta sumptibus monasterij. Quo die in crepusculo, fecit apperi sepulchrum inelyti Arthuri, ubi in duabus cistis imaginibus & armis eoru depictis, ossa dicti regis mira & consuetudinis separata inuenit. Imago quidem regine coronata, imaginis regie corona fuit prostrata, cum absissione sinistra auriculae, & vestigij plage unde moriebatur: inuenta est scriptura super his singulis manifesta. In crastino, videlicet die Mercurij rex ossa regis, regina ossa regine, pallijs pretiosis reuoluta, in suis cistis recludentes, & sigilla sua apponentes, praeceperunt idem sepulchrum ante maius altare celeriter collocari, retentis externis capitibus propter populi deuotionem; apposta huiusmodi scriptura: Hac sunt ossa nobilissimi regis Arthuri, quae anno dominice incarnationis 1278, decimo tertio calendis May, per dominum Eadueardum regem Anglia illustrum hic fuerunt sic collocatae, praesentibus Leonora serenissima eiusdem regis consorte, & filia domini Ferandi regis Hispania, magistro William de Middleton nunc Norwicensi electo, magistro Thoma de Becke archidiacono Dorsetensi & praedicti regis thesaurario, domino Henrico de Lescia comite Lincolniae, domino Amideo comite Subaudiae, & multis magnatibus Anglia. Thus farre the monke of Glaffenburie.*

Richard Warren or de Ware abbat of Wilesminster, was made abbat about the yeare of Christ 1260, being about the foure and fortieth yeare of king Henrie the third, who was made tresuroz, as hath John de Eueriden, in the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred & foure score, being the eight yeare of king Edward the first: which yeare of Christ a thousand two hundred and foure score, some do falslie make to fall in the tenth, some in the eleuenth yeare of the said Edward the first, which contrarie tis hath onelie risen by the default of the transcriber. But most certaine it is that he was tresuroz in the ninth, eleuenth, and part of the twelue of the said king Edward the first. This man going to Rome for

Joseph de Chancie.

Robert Burnell.

Joseph de Chancie.

Thomas Becke.

Richard de Ware.

his consecration, brought from thence certaine  
workemen and rich purpurie stones, whereof and by  
whom he made that rare pavement (containing a dis-  
course of the whole world) which is at this date most  
beautifull, and to be seene at Westminster before the  
communion table: a thing of that singulartie, curi-  
ousnesse, and rarenesse, that England hath not the  
like againe, in which pavement are circularie writ-  
ten in letters of brasse these ten verses following:

*Si lector posita prudenter cuncta revolvat,  
Hic finem primi mobilis inveniet.  
Sepes trima canes, & equos, homines superaddas,  
Cervos, & cornos, aquilas, immania cete,  
Mundum quodq; sequens praevenit triplicat annos,  
Sphericus archetypus, globum hic monstrat microcosmum.  
Christi millennio, bis centeno, duodeno,  
Cum sexageno, subactis quatuor anno,  
Tertium Henricus, rex, urbs, Odoricus & abbas  
Ros compegere purpureos lapides.*

Anno Domini  
1268 Henricus  
tertius urbs Ro-  
ma Odoricus ce-  
mentator & ab-  
bas Richardus de  
Ware fecerunt  
id pavementum.

The full explanation of which verses shall be at  
large set downe in the whole discourse of this ab-  
bats life, in my large booke of the lives of the lord  
treasurers. Which abbat with those workemen and  
those stones did also frame the shryne of Edward the  
confessor with these verses, carved out of stone and  
also gilded set about the same shryne or monument:

*Anno millennio Domini, cum septuagena,  
Et bis centeno, cum completo quasi deno,  
Hoc opus est factum, quod Petrus duxit in actum,  
Romanus civis. Homo, causam noscere suam,  
Rex fuit Henricus sancti presentis amicus.*

This abbat died the second daie of December, in  
the yeare of our redemption a thousand two hundred  
four score and thre, being the twelfth yeare of king  
Edward the first; after that he had governed the  
monasterie thre and twentie yeares and more, and  
was buried there at Westminster, in the foresaid  
plaine pavement of purpurie or the north side nere  
unto the towe (as is yet well to be seene) of Domes-  
or Aimer de Valence earle of Penbroke, on which  
grauie is ingrauen this byrse epitaph here insuing:

*Abbas Richardus de Ware qui requiescit  
Hic portat lapides, quos hic portant ab urbe.*

Walter Wen-  
locke.

Walter Wenloche abbat of Westminster, whom  
Matthew Westminster calleth William de Wen-  
loke, was made abbat of Westminster after the  
death of Richard de Ware, & was treasurer to king  
Edward the first, as hath the register of the lives of  
the abbats of Westminster, and other records that I  
have seene. Which office it seemeth that he had, meane  
betwene the twelfth and the fourteenth yeare of the  
said king Edward the first, as I suppose. This man  
after that he had bene abbat six and twentie yeares  
lacking six daies, died the five and twentieth of De-  
cember on the Christmas daie at night, in his ma-  
nour of Wireford in Gloucestershire, in the first yeare  
of Edward the sonne of Edward (which was Ed-  
ward the second) being the yeare of our redemption  
one thousand three hundred and seven, and was bu-  
ried in the church of Westminster, besides the high  
altar then standing without the south doore of saint  
Edwards shryne before the presbiterie there, under a  
plaine pavement and a marble stone decentlie ado-  
ned with this epitaph to his high commendation:

*Abbas Walterus iacet hic sub marmore testis,  
Non fuit austerus, sed mitis, summe reclus.*

Bishop of  
Coventrie.

A bishop of Coventrie (and Lichfield) was trea-  
surer of England in the fourteenth yeare of king Ed-  
ward the first, being the yeare of our redemption  
1286, in whose place in the same yeare came John  
Kirkebie.

John Kirkebie deane of Winburne and archdea-  
con of Coventrie, & treasurer to king Edward the  
first, was on the seventh calends of August in the

yeare of our Lord 1286, being the fourteenth yeare  
of the said Edward (then at Paris) made bishop of  
Elie, whom Leland (the refiner of all names) doth  
in his comment upon his song of the swan in the word  
Windelsaga thus terme; *Johannes Chercheus episcopus  
Angularinus regi a thesauris*. This man was treasurer  
in the first, tenth, & part of the eighteenth of  
Edward the first, in which yeare (as it seemeth) being  
part of the yeare of Christ 1290 this bishop died, the  
seventh calends of Aprill, after that he had bene bi-  
shop thre yeares some moneths and some daies, and  
was buried by Malepole bishop of Norwich in the  
church of Elie, on the north part of the quere before  
the altar of saint John Baptist.

William de Marchia or Guillelmus Martius was  
treasurer in Easter terme, in the eighteenth yeare of  
the reigne of king Edward the first, in which office he  
continued about five yeares, & was removed from  
that place on the 23 yeare of the said king Edward  
the first, and Peter of Leicester baron of the archie-  
her, with the two chamberleins executed all func-  
tions of that office untill a new treasurer was made.  
This William de Marchia was made bishop of Bath  
and Wells, in the yeare of Christ 1293, being the  
22 yeare of king Edward the third, in which he  
remained almost ten yeares, and died in the yeare of  
our Lord 1302, being about the 32 yeare of the said  
king Edward the first, and was buried in the church  
of Wells in the wall, betwene the doore of the clo-  
ster and the altar of saint Martine, at whose towe  
in time past (as the nature of that credulous age did  
hastilie beleue) were manie miracles done, as some  
have left in memorie to the following posteritie.

Walter Langhstone bishop of Lichfield and Co-  
ventrie was made treasurer after William de  
Marchia, in the 23 yeare of king Edward the first, in  
which office he continued (as I gather) during the life  
of king Edward the first, which fell in the 35 yeare of  
his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1307,  
and was then removed and imprisoned in the tower  
with two men onelie by Edward the second then  
comming to the crowne, because the said Walter  
Langhstone had caused king Edward the first to  
imprison, and as some have to banish this new king  
Edward the second for breaking downe the parkes  
of the said bishop Walter Langhstone. During the  
time that this Peter de Willebie was under treasu-  
ry or lieutenant of the treasurer, for the words be  
*Locum tenens thesaurarij*, in the thirtieth, one and thirtieth,  
two and thirtieth of Edward the first, this Walter  
was made bishop of Coventrie and Lichfield, in the  
yeare of our redemption 1295, being the thre and  
twentieth yeare of king Edward the first, and the  
same yeare that he was made treasurer. He died a-  
bout the yeare of our redemption 1321, being about  
the fourteenth yeare of king Edward the second, to  
which bishop the lord Cobham now living his heire,  
as being descended from Margaret the sister and  
heire of John Peuerell the cosine and heire to this  
Walter Langhstone, which Margaret was married  
to sir William de la Pole of Albie knight, from whom  
the lord Cobham is issued. And here sith I have be-  
fore made mention of the death of Edward the first,  
although it be somewhat impertinent to the treasu-  
ry; yet for that I do not remember that the same  
verses are set down in any of our late English chro-  
nicles, & for that I would have a perpetuall memorie  
of them, I will here deliver such epistaphicall verses  
as I have found touching king Edward the first:

*Dum vixit (rex) & valuit tua magna potestas,  
Fraw lauit, pax magna fuit, regnavit honestus,  
Scotos Eadwardus, dum vixit, suppeditavit,  
Temuit, afflixit, deprestit, dilaniavit.*

Walter Reinolds scholemaster to Edw. 2. bishop of

William de  
Marchia.

John de  
Sandall

John de  
Sandall

Walter Langh-  
stone bishop of  
Lichfield.

Walter of  
Wich.

John de  
Wich.

Walter de  
Wich.

John de  
Wich.



of Worcester, and after of Canturburie, and chancellor of England, was advanced to the place of the lord treasurer of England, in the 1. Edw. 2. being the yeare of Christ 1307, after which in the yeare of our Lord 1308, he was made bishop of Worcester, he continued in the office of treasurer untill some part of the fourth yeare of the said Edward the second, at what time came in his place John Sandall, who was lieutenant unto the said Walter in place of the treasurer, as appeareth by manie writs directed unto him by the name of John Sandall *Locum tenenti TP. episcopi Wigornie*. Of him is more spoken in the chancellors of England. But here I cannot passe over some both full in antiquitie, & persons of no small name by reason of their office, whereof the one in print, and the other in a booke of the nobilitie of England since the conquest unpainted, doe make Hugh Spenser the elder treasurer of England, which as yet I cannot find to be true, for that I doubt that king Edw. 2. louing him so entierly would neuer after remove him, & for that the full succession of treasurers before set downe, being true and taken out of ancient and most certaine records, will not afford him any place among them. But leauing that matter to others who can better defend the same, I will descend to the other treasurers.

John de Sandall being clerke, Scutifer regis, chancellor of the exchequer, and chancellor of England, having bene before under treasurer or depute for the high treasurer, came now in the fourth yeare of Edward the second to be made chiefe treasurer, & entered into that office in Easter terme about the beginning of the said fourth yeare of Edward the second. But in the yeare following, which was the fifth of Edward the second, he gaue place to another. He was chosen bishop of Winchester in the ninth yeare of Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1316. Of whom thus writeth Anonymus M. S. *Oberunt episcopus Winton & Eli viri sacra professione insigniti, quorum primo successit Iohannes de Sandall cancellarius Anglie vir cunctis affabilis & necessarius communitati. Secundo successit Iohannes de Hothum scaccar. regis, vir squidem scientie penitus ignarus, qui statim episcopatus ascensu culmine, ad honorum pariter & officij thesaurarij rex ipsum in sui fauorem sublimauit. De which John Sandall, and also of John Hothume, shall be more said hereafter.*

Walter Porwich knight, treasurer in the fifth yeare of Edward the second, and afterward in Easter terme in the eighth yeare of king Edward the second, did on the third daie of October in the said eighth yeare of king Edward the second receive the office of the treasurer, and on the same daie tooke a corporall oath before the barons and chamberleins of the exchequer, to behaue himselfe well and faithfully in the same office, which he had receiued of king Edward the second, by his letters dated at Porke the six and twentieth daie of September, in the eighth yeare of the said king Edward the second, which he kept not long at that time.

John Sandall was the second time lord treasurer, in the six and seventh yeare of king Edward the second. This man being bishop of Winchester, was treasurer. Of him see more in the chancellors of England.

Walter de Porwich being treasurer as before in the eighth yeare of king Edward the second, did not long insoy the same, but as I suppose gaue place to John Drokensford.

John de Drokensford, the fourteenth bishop of Bath & Wells, had (as I haue read) the great seale deliuered unto him, and was also treasurer of England. But because I find not as yet in what yeare, although it were in the time of king Edward the second, I cannot set downe the certaintie. Of whom

thus writeth the register of the bishops of Bath. *Iohannes Drokensford thesaurarius 14, Bathon episcopus post Walterum Haselshames, successit in episcopatum Bathon, annis 19, iste episcopatum pluribus edificijs insigniuit, franchises per reges episcopatus concessus non solum literatorie renouauit sed etiam ampliuit. Et quo ad durationem & exaltationem parentela sua fere fuit equalis predecessori suo Roberto Bornell. Et Wellie sepelitur ante altare sancti Iohannis Baptiste.*

John Hothum Bishop of Ely (as is before noted) John Hothum obtained the place and honour of treasurer, in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the second, which he did not long insoy. For in the Michaelmas tearme in the twelfth yeare of king Edward the second, came William Malwaine. Of this John Hothum is mention made in the discourse of the chancellors hereafter.

William Malwaine treasurer of England in the twelfth yeare of king Edward the second, being about the yeare of our redemption 1318, was (as it should seme) for his negligence and unworthines of the place most worthily removed at the parlement at Porke, in such sort that he possessed not that place (as I coniecture) aboue halfe a yeare. For in the same twelfth yeare came the bishop of Winchester.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester, upon the removing of Malwaine, was in the same twelfth yeare of king Edward the second admitted into the office of the treasurer, untill the king should otherwise determine. Which bishop found not in the treasure aboue nine & twentieth pounds seuentene shillings and eight pence, which might well be the cause of the displacing of the said Malwaine, who had ouer prodigallie dispersed the kings treasure.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Exeter was treasurer in the thirteenth yeare of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1319, in which I suppose he continued untill the fiftenth yeare of the said king, being about the yeare of Christ 1321. Of this man doth more follow.

Walter Porwich knight was the third time made treasurer, which place he inioined in the fiftenth yeare of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1321, or thereabouts. Walsingham saith that in the second of Edward the third *Obijt William de Porwich.*

Roger Northbrooke Scutifer or keeper of the seale, being taken by the Scots at the battell of Bannockburne about the seventh yeare of Edward the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1313, was also cleark of the wardrobe, and treasurer in the sixteenth of king Edward the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1322. Of whom thus writeth one anonymall chronicle M. S. *Anno Domini 1321 obijt Walterus de Langtone episcopus Cestren. cui successit in episcopatus honore per via impressionis & ambitionis Rogerus de Northburgh, clericus, de regis garderobia, sibi regis in cunctis fauentibus auxilio & voluntate. I haue read of one Godfreie de Northburgh bishop of Chester that died in the thre and thirtieth of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ 1359, which perhaps should be this Roger Northbrooke, Godfreie being by the transcriber placed in stead of Roger. But I will not at this time determine any certaintie thereof, although I find an other name of one Roger Northbrooke consecrated bishop of Couentrie and Lichfield, in the yeare of Christ 1321, who sat in that six eight and thirtie yeares, which eight and thirtie yeares added to the yeare of Christ, in which this Roger was made bishop, doe make vp the number of the yeare of Christ 1359, in which it is said that Godfreie Northbrooke died.*

Walter Stapleton bishop of Exeter, the second time treasurer in the eighteenth yeare of king Edward the second, & before, was removed in Easter tearme in the same yeare. In which Easter tearme

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was

William de archia,

John Spenser,

John de Sandall,

after the age of bishop of Lichfield,

Walter Porwich,

John Sandall,

Walter de Porwich,

John Drokensford,

after the age of

John Hothum bishop of Ely.

William Malwaine

John Stratford bishop of Winchester.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Exeter.

Roger Northbrooke or Northburgh.

Walter Stapleton bishop of Exeter.

was William bishop of Exeter also made treasurer, as is proved by the roll of Exitus, that terme being thus intituled, *De termino Pasche anno 18 Ed. 2. tam tempore W. episcopi Exon. quam W. archiepiscopi Eborum.* This Walter being elected to the bishopricke of Exeter, in the yeare of our redemption 1307, did sit in that place twentie yeares, and was beheaded at the coming into England of queene Isabell to depose Edward the second, in the twentieth yeare of the said king Edward the second, in the yeare of our redemption 1326. The cause of whose beheading was, for that he had procured the banishment of the said queene Isabell, and of hir sonne prince Edward.

William  
Helson.

William Helton archbishop of Exeter made lord treasurer in Easter terme, in the eighteenth yeare of Edward the second, kept the same office untill the deposition of himselfe from that place, & of his master from his kingdome, in the twentieth yeare of the reigne of the said Edward the second, and then gaue place to John Stratford.

John Strat-  
ford.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester was the second time made treasurer of England, in the twentieth yeare of the deposed king Edward, after the death of Walter Stapleton. This John the fourteenth daie of November, in the said twentieth yeare of Edward the second, comming into the exchequer, brought thither the kings patent, or open writ, or commandement, vnder the seale of Edward the kings eldest son, to witnes his election and creation to that place of treasurer: the tenor of which writ I haue thought good to set downe, because it was done by the son in the fathers name, and vnder the teste of the son, the father yet being king in shew; but the son indeed as gouernor of the realme: which title he intioied, untill that he most vnnaturallie by the malice of his mother, the ambition of himselfe, and the flatterie of his followers had deposed his father. The tenor of which writ was in these words, as followeth.

*Edwardus rex Anglie, & dominus Hibernie, baronibus & camerariis suis de scaccario suo salutem. Quum pro eo quod venerabilis pater W. archiepiscopus Eborum nuper thesaurarius scaccarii predicti, circa diuersa negotia in partibus borealibus esset occupatus, quominus intendere possit ad ea quae ad officium illud in dicto scaccario pertinent exercenda: constituerimus venerabilem patrem Iohannem Wintoniensem episcopum, tenentem locum thesaurarii scaccarii predicti, quousque de officio illo aliter duximus ordinandum. Percipiendo in eodem officio (dum illud sic tenuerit) secundum consuetum prout in literis nostris patentibus prefato episcopo inde confectis plenius continetur. Robur mandamus, quod ipsum episcopum ad officium admittatis, & ei in his quae ad officium predictum pertinent intendatis in forma predicta. Teste Edwardo filio nostro primogenito custode regni nostri. Apud Hereford sexto die Novembris, anno regni nostri vicesimo.*

Adam Carle-  
ton.

Adam Carleton, or de Myleton borne in Herefordshire, being *Decretorum* doctor, was made bishop of Hereford by the pope at Aulnion in the yeare one thousand three hundred and seauenteene, about the tenth or eleuenth yeare of the reigne of Edward the second, being he that made the sermon for the deposition of king Edward the second, and wrote the amphibologicall epistle for the death of the king, containing these words, *Regem occidere nolite timere bonum est*, which hath by a comma or point made at *Timere* one sense, and by a comma made at *Nolite* another sense. Which Adam was made lord treasurer in the first yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and six, in which office he continued not long. For in the Easter terme of the said king came Henrie bishop of Lincolne. This man was made bishop of Winchester in the yeare one thousand three hundred

thirtie and five, being the ninth yeare of king Edward the third: in which seat he sate twelue yeares. The death of which Adam (who gaue Henningfield parsonage to the church of Hereford) sir Thomas de la More both most plentifulle set forth.

Henrie Burgh bishop of Lincolne was lord treasurer in Easter terme, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and seauen, in which office he continued untill the second yeare of Edward the third, and was afterward removed.

Henrie Bur-  
gh bishop of  
Lincolne.

Thomas bishop of Hereford intioied the honorable place of the lord treasurer, in the third yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred twentie and nine: but in the yeare following another came in place.

Thomas bi-  
shop of Here-  
ford.

Robert Woodhouse possessed the roome of the high treasurer of England, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of the said young king Edward the third, being the yeare that the word became fleshy one thousand three hundred and thirtie, and was also treasurer some part of Michaelmasse terme, in the fifth yeare of king Edward the third, who in the yeare following did giue place vnto another.

Robert Wood-  
house.

William archbishop of Exeter was againe treasurer of England, in the fifth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and intioied that place some part of Michaelmasse terme in the said yeare, after whome came the bishop of Norwich.

William  
Helson

Richard  
Bington  
knighr.

W. bishop of Norwich was made treasurer in Michaelmasse terme in the said fifth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third: in which terme there had bene three lord treasurers successiuelie (a thing sel-dome or neuer heard, nor I thinke likelie againe euer to be) which office this bishop kept all Michaelmasse terme, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, and somewhat more in the end, yet yielding that honor to another.

W. bishop of  
Norwich.

Robert J  
Bington  
of Couer

Robert le Ailestone, being lord treasurer in the seuenth yeare of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, continued in the same office untill the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our saluation one thousand three hundred thirtie six, which was about three yeares, the same being a longer time than anie other had possessed that place, since the beginning of the reigne of the said king Edward the third.

Robert le  
Ailestone

3 bishop  
Chelster.

Henrie Burgh bishop of Lincolne was againe treasurer the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six, in which yeare (as hath Scaladronicorum) the king holding his parliament at London, was aduised by his counsell to prosecute his title to the crowne of France. Whereupon king Edward sent ambassadors to the duke of Bawiere emperor (which had married the other sister to the earle of Henalt, as king Edward the third had married one) for suertie of alliance, and to reuite noble men about him with no small charge, which ambassadors were Henrie Burgh bishop of Lincolne, and the earles William Spontacate of Sarum, and William Clinton of Huntington, who returned to the parliament at London with their answer well liked. Of this man see more in the chancelors, being yet after his ambassage treasurer in some part of the eleuenth yeare of Edward the third.

Henrie Bur-  
gh bishop of  
Lincolne.

Robert J  
Bington

Richard de Burie bishop of Durham did intioie the honor of lord treasurer, in the eleuenth yeare of the

Richard de  
Burie bishop  
of Durham.

Robert J  
Bington  
of Couer

the reigne of king Edward the third: he was a man of great gravitie, and much esteemed of the nobilitie and gentlemen of the north. Of this man is more spoken in the chancelloz of England.

William de la Zouch bozne of the noble house of the lord Zouch, was tresuroz of England, in the twelfth yere of king Edward the third, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight; he being bishop of Pozeke was vicegerent to the king in the north parts, in the twentieth yere of the reigne of the said Edward the third, and in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and six, at what time he toke David Bruce king of Scots. This man went to Rome, and after a long contention betwene him and William Bellesie, Killbie, or Belseie (for all these different names are found in authoꝝ) touching the archbishoppke of Pozeke, he was after two yeaes thus spent consecrated bishop of Pozeke by pope Clement the first. After which this William in the eleventh yere of his bishoppke, being long troubled with a greivous disease, began the worke of a chappell on the south side adjoining to the church of saint Peters in Pozeke, where he purposed to be buried: but died before it was finished, and lieth interred in the said church before the altar of saint Edward the confessor.

Sir Richard Sadington knight was tresuroz in the fourteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred & fortie. There was one Robert Sadington living about this time, of whom is more mention in the chancelloz of England: but as yet I well know not whether they were both one man or no; fith authoꝝ make misplace Robert for Richard, as they haue often done.

Robert Northborow, being at that time (as I Iudge) bishop of Couentrie, was tresuroz of England, in the fourteenth yere of the reigne of Edward the third, being the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, in which yere he was removed, whom with the chancelloz the king meant afterward (as after shall appeare) to haue sent into flanders as pledges for monie that the king ought there. After whom I suppose that Sadington came in place, although I haue a little misplaced him at this time, following the fancies of other men more than mine owne.

A bishop of Chesser was lord tresuroz of England in the fifteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being about the yere that the word became fleshy, one thousand three hundred fortie and one, in which office he did not long continue.

Robert Werning or Wernicke was lord tresuroz in the Easter terme, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and one, being the fifteenth yere of king Edward the third, in which yere also he was made chancelloz, and so continued both offices a while, untill in the sixteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, as I gather by all circumstances of times, records, and histories: who in the sixteenth yere of the reigne of the said king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and three (as appeareth by the booke of the law) being chancelloz, delivered a record with his hands into the court of the kings bench. Of this man more shall be set downe hereafter in my discourse of the chancelloz.

Roger Northborow (as I take it) being then bishop of Couentrie, did honorable possesse the place of the lord tresuroz of England, in the sixteenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and two, of whom thus writeth Matthew

Parker in the life of John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie: *ibi* (meaning at the tower) *conclitum initum est, tandemque definitum, ut archiepiscopus & episcopus Cicestrensis regni cancellarius & Couentrensis thesaurarius, una cum alijs satellitibus & licitoribus deprehensi, ad publicam custodiam rerum à se, absente rege, regiarum rationem redditari ducerentur. Mane accedunt satellites Lanetham, sed archiepiscopus ei pridie decesserat: tum Londinum reuersi Couentrensem & Cicestrensem episcopos cum alijs designatis capiunt, captos ad turrim deducunt, &c.* John Stratford.

William de Cusans, being lord tresuroz in the seventeenth yere of Edward the third, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred, fortie and three, continued in the same office all Michaelmasse tearme, in the eighteenth yere of the said Edward the third, and the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred fortie and foure: and being a yere more. Betwene whom & Thomas Henle abbat of Westminster was great contention about the iurisdiction of the hospitall of saint James in the parish of saint Margaret in Westminster, which hospitall is now a statelis house belonging to the prince, and built by king Henrie the eight called the manor of saint James with a parke walled about with bricke.

William de Edington, lord chancelloz and tresuroz of England, and bishop of Winchester, was lord tresuroz in Easter terme the nineteenth yere of Edward the third, being about the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and nine, in which office he continued untill the two and thirtieth of the said king, one thousand three hundred fiftie and eight, being fourteene yeaes, which was (as I thinke) as manye more yeaes as anye one man did possesse that place, since the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the third, untill the time of this William Edington. He was so surnamed of the place where hee was bozne, being the towne of Edington in Wiltshire: he was made bishop of Winchester (as some haue) about the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fortie and seven, being about the one and twentieth yere of king Edward the third. This man (chosen bishop of Canturburie, but yet neuer bishop) died (as hath Walsingham) in the fortieth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fiftie and six. I haue read of a bishop of Pozeke which that should also be tresuroz in the foure and twentieth of Edward the third, which must fall in the time that this Edington did continue that office: but how true it is, I leaue to others to consider, untill I haue in my large booke of the liues of the lord tresuroz dissolved that, and all other doubts and contrarieties that are here touched, or by authoꝝ reported.

John bishop of Rochester was lord tresuroz in the two and thirtieth yere of king Edward the third, in the yere of our redemption 1358, in which office he continued in the thirtie three and thirtie fourth yere of Edward the third.

Simon Langham, being of the priorie of Westminster, made abbat of that house, was thortie after made lord tresuroz of England, which office he held in the five & thirtieth and six and thirtieth yere of king Edward the third, who being bishop of London (as hath Matthew Parker) was in the yere that the word of the father toke on it the forme of a seruant, by due account 1361, being the five and thirtieth yere of king Edward the third, by the pope made bishop of Ely, where he sat five yeaes, and was after in the yere of our redemption, one thousand three hundred, fiftie and six, being the fortieth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third, chosen bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated in the yere of our redemption 1367, as saith the same Matthew Parker. On which date of his consecration he demanded homage

Henrie Burgh  
path of Bur-  
esse bishop of  
Lincolne.

Thomas bi-  
shop of Here-  
ford.

Robert Wern-  
icke.

William  
Hilton.

W. bishop of  
Pozeke.

Robert de  
Pilestone.

Henrie Bur-  
gh path bishop of  
Lincolne.

Richard de  
Worce bishop  
of Worcester.

William de  
Cusans.

William de  
Edington bis-  
hop of Win-  
chester.

John bishop  
of Rochester.

Simon  
Langham  
bishop of  
Ely.

homage of the erle Stafford of Thomas Wolfe, John  
Burrell, Robert Bockill, & Rafe Sentleger, knights  
for their lands which they held of the see of Cantur-  
burie. Shortly after which in the yere of our redemp-  
tion one thousand three hundred, sixtie and eight, be-  
ing the two and fortieth yere of the reigne of king  
Edward the third, he was made cardinall, & died at  
Aulmire the two and twentieth date of Julie, about  
the yere of our redemption, as saith one Anonymus  
M.S. 1376, being the fiftith yere of king Edward  
the third, and was buried besides Aulmire, in a place  
which he had raised from the foundation: three yeres  
after which his bones were brought to Westminster  
where at this date he hath one honorable tome on the  
south side of the chynne amongst the kings, on whose  
tome the monks of Westminster did sometime  
place this same epitaph in the remembrance of him:

*Simon de Langham sub petris huius tumulatus,  
Istius ecclesie monachus fuerat, prior, abbas,  
sede vacante fuit electus Londoniensis  
Praefuit & insignis eligi, sed postea primus  
Totius regni, magnus regisque minister:  
Nam thesaurarius & cancellarius eius,  
Ac cardinalis in Roma presbyter iste,  
Postque Praenestinus est factus episcopus atque  
Auntius ex parte papae, transmittitur istuc  
Orbe dolente pater, quem nunc remocare nequimus:  
Magdalena festo milleno septuagena  
Et ter centeno sexto Christi nunt anno:  
Hunc Deus absoluat de cunctis quae male gessit,  
Et meritis matris sibi calica gaudia donet.*

Of this man I haue intreated in my discourse of  
the cardinals pag. 1165. and in my collection of all  
the chancellors of England hereafter following.

John Barnet  
bithop of Wor-  
cester.

John Barnet made bithop of Worcester in the  
yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred  
sixtie and two, being the six and thirtieth yere of king  
Edward the third, was tresuroz of England in the  
seuen and thirtieth yere of Edward the third, in which  
office he continued, being tresuroz in Michaelmasse  
tearme in the eight & thirtieth yere of the reigne of  
the said Edward the third, which fell in the yere of  
Christ one thousand three hundred sixtie & foure, and  
so he continued in the three & fortieth yere of king Ed-  
ward the third still tresuroz. He was made bithop of  
Bath in the yere of our redemption 1363, in which  
bithoplike he remained three yeres, and was by Ur-  
bane the first then bithop of Rome translated from  
Bath to Cleie in the yere of Christ 1366, being the  
fortieth yere of the reigne of king Edward the third,  
in which place he sat six yeres: and being a verie old  
man, and having bene tresuroz about six yeres,  
he died at Watfield the seuenth ides of June, in the  
yere that God became man one thousand three hun-  
dred seuentie and three, and the seuen and fortieth yere  
of the often named king Edward the third, he was  
buried in the church of Cleie besides the high altar on  
the south part.

Richard de  
Chesterfield.

I haue read and seme by manie noted that one  
named Richard de Chesterfield was tresuroz to the  
king in the one and fortieth yere of king Edward  
the third, whome they will haue lord tresuroz: which  
by no possible meanes as farre as I can yet conceiue  
maie be true: because it appeareth by record that  
John bithop of Cleie (which was this Barnet if you  
marke the time of his translating to Cleie) was trea-  
suroz in the same yere: but it maie be that he was  
tresuroz of the chamber or household to the said king  
in the said one and fortieth yere of his reigne.

Thomas de  
Wantage-  
ton.

Thomas de Wantington, being tresuroz for the  
king in the parts of Guisnes marches and Calis, in  
the yere of our redemption one thousand three hun-  
dred sixtie and seuen, being the one and fortieth yere  
of the reigne of king Edward the third, was made bi-

shop of Excester by especiall letters of the king in  
the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred  
sixtie and eight, being the three and fortieth yere of the  
said Edward the third, and was lord tresuroz of  
England in the foure and fortieth & five & fortieth yere  
of Edward the third: in which five & fortieth yere,  
being the yere of our redemption one thousand three  
hundred seuentie and one, he was in a parlement at  
the petition of the lords removed, at what time also  
there passed a law, that the chancelor, tresuroz, and  
clerke of the priuie seale, should no more be spirituall  
men: but that secular men should haue those offices.

Sir Richard Scrope or Scrobs knight lord of  
Bolton and chancelor of England, was tresuroz of  
England in the six and fortieth, seuen & fortieth, & eight  
and fortieth of Edward the third, and then gaue place  
to sir Robert Ashton knight. This Richard made out  
of the ground the castell of Bolton consisting of  
foure great strong towers, and of other stately lod-  
gings, which castell was erecting eightene yeres,  
the charges whereof came yereleie vnto a thousand  
marks, which was eightene thousand markes, or  
twelue thousand pounds: the ounce of siluer being  
then but at twentie pence, which being now trebla  
and at five shillings, doth at this date amount vnto  
six and thirtie thousand pounds, which castell he fi-  
nished before Richard the second died. He bought the  
betre generall of saint Quintine, that was honoz of  
Honorlie castell in Richmondshire, which betre he  
was content one Coniers a seruant of his should  
marrie, and haue the preferment of that ward; and  
so Honorlie castell came to the Conierses, of which  
house the first lord was William Coniers, grand-  
father to him that died in the time of queene Marie  
without betre male, whereby his inheritance came  
to his three daughters. Which William the first lord  
Coniers of that name did much cost vpon Honorlie  
castell: being before but a meane thing. I haue read  
of this lord Scrope, that he had a sonne called Wil-  
liam, whereof we will speake more hereafter, that  
was earle of Wilshire, who being beheaded in his  
fathers life, left no issue behind him. After which the  
father suruiuing was made tresuroz to the king and  
died in honoz, although he was not restored to his  
dignitie of chancelorship: but at what time he should  
be the second time tresuroz (after the death of his  
sonne William) in the time of Henrie the fourth, I  
can not as yet certeinlie learne. But it maie be that  
he was againe tresuroz in the ninth yere of Hen-  
rie the fourth; for that I find not by any former search  
who then possessed that place. It seemeth that he had  
two wiues, the one the daughter of the lord Spenser  
the other the daughter of Michael de la Pole erle of  
Suffolke called Blanch. He had three sons, for whom  
he bought of the king the three daughters and heires  
of Robert lord Wipstok, whereof the eldest daughter  
Margaret was married to Roger his second sonne,  
the second daughter was married to William his  
eldest sonne, the third daughter called Millescent  
was married to Stephan the third sonne of the said  
Richard.

Sir Robert Ashton knight, constable of Dover  
castell, was lord tresuroz in the fiftith and one and  
fiftith of king Edward the third in Michaelmasse  
tearme, which was the last Michaelmasse tearme  
wherein the king reigned, being about the yere of  
Christ one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, of  
which name there was also one that was chiefe baron  
in the time of Edward the second, as I haue read.

Henrie Wake or Wakefield, being made bithop  
of Worcester in the yere of our redemption one  
thousand three hundred seuentie and five, being the  
fortie and ninth yere of the reigne of king Edward  
the third, was made lord tresuroz of England in the  
yere

Thomas  
Wantage-  
ton bithop  
of Excester

Richard  
de Bolton

Thomas  
Wantage-  
ton bithop  
of Excester

Robert  
Wipstok

Hugh lord  
de Graue.

Sir Robert  
Ashton

John Fox  
ham bithop  
of Durham.

Henrie made  
bithop of Wor-  
cester.

peare that the word of the father tooketh in the wombe of the woman, one thousand three hundred seuentie and six, in the one and fiftith yere of king Edward the third, in which office he continued part of Easter tearme in the first yere of king Richard the second, being about the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred seuentie and eight, he died in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, as saith Walsingham.

Thomas Winton bishop of Excester was made lord treasurer of England towards the latter end of Easter tearme, in the first yere of king Richard the second, falling in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred seuentie and eight, as I at this time account it: from which place he was shortly removed in the second yere of king Richard the second.

Richard earle of Arundell and Surrie, made lord treasurer of England in the second yere of the reigne of king Richard the second, whereof part fell in the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred seuentie and eight, & part in the yere one thousand three hundred seuentie and nine, continued about one yere in the same, and then gave place to him which possessed the same office last before him, he married Elisabeth the daughter of William de Bohune earle of Northampton & Hereford, by whom he had issue Thomas earle of Arundell, Jane married to William Beauchampe lord Aburgauennie, Elisabeth married to Thomas lord Howland, and Alice married to John Charleton lord Powes: this Richard was beheaded in the one and twentieth yere of Richard the second.

Thomas Winton bishop of Excester was the third time lord treasurer of England, in the third yere of the after deposed king Richard the second, & was removed from his office in the fourth yere of the said Richard, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and eightie, after the account of such as begin the yere on the five and twentieth of March.

Robert Hales chiefe prior of the knights of the Rhodes, intituled by the name of the knights of S. Johns Jerusalem in England, was lord treasurer of England in the fourth yere of the reigne of Richard the second, in which office he continued during his life: for shortly after that he came into that place (which as I suppose he held Easter terme, and some moneths after) in the said yere of Richard the second; in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and eighty and one (the rebelles having spoiled the hospitall or famous college of those knights of saint Johns by Smithfield nere unto London) amongst others did fetch this Robert Hales out of the tower of London (where the king then lay) and beheaded him on the tower hill.

Hugh Segrave knight, whom Walsingham calleth *Regis feneclulum* the kings steward, was made lord treasurer of England in the fifth yere of the reigne of king Richard the second, who continued in the said office the first, seauenth, eight, and some part of the Michaelmasse terme in the ninth yere of the reigne of king Richard the second, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred eighty and five.

John Fortham canoni, being secretaire to the king, was made bishop of Durham the nine and twentieth of Maie, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred eighty and one, being the fourth yere of the reigne of king Richard the second, and was inthronized in September, in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred eighty and two, being the first yere of the reigne of king

Richard the second. This man was made lord treasurer in Michaelmasse terme the ninth yere of king Richard the second, being the yere of our saluation one thousand three hundred eighty and five: and so continued part of the tenth yere of king Richard the second, untill he was by parlement discharged. He was translated from the bishopricke of Durham to Elie by Boniface the pope the first calends of October, as hath the booke of Durham, one thousand three hundred eighty nine, being the twelfth yere of the same Richard: but as saith the booke of Elie one thousand three hundred eighty and eight, being the thirtieth yere of Richard the second. Which both may be true, because the one may haue relation to the yere of his translation, and the other to the yere of his inthronization, both which manie times happened in severall yeares of manie other bishops. He was bishop of Elie seven and thirtie yeares, three moneths, and foure daies, and died a verie old man the thirtieth of December, in his manor of Dunham, in the yere of our redemption one thousand four hundred twentieth and five, falling in the fourth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the first.

John Gilbert bishop of Hereford was by parlement made lord treasurer in the tenth yere of king Richard the third, being the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred eighty and six, as I for this time take it, in which office he continued the eleuenth, and all Michaelmasse terme in the twelfth yere of king Richard the second, and the one and twentieth of March following: after which he was againe removed, and then he with twelue more were appointed by commission to the government of the whole realme vnder the king, of whom thus writeth one Anonymall chronicle M. S. *Is fuit de ordine predicatoru, vir qui plus lingua quam fide regebat*, which bishop (as I suppose) was removed to saint Davids, after that he had bene thirtene yeares bishop of Hereford.

Thomas Winton bishop of Excester. I haue read that the bishop of Excester was made treasurer in the twelfth yere of Richard the second, upon the removing of John Gilbert, which bishop of Excester could not be Edmund Stafford, as some falselie name him, for there is no such man as I can find in the catalog of all the bishops of Excester: neither was it Edmund Stafford, for he was not made bishop of Excester untill the twentieth of June one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, being the date before king Richard the second began the one and twentieth yere of his reigne, which is eight yers after the time whereof we now intreat. Therefore it must needs be Thomas Winton, for he being consecrated bishop of Excester the tenth of March, in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred & seuentie, being the foure and fortieth yere of Edward the third, and governing that six foure and twentie yers, till the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, in which came Edmund Stafford keeper of the priuie seale; it must needs be that (the bishop of Excester being treasurer in the twelfth yere of Richard the second, falling in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred eighty and eight) it was this man Winton, and that he was the fourth time made lord treasurer of England, about the eighteenth yere after that he was made bishop of Excester, who dies in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred ninetie and five, as hath Ypodigma.

John Gilbert bishop of saint Davids in Wales was lord treasurer in the thirtieth and fourtieth yeares of the reigne of the deposed king Richard the second. Of whom, because there is somewhat spoken before, we will intreat the lesse of him in this place.

John

Sir Richard  
Drope lord  
Bolton.

Thomas  
Winton  
bishop of  
Excester.

Richard earle  
of Arundell.

Thomas  
Winton  
bishop of  
Excester.

Robert  
Hales.

Hugh  
Segrave.

Sir Robert  
Thilton.

John Fortham  
canon of  
Durham.

Henrie make  
bishop of  
Excester.

John bishop  
of Hereford.

Thomas  
Winton  
bishop of  
Excester.

John Gilbert  
bishop of saint  
Davids in  
Wales.



John Wals-  
tham bishop of  
Salisbury.

John Walsingham, of whom I haue spoken moze in my discourse of the archbishops of Canturburie, in the life of William Courtneie was bishop of Salisbury, maister of the rolles in the first yeare of Richard the second, and keeper of the priuie seale, after which he was tresuroz of England, in the fiftieth, sixtieth, seauentienth, and part of the eightieth of Richard the second, for he died in Michaelmas terme in the said 18 yeare of Richard the second, in the yere of Christ 1395, others saie 1394, of whom thus writeth Walsingham: *Hoc anno (which was 1395) obiit Iohannes de Walsingham episcopus Sarum & regni thesaurarius, qui tantum regi complacuerit, ut etiam (multis licet murmurantibus) apud monasterium inter reges meruit sepulturam.*

Roger Walden bishop of London.

Roger Walden sometime secretarie to the king and tresuroz of the towne of Calis (in the twelue yere of Richard the second) was made lord tresuroz in the eightieth of the same king, about the yere of our Lord 1365, in which office he continued the two and twentieth of the said Richard the second. He was elected and made bishop of Canturburie, but after reiected and deposed, and thereupon was by pope Innocent the senenth made bishop of London on the tenth of December, in the yere of Christ 1404, being the first yere of Henrie the fourth, in the which bishoppe he continued about one yere, and died in the yere 1406, being buried at saint Bartholomewes priorie in Smithfield, who of a poore man (as saith Walsingham) was made lord tresuroz of England.

G. bishop of saint Dauid's in wales.

G. bishop of S. Dauid's was lord tresuroz of England in the two and twentieth yere of Richard the second, which bishop I suppose to be Guie de Spone, whom the booke Ypodigma & Thomas Walsingham call bishop of S. Dauid's, and saie that he died in the yere of our redemption 1407, writing in this sort: *Eodem anno Guido de Mone Meneuensis episcopus presens lucis sensu eclipsim, qui dum vixit magnorum malorum causa fuit.*

William Scrope earle of wylshire.

William Scrope knight, vicechamberleine to Richard the second was lord tresuroz, he bought of William Montacute earle of Salisbury the Isle of Man, with the crowne thereof. He was one of those to whom king Richard the second let the kingdom to farme, he was lord tresuroz of England in the 21 of Richard the second, and was after created earle of Wylshire, in the said 21 yere of the same Richard the second, in the yere of Christ 1397. He was after beheaded at Wythow in the 23 and last yere of the then deposed king Richard. Of which William Scrope and others thus writeth that worthy poet sir John Gower in his historie of Richard the second, commonlie taken as part of his worke intituled *vox clamantis*.

\*Henrie Bolingbroke coming into England and depoling Richard the second.

*\*Dux probus audaci vultu, cum plebe sequaci Regnum scrutatur, si proditor inueniatur, Sic tres exosos, magis omnibus ambitiosos, Regni tortores, inuenerat ipse priores, Ense percussu pereunt, Gren, Scrop, quog, Buft, Hi qui regales fuerant cum rege sodales, Scrop comes & miles, cuius Bristolia viles Actus declarat, quo mors sua fata pararat. Gren quoque sorte pari, statuit dux decapitari Buft conuictus, similes quoque iustinet ictus, Vnanimes mente, pariter mors una repente, Hos tres prostravit gladius, quos sine vorauit, Sicut & egerunt alijs, sic hi ceciderunt, Quo dux laudatur, regnumque per omne iocatur.*

Sir John Northberie.

Sir John Northberie made lord tresuroz in the first yere of king Henrie the fourth, being the yere that God took on him the forme of a seruant, a thousand three hundred nintie and nine, and continued in the same in the third yere of Henrie the fourth, in which yere he was also keeper of the priuie garde robe in the tower.

Henrie Bolwet made bishop of Bath, about the yere of our redemption 1401, bring also about the second yere of Henrie the fourth, in which bishoprike he continued eight yeaes, and was after at the kings instance in the yere of Christ a thousand four hundred and seuen, about the eight yere of Henrie the fourth removed to Poike. This man was lord tresuroz of England in the fourth yere of king Henrie the fourth, in the yere of our redemption 1403, in which place he continued not about a yere, if so long.

William lord Rosse, the sonne of Thomas lord Rosse, did possesse the honorable place of the lord tresuroz of England, in the fift yere of king Henrie the fourth, being about the yere of our saluation one thousand four hundred and foure, and shortly after gaue place to the lord Furniuall. He married Margaret daughter of Fitzallen lord Patrauers, he had issue Thomas lord Rosseaine in France, in the yere one thousand foure hundred twentie and one, about the ninth yere of Henrie the first, and manie other children.

Thomas lord Furniuall kept the place and office of the lord tresuroz of England, the first, seuenth, and some part of the eight yere of king Henrie the fourth, as in Michaelmasse tearme of the same eight yere, falling in the yere of our redemption, one thousand foure hundred and six, after which this lord Furniuall (who had the custodie of the castell and honour of Wigmore, being in the kings hands by reason of the wardship and minority of Edmund Mortimer earle of March) was (as it seemeth) removed from the tresurozship, in whose roome succeeded the bishop of London. To these lord Furniualls did Furniualls inne of Holborne sometime apertene as their mansion house, being now an inne of chance rie for yong students of the law and attornies, and belonging vnto Lincolns inne in Chancerie lane.

Nicholas Subwisch made bishop of London in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six: being the eight yere of Henrie the fourth, must be that bishop of London (as farre as I can yet conceiue) who was lord tresuroz of England in Michaelmas tearme in the said eight yere of Henrie the fourth: which office it seemeth that he held not long, for in Easter terme after in the same eight yere, the office of the tresuroz remained in the kings hands, and the accompts of the same terme go vnder the same title of being in the kings hands.

Sir Richard Scrope lord of Bolton (whereof is so much spoken before) was as I suppose the second time tresuroz of England in this ninth yere of Henrie the fourth: whereunto I am induced by this reason; that first the king would not kepe that office so long in his hands as almost amounted vnto two yeaes, but that he would bestow the same vpon some other: secondlie, for that I read that this Richard Scrope father to William Scrope earle of Wylshire beheaded by this Henrie the fourth before he came to the crowne at Wythow (in the last yere of Richard the second, and in the first of this kings reigne) was after the death of the said William made tresuroz of England, and so died in honour: thirdlie for that I cannot see how he might be tresuroz in anie yere since the death of the said William, vntill this ninth yere of Henrie the fourth: and lastlie, for that I cannot in anie record or other au thor find anie other man mentioned to supplie that place in this yere: for which causes I haue attempted to bestow him here, and that rightlie, for anie thing that I can yet learne.

Sir John Tiptot or Tibetot knight, did possesse the place and office of the lord tresurozship of England in Michaelmas terme, in the tenth yere of king Henrie

Henrie 1st  
Scrope.

Thomas 1st  
Furniuall.

\*This C  
arch for th  
name of  
Scrope  
the yere  
Christ.  
Richard  
spelled by  
his letter  
the four-  
berie, & 20  
changing  
letters of  
Lord Cor,  
adding to  
the letter  
which sig  
eth a poke.  
By the  
letter of el  
words of  
the berie  
together  
ward and  
the name  
Thomas  
Grove.  
Thomas  
of Brunde

Nicholas  
Subwisch be  
shop of Lon  
don.

Sir Richard  
Scrope lord  
Scrope of  
Bolton.

Sir Roger  
Lacy knight

Henrie 1st  
for Hugh

John Stal



nes Stafford episcopus Barboniensis cancellarius, & D. Scrope thesaurarius regni, necnon Wilhelmus Lindwood, custos priuatis sigilli, pro rege subsidium postularunt, & mediam decimam tandem a re impetrarunt.

Kase lord  
Cromwell.

Kase lord Cromwell, the son of Kase Cromwell lord of Latherhall, possessed the place of the lord treasurer'ship of England, in Easter terme in the twelfth yeare of the after deposed K. Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1434, and so continued in that office about ten years, falling (as I suppose) in the yeare of our redemption 1444. This man being knight was created lord Cromwell by the said king Henrie the first, and was lineallie descended of one of the heires of Robert lord Latherhall, that married one of the daughters and heires of William Dalbintie earle of Arundell. This Kase lord treasurer died without issue, and made his testament in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fiftie and foure, being in the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, after whose death the inheritance came to the thre aunts being his heires, whereof the first was married to the lord Bardolfe flaine at Brancehome more in Northumberland, the second was married to sir William Fitzwilliams knight of the sepulchre, the third Elisabeth to sir John Clifton knight, & after his death to sir Edmund Beueffed knight. Of one Kase lord Cromwell I find this note set downe by Leland. Dominus Radulphus Cromwell & Matilda uxor eius fundatores collegij sancte trinitatis de Latherhall, quibusque Roberti ordine domini erant de Taterhall, hos sequutus est Radulphus Cromwell.

Sir Kase  
Butler lord  
Sudleie.

Sir Kase Butler knight of the garter, lord Sudleie (descended from John lord Sudleie, and William Butler baron of Wem, which married Jone daughter and heire to John Sudleie lord Sudleie) did possesse the honorable place of the lord treasurer'ship of England the seventh of Julie, in the two and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred fortie and foure, which office he kept about thre yerres: for in the five and twentieth yeare of the said king, was the bishop of Carleill lord treasurer. This Kase lord Sudleie builded the castell of Sudleie, in the time of king Henrie the first, and of Edward the fourth, who in the time of the said Edward the fourth was committed to prison by the king, first sending for him to come to his presence. Whereupon he going to the king, and resting on an hill, from whence he did behold Sudleie castell, said: It is thou, it is thou Sudleie castell and not I which am the traitor. After which comming to king Edward the fourth, he resigned the said Sudleie castell into the kings hands. Which castell came after to Jasper duke of Bedford, and is now in the yeare 1585 in the possession of Giles a Bytoges lord Shandois. This Kase being made baron in the twentieth yeare of Henrie the first, married Elisabeth the daughter of sir John Northberie, by whome he had issue Thomas his son that died without issue, leaving his two sisters to be his heires; whereof the eldest daughter called Elisabeth, was married to sir John Northberie, whose heire generall was married to John Hattwell of Devonshire, who had issue Jone his daughter and heire married to Edward lord Bate, of whome the lord Cobham now living is descended. The other sister married to sir Hamond Belknap, of whome is descended the worthy gentleman Thomas Wotton of Bacton Paleherbe in Kent esquire now living. The which Kase lord Butler of Sudleie was Vexillifer, and high Butler of England, and steward in house to king Henrie the first.

Marinaduke  
bishop of  
Carleill.

Marinaduke bishop of Carleill was made lord treasurer of England in the five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, in which office he continued

about two yerres, in the seven and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption 1448, or (as some haue) 1449.

James Fines created at Burie baron of Sale and of Sele, on the third of March, in the five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption, according to the English account 1446, was constable of Deuer castell, and lord treasurer of England in the eight and twentieth yeare of the said king Henrie the first, and was from thence remoued (as some haue) in the nine & twentieth yeare of the said king, & was by the rebels of Kent Jacke Cade and his felowes taken out of the tower to the Guildhall, where he was arraigned before the maior and other the kings Iudices; who desiring to be tried by his peeres, was by the rebels forceable taken from the officers, and beheaded at the Standard in Cheape. The manner whereof shall be more fullie set downe hereafter in my large booke of the liues of the lord treasurers. Which his beheading some doo attribute to the eight and twentieth yeare of the said Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption 1450. He had issue sir William Fines knight, and one daughter married to sir William Cromer knight, thiriffe of Kent, beheaded at that time also with his father in law. Of which Cromer is James Cromer of Kent now living descended.

John Lord Beauchampe, a person of great worth, possessed the place of the treasurer'ship of England, the nine and twentieth and thirtieth yerres of king Henrie the first.

John Tiptoft earle of Worcester possessed the place of the lord treasurer, in the one and thirtieth and two and thirtieth of king Henrie the first. Of whome is more mention made hereafter.

James Butler, the sonne of James earle of Ormond, being earle of Wiltshire and Ormond, possessed the office of the lord treasurer of England in Easter tearme the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1455. Of whom is more spoken hereafter.

Henrie vicount Bouchier, borne of the noble house of the Bouchiers, the sonne of William Bouchier earle of Glouce in Normande, was lord treasurer of England in the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the deposed king Henrie the first, in which office he did not long remaine.

John Talbot earle of Shrewsburie, the sonne of John Talbot, the first earle of Shrewsburie of that name, possessed the place of the treasurer'ship of England in the five and thirtieth and six and thirtieth yerres of king Henrie the first, and then gaue place to the earle of Wiltshire. This earle was slaine at the battell of Northampton, in the eight and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our salvation 1460. He married Elisabeth the daughter of James Butler erle of Ormond, and had issue, John erle of Shrewesburie, James, Gilbert, Christopher, and George; Anne married to sir Henrie Cernon, and Margaret: this man was buried in the priorie of Worcester.

James Butler, sonne to James the fourth of that name earle of Ormond, was the second time made lord treasurer of England, about the 37 yeare of king Henrie the first, in which office he continued (as I suppose) in the eight & thirtieth yeare of the said king. This man in the said eight and thirtieth yeare of the king conueied himselfe a waite out of England into Dutchlant (for feare of the nobilitie, as the duke of Forke and others that rebelled against the king) sending backe his souldiers into England, which he had before assembled vpon the sea; but after he returned into England, and was againe put to fight at Spottimers crosse by Edward earle of March after king by

Henrie 1  
count 25  
quer.

Thomas  
Bouchier

John de  
Worcester

Edmund  
Cromer of  
Kent

John lord  
Beauchampe

John Tiptoft

James Butler  
erle of  
Wiltshire.

Henrie vicount  
Bouchier.

John Talbot  
earle of  
Shrewsburie

James earle  
of Worcester.

by the name of king Edward the fourth. He was made earle of Diamond in the nine and thirtieth yeare and last yeare of king Henrie the first. He married Eleanor the daughter of Edmund duke of Summerset, and died without issue, being beheaded at Peterborough castle in the yeare one thousand four hundred fiftie one, in the first yeare of Edward the fourth.

Henrie bicount Bourchier was lord treasurer of England the second time, in the nine and thirtieth and last yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred & fiftie. Who upon the deposition of the said king Henrie the first by Edward the fourth, was also removed from his office.

Thomas Bourchier, made lord treasurer of England in the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred fiftie and one, continued not long in that office, but gave place to John earle of Worcester.

John Tiptot earle of Worcester, the second time possessed the place of the lord treasurer of England, in the second and thirde yeare of king Edward the fourth. Of whom is more spoken before by me in my treatise of the consuetudes of England pag. 869.

Edmund lord Greie of Ruthine, the sonne of John lord Greie of Ruthine, did enjoy the office of the lord treasurer of England, in the fourth yeare of the noble prince king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1464. This man secretlie in hart forsaking the part of king Henrie the first, for injuries received at the same king Henries hands, aided the said Edward the fourth, and was the chiefe means whereby he attained the crowne. In Michaelmas tearme in the said fourth yeare of the king, there was a sergeants feast held in Holborne in the bishop of Elices house, to which the mayo and aldermen repaired, being bidden thither. But when the mayo looked to be set to keepe the state in the hall (forgetting that he was out of his owne liberties, for the bishops palace was an exempt place) as it had bene used (saith John Stow) in all places of the citie & liberties of the same, out of the kings presence: the lord Greie of Ruthine then treasurer of England unknowne to the sergeants, and (against their wills as they said) was placed in the highest room. Whereupon the mayo, aldermen, and commons departed. This Edmund both Matthew Parker, in the life of Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie, make to be treasurer in the thirde yeare of Edward the fourth, being the yeare of Christ 1463: which may well inough stand with the former, being treasurer to John earle of Worcester in the said thirde yeare of the king. For upon the removing of the said earle in the thirde yeare of Edward the fourth, came this lord Greie in place. The words of which Matthew Parker (with a note of the yeare of Christ 1463 in the margent) are in this order. *Edwardus rex, annis iam annis feliciter gesto regno, parliamentum Westmonasterij tenuit, quo etiam tempore archiepiscopus (which was Thomas Bourchier the brother of Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex) & clerici in synodo conveniunt. In hac synodo Iohannes comes Wigornia, Henricus comes Essexie, D. Edmundus Grey thesaurarius Anglia, D. Humfridus Cromwell, D. Wenlocke, D. Iohannes prior sancti Iohannis, & Robertus stillingham legum doctor custos privati sigilli, regis conciliarij, allatis literis regis petierunt a clero decerni regi ad Scotos repellendos subsidium. Quod quidem gratissimis omnium animis tam munifico regi concessum est, qui superiori anno ecclesie immunitates atque iura iniquis iudiciorum calumnijs (viti in Iohanne Stafford antea diximus) convulsa & labefactata diplomate regio restauravit.*

Besides which, thus writeth John Whethamsted, that learned abbat of saint Albons, of this lord

Greie, declaring in what authoritie he was at first, in the dates of Henrie the first, and then in the reigne of Edward the fourth. His words be these. *Anno 36 H. 6. venerunt tres viri monachi de canobio Cluniacensi, quibus ad audiendum eorum nuntium missi sunt episcopus Dunelmensis custos privati sigilli, dominus Edmundus Greie de Ruthine, & secretarius regis, quibus isti viri dixerunt eorum adventum esse ob tria. Primo ad aperiendum quomodo reges Anglia & precipue Henricus secundus fuerunt tam magni benefactores ad eorum ecclesiam, ut potius pro nunc dicatur earum patronus ac precipuus fundator. Secundo venerunt ad petendum possessionem & confirmationem bonorum illorum, qua dicti progenitores eis contulerant, & per tempus non paucum iam dudum a manibus eorum detenta & distracta erant. Tercio ad impetrandum liberam licentiam ad ingrediendum singula loca religiosa ab eorum canobio dependentia, & quae per nobiles progenitores regis posita fuerunt sub eorum regimine. Sed nihil hic eis gratum fuit actum, ita ut tristes discederent. Out of the which words of Whethamsted make other things be gathered, besides the doings of the lord Greie: as that the kings of England, and speciallie Henrie the second, haue bene great benefactors and founders of the Charterhouse monks: with manie mo matters contained in the same, which I referre to the wise and learned reader, which made me the willinger to set downe his words so largelic.*

Moreover, the same Whethamsted, continuing the historie of Henrie the first, writeth of the battell of Northampton, wherein was this lord Greie, in this sort. *In praelio Northamptonensi Edmundus Grey dominus Ruthine corpore licet praesens (even as the lord Stanleie was in the battell fought betwixt Richard the third & Henrie erle of Richmond, after king by the name of Henrie the seventh) in campo domini regis Henrici sexti steterat, cor tamen eius non erat rectum in eo, neq. omnino fidelis habitus aut inuentus fuit. Nam venientibus turmis dictis ad fossam circumvallationis, & ipsam non multum propter elevationem verticis in parte ulteriore ascendere valentibus, occurrit ipsis dominus cum suis copijs obtutus, porrigendosq. ipsis dextram traxit eos per manus in campum Martium, iuxta votum suum. Thus much Whethamsted of Edmund Greie lord Ruthine, who was made earle of Kent in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1464.*

This Edmund Greie being lord Hastings, Wexford, and Ruthine (before he had the honour of this earledome) did by his deed of indenture dated the 18 of November, in the five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, falling in the yeare of our redemption 1446, give to John Pinchbecke prior of Dunsfield in Northamptonshire in almesse, during the life of the said prior, his field called Challocke, belonging to the manour of Challocke, to keepe the obits of sir John Greie, father to the said sir Edmund, and of dame Custance the widow of the earle marshall, and daughter of John Holland duke of Crecester and erle of Huntingtoun, mother to the said sir Edmund, with masse, scia and such other collects as the said Edmund should deliver unto the said prior. Out of this house of the Greies haue issued manie noble houses, and those of great antiquitie, whereof at this daie there yet remaineth two honourable houses: the one being Henrie Greie earle of Kent now living, a man of singular estimation in the countrie of Bedford where he now liueth, as well for the nobilitie of his race, being descended of this Edmund Greie lord treasurer of England, for the good government and carriage of himselfe, and for the orderlie and wise managing of the affaires of that countrie, deserving

deserving no lesse honourable place in the common-wealth, than the honour of his race, and worthinesse of his behavious doe well merit.

The other house at this date in honour, is the lord Greie of Wilton knight of the garter, and sometime deputie of Ireland, a man of no lesse merit for his service abroad in the seats of armes, than is the other Greie for his service at home in the affairs of peace. But I will not saie all that I thinke and know of them both, least some more maliciouslie than trulie blemish me with the note of flatterie. For I protest I am so farre estranged from that, as I being not at all knowine to the one, and but slenderlie to the other, and neuer benefited by anie of them both, there is no cause why I should use anie flatterie: and yet such force hath vertue, as it will shine even in despite of malice. But againe to the matter. There haue out of this house of the Greies, besides manie noble houses, issued one duke of Suffolke, two marqueses of Dorset, and five earles of Kent.

Again I thinke it not impertinent for the continuance of antiquities, and of deserts of honour, to mention how manie severall houses there haue bin of the nobilitie of these Greies, and in what time they lived. First there was Reigbold Greie lord Greie of Codnor, in the time of king Stephan: the second was Reigbold lord Greie of Rotherfield, in the time of Richard the second: the third John Greie earle of Tankerville in Normandie, in the time of Henrie the first: the fourth this Edmund Greie lord Ruthine earle of Kent, and tresuroz of England in the time of king Edward the fourth: the fifth house Thomas Greie marquisse Dorset, in the time of king Edward the fourth: the first Edward Greie lord Lille in the time of king Edward the fourth: the seventh Edward Greie lord Powes, in the time of king Edward the fourth: the eight Henrie Greie duke of Suffolke, in the time of Edward the first. So that there were at one time, in one kings daies, which was the time of Edward the fourth, six noble men living of the name of Greies, which were the marquisse Dorset, the earle of Kent, the lord Lille, the lord Powes, the lord Greie of Wilton, and the lord Greie of Rotherfield.

Wherefore to draw to an end of this lord tresuroz, who hath occasioned me to be more liberall in treating of him and the Greies, than of any lord tresuroz or noble name besides (for manie privat reasons which I reserve to my selfe) I will yet speake more liberallie of him and the Greies in my large booke of the lynes of the lord tresuroz of England, and knit by this Edmund Greie lord tresuroz with the marient of his wife Katharine, the daughter of Henrie Percie earle of Northumberland, by whome he had issue George Greie earle of Kent; Elisabeth, married to Robert baron of Greiesocke; and Anne married to John lord Greie of Wilton.

Sir Walter Blunt knight, who was the first lord Pontioie, possessed the place of the lord tresurozship of England, in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, which fell in the yeare that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the virgine 1465. Of this man is mention made in the booke of the law called Long Quinto of Edward the fourth. He married the daughter of one Dirham, and had issue, William, John, and James.

Sir Richard Wodville knight, chamberleine to the king, and constable of England, was made baron on the ninth of Maye in the second yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ 1424, and was after created earle Rivers in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1465, who thus advanced was after lord tresuroz in the first, seventh, & eight of Edward the

fourth. In which eight yeare of Edward the fourth, Thomas Coke late maior of London, was accused of treason and arreigned for the same. Who after that he had bene manie times purged thereof, was yet at last found gilty, and by this lord Rivers then lord tresuroz so handled, as that he could not be deliuered untill he had paid eight thousand pounds to the king, and eight hundred to the queene. This lord tresuroz married Jaquet the widow of John duke of Bedford, daughter to Peter of Lucenburgh earle of S. Paule, by whom he had issue Richard earle Rivers, Antonio lord Scales in the right of his wife, Edward Wodville knight slaine at the battell of S. Albine in Britaine in the third yeare of Henrie the seventh: Lionel bishop of Salisburie, Margaret married to Thomas erle of Arundell, Margaret married to William Herbert erle of Huntingdon, Anne first married to William Burcher erle of Essex and after to George Greie erle of Kent, Jaquet married to John lord Strange, Elisabeth married to sir John Greie younger sonne to the lord Greie of Ruthine, and after the death of the said sir John Greie to king Edward the fourth: and Katharine married to Henrie duke of Buckingham. Besides all which I have read of one John, which was sonne to this earle Rivers, which John married the old duchesse of Norfolk, & was beheaded with his father: the truth whereof I leave to further triall. This Richard erle Rivers the lord tresuroz in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption 1469, was by Robert Hiltard, who named himselfe Robert of Ribdale, taken in the forest of Wene as some haue, others saie at Grafton, and from thence brought to Northampton, where he was beheaded.

John Longstrother, prior of saint Johns Jerusalem in England, possessed the place of the lord tresuroz of the realme, in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and nine, for in the same yeare he gave place to the bishop of Elie.

William Greie bishop of Elie, was after the translation of Thomas Burcher from Eke to Canturburie advanced to that see by Nicholas the first then bishop of Rome, who gave it to the said William being then procurator for king Henrie the first at Rome, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred fiftie and four. This man was lord tresuroz in the ninth yeare of king Edward the fourth, being the yeare in which God became man one thousand four hundred thre score and nine, in which office he continued (as I gather) untill the eleventh of king Edward the fourth, or thereabouts. This Greie was borne of the noble house of the lord Greies of Codnor, as saith Bale, and travelled into Italie to attaine great learning, where he heard the noble clerke Guarinus Veronenis read in Ferrara. He continued bishop of Elie four and twentie yeeres, eleven moneths and two daies, departing this life at Dunham the fourth of August, in the yeare that the word of the father toke flesh in the wombe of the virgine, one thousand four hundred seventie and eight, as I haue red; and was buried at Elie between two marble pillars, having bestowed great summes of monie upon the reparation of that famous belfrie of the church of Elie, and upon other ornaments of the same church.

Henrie Burcher erle of Essex did the third time possess the honorable place of the lord tresuroz of England, in the eleventh yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth, in which office he continued (as I gather) about twelue yeares, being all the rest of the life of the said Edward the fourth, who departed this world about the ninth daie of Aprill, in the yeare from the conception of the Messiah one thousand

The lord Greie of Wilton.

The severall houses of the Greies.

The Greies right honorable.

Sir Walter Blunt knight

Sir Richard Wodville.

Sir Rich pond

Sir William Hopton,

Sir Reimol Wise knight

Sir John Dunham knight.

Sir Burcher



four hundred foure score and thre, which Bouchier being made earle of Essex in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of Christ 1461, married Elisabeth the daughter of Richard de Cambruge earle of Cambridge the sister of Richard duke of Yorke, by whome he had issue William lord Bouchier, Thomas, John, Henrie, and Humfric knights.

Sir Richard Wood

Sir Richard Wood knight, whome some call sir John Wood, being before vnder treasurer in the thre and twentieth yeare of king Edward the fourth, was in the same yeare of the same king made knight, about a moneth before the death of the said king Edward the fourth. This man did possesse the place of the lord treasurer of England (as I gather out of the record of *Pellis eximus* of that yeare) in the second yeare of the reigne of the unnaturall, bloudie, and vsurping tyrant king Richard the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1484, which office I suppose that he kept, untill the said Richard the third was slaine by Henrie earle of Richmond afterwards king of England, by the name of Henrie the 7. And here I thinke it not amisse before I go any further (although it be somewhat out of order, sith it is best to observe *Decorum*, and vnderlie to treat of vnderlie officers vnder such an vnderlie king as Richard the third was) to make report of sir William Hop-ton knight, whome some will haue to be treasurer in the first yeare of the reigne of the same king, in the yeare of Christ 1483, attending on him to his coronation. But trulie, saving the correction of better sene antiquaries than my selfe, I can not as yet receiue him into the catalog of the lord treasurers of England, but rather suppose that he was treasurer of the household.

Sir William Hop-ton

Sir Reinold Bate knight

Sir Reinold Bate knight (the sonne of Richard Bate physician as some haue noted to king Henrie the first) being seruant to Margaret countesse of Richmond mother to Henrie the seventh, was for the fidelitie to his ladie, & good seruice in furthering king Henrie the seventh to the crowne, receiued into great fauour with the said king, and made lord treasurer of England, as appeareth by the record of *Pellis eximus* made vnder his name in the first yeare of the reigne of Henrie the seventh, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand, foure hundred, eightie, and five: besides which office he had manie other offices and honours, part whereof were, that he was treasurer of the kings wars, that he was one of the executors to king Henrie the seventh, that he was made knight of the Bath at the coronation of the said king, and created a banneret at Blache heath field. He died the eighteenth yeare of the Salomon of England king Henrie the seventh, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred & thre, and was honorablie buried at Windsor.

Sir John Dinham knight

Sir John Dinham knight (the sonne of sir John Dinham knight) a faithfull seruant to the house of Yorke as well in aiding the duke of Yorke, as in seruing king Edward the fourth sonne to the said duke of Yorke, to whom the said Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of his reigne had giuen one annuallie of fortie pounds by yeare, did after the death of the said king Edward the fourth, in the second yeare of king Henrie the seventh, possesse the place of the lord treasurer of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and six, and so continued untill in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, and then gaue place to Thomas earle of Surreie, of which lord Dinham thus writeth Leland: *Diminus Denham primus fuit fundator sancti Nicolai ad alios Hortland*. He was created lord Dinham in the first yeare of king Edward the fourth, shortly after the coronation of the said king, in the yeare of

our redemption one thousand foure hundred thre score and one, he died in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred, and the thirtieth of Januarie was brought to the Greie friers in London: & there buried: he married Elisabeth the daughter of the lord Fitzwater, by whom he had issue George and Willip, and sir Thomas Dinham his base sonne that married one of the daughters and helres of sir John Dymond, which Thomas was buried at Ashing thre miles from Berkhamsted. Besides which children this lord Dinham or Denham, for so I find both written in chronicles, had by his legitimat wife diuerse daughters, which were Margaret married to Nicholas baron of Carew, Joane married to the lord Zouch, Elisabeth married to the lord FitzWarren, and Katharine married to sir Thomas Arundell of Cornetwall knight.

Here I thinke it not amisse to saie somewhat of a note which I haue sene, that maketh John Touchet lord Audleie treasurer, which note is this. John Touchet lord Audleie treasurer of England, died the six and twentieth daie of December, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and ten, falling in the first yeare of king Henrie the seventh, and had issue James lord Audleie beheaded the eight and twentieth of June, in the yeare of Christ 1497, being the twelfth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, he married the daughter of sir Richard Dauell knight: thus much the note. But trulie for any thing I can yet learne, I can not perceiue when this John Touchet should be treasurer, and so cannot perceiue where he should be placed in this catalog of the treasurers of England. But as I will not receiue him into any place of this succession at this time; so I will not altogether reiect him, in hope that following time will informe me of the truth therein.

Thomas Howard the sonne of John lord Howard (created the first duke of Norfolk of that name in the time of Richard the third) was at the same time also created earle of Surreie. This man (after the slaughter of his father at Bosworth field, when the tyrant Richard the third was slaine by Henrie the seventh) was after receiued into such fauour with the said king Henrie the seventh, that he was advanced to be lord treasurer of England, in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred, which place he continued all the life of the said king Henrie the seventh, who died in the foure and twentieth yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and nine. After which for the good seruice he vsed in the time of Henrie the seventh, king Henrie the eight also permitted him to keepe that office, which he possessed untill the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred twentieth and thre.

Thomas Howard erle of Surreie.

This man was created duke of Norfolk in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and thirtene, at what time also his son Thomas Howard was made earle of Surreie. This duke was advanced to that honour (in recompense of the death of the king of Scots, and for the good seruice that he did against that nation in the said sixteenth yeare of Henrie the eighth) with an augmentation of his armes, to beare the armes of Scotland in the bend of the arms of Howard. Touching which victorie and death of the king of Scots Buchanan lib. 13. writeth to this effect, that the said Thomas Howard (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants his cognisance (to weare on their left arme) being a white lion (the beast which he bare before as the proper ensigne

ensigne of that house) standing over a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdom of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes. This Thomas duke of Suffolke married two wives, his first wife was Elisabeth the daughter of sir Frederike Tinline knight, by whom he had issue Thomas erle of Surreie after duke of Suffolke, Edward slaine at Bzet admerall of England, & Edmund Howard, with Elisabeth married to Thomas Bulleine earle of Wiltshire, and Spurtell married to John Greie viscount Lisle. His second wife was Agnes daughter of sir Phillip Tinline knight, by whom he had issue William lord Howard of Effingham, with many others. This Thomas duke of Suffolke died in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, and was buried at Wiltford in Suffolke.

Thomas  
Howard.

Thomas Howard (sonne to the said Thomas duke of Suffolke) being earle of Surreie, possessed the place of the lord tresuroz in the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the eight, being the yeare that Christ took flesh of the virgine Marie one thousand five hundred twentie and three: the which office he continued in the eight and thirtieth yeare of the said king, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and six; in which yeare on the eight and twentieth of Januarie, the said king Henrie died (so that this duke and his father were lord tresuroz of England almost eight and fortie yeares.) But about some few daies more than a moneth before the death of the said king, that is to saie, on the twelfth of December, this duke with his sonne Henrie earle of Surreie were committed to the tower, the one by water the other by land. Shortly after which the said Henrie was beheaded at tower hill, the nineteenth daie of Januarie: about nine daies before the death of the king. And the duke remained as condemned to perpetuall prison, till the beginning of the reigne of queene Marie, who then set him at libertie. He married for his first wife Anne the daughter of king Edward the fourth, but had no issue by hir: after whose death he married Elisabeth daughter to Edward duke of Buckingham, by whom he had issue, Henrie earle of Surreie beheaded as before, Thomas viscount Windon, and Marie married to Henrie Fitzroie duke of Richmond. He died about the beginning of the reigne of queene Marie.

Edward  
Seimor.

Edward Seimor earle of Hertford was after the death of king Henrie the eight made lord tresuroz of England, in the first yeare of king Edward the first: being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortie & six, in which yeare he was also made protectoz of England and duke of Summerfet: of whom thus writeth Matthew Parker, calling him *Regni camerarium*, in the life of Thomas Craumer archbishop of Canturburie in these words page 397. *In testamento* (meaning king Henrie the eight) *Edwardo principi minori novem annis nato heredi suo sexdecim tutores, ex episcopis solos Thomam Cranmerum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum & Cuthbertum Tonsallium Dunelmensem episcopum dedit.* And a little after pag. 398. fol. loweth: *verum pluribus (ut diximus) ei minori* (that was king Edward) *a patre constitutis curatoribus, ne numero suo atque multitudine ad dissensiones faciles essent & proclives unus electus est, qui ex consilijs reliquorum impuberis regis tutelam solus administraret.* Is fuit Edwardus Seimorus comes Hertfordiensis, totius regni camerarius regisque amuniculus. Qui suscepta tutela regis, totius regni atque dominiorum suorum protectoz & Summerfeti dux nuncupatus atque creatus est. This duke of Summerfet being tresuroz of England continued in the same office untill his death (as I gather) more than foure yeares, and was beheaded in the first yeare of king Edward the first, being the

yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred fiftie and one.

Sir William Paulet knight, marquisse of Winchester was made lord tresuroz upon the death of the duke of Summerfet: in the first yeare of king Edward the first, and the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, which office he kept by the space of twentie yeares and more: a longer time than ever anie other tresuroz had done before, except the two last dukes of Suffolke. This man being a man of extreme age (as attaining to the yeares of ninetie seven) died lord tresuroz of England (the tenth of March, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand five hundred seventie and one, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of the famous queene Elisabeth) at his manoz of Basing. He in his life time did see the children of his childrens children grown to the number of one hundred and three, a rare blessing of God to men of his calling. He married Elisabeth the daughter of sir William Capell knight, by whom he had issue John marquisse of Winchester, Thomas, Chidloche, and Giles; Alice married to Richard Stowell, Margaret married to sir William Berkeleye, Margerie married to Richard Waller, and Cleane married to sir Richard Peckshall.

Sir William Cecill knight of the garter and lord Burghleie, was advanced to the honorable place of lord tresuroz of England on the thirtieth daie of Julie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand, five hundred, seauentie and two, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of our gracions queene Elisabeth. This man was descended of the honorable familie of the Sittspts of Wales, sometime lords of Beauport in the daies of Henrie the first, as appeareth by this pedigree here inserted.

1 In the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and one, Robert Sittspt came with Robert Fitzhamon to the conquest of the countrie of Glamorgan, and after wedded a ladie, by whom he had Walterrennes and other lands in Hereford and Gloucestershires: he had a sonne called James Sittspt.

2 James Sittspt took part with Spawd the emperesse against king Stephan, and was slaine at the siege of the castell of Wallingford *Anno quarto Stephani*, having then upon him a vesture, whereon was wrought in needle worke his armes or ensignes, as they be made on the tome of Gerald Sittspt in the abbete of Dore, which are afterward trulie blazed, in a iudgement giuen by commission of king Edward the third, for the ancient right of the same armes. This James had a sonne called John Sittspt, and foure daughters.

3 John Sittspt, the sonne of James, was after the death of his father, in the same warres with Roger earle of Hereford, and constable of England, and being taken prisoner at the siege of Lincoln, *Anno. 6. Stephani*, he paid for his ranfome foure hundred marks, and therefore sold his lordship of Beauport, and all his lands in the countie of Gloucester: he took to wife a ladie called Spawd de Fresnes and had issue Culface.

4 Culface Sittspt the son of John was wedded to Elianor the daughter of sir Walter Penburyde knight, and had by hir Baldwin and John, and foure daughters, whereof one of them was the wife of sir Thomas Fitzneale knight.

5 Baldwin Sittspt the sonne of Culface, was made knight by king Henrie the second, in the warres that the king had against the Welshmen, he was also killed in the same warres, at the siege of the castell of Cardiffe, his father being alive; he took to wife the daughter of Maurice de Brompton, and had by hir Gerald Sittspt, Culface Sittspt, Henrie

Gerald  
Sittspt.

Sir William  
Cecill.

Robert  
Sittspt.

D. Powell  
in hist. Cambrid.  
p. 142. 153. 154.  
Robert  
Sittspt.

James  
Sittspt.

James  
Sittspt.

Gerald  
Sittspt.

John Sittspt.

Chom. de L  
John  
Sittspt.

Culface  
Sittspt.

Baldwin  
Sittspt.

Sir John  
Sittspt.

Henrie Sittslyt, John Sittslyt, and Walter Sittslyt; and two daughters, Catharine and Ellanoz. Catharine was the wife of Hugh Pureake, and Ellanoz was the wife of Walter Wallis. This Baldwin Sittslyt knight toke to his second wife, Margerie the daughter of Stephan Radnoz knight, and had by hir, Stephan Sittslyt, Roger Sittslyt, Hugh Sittslyt, and David Sittslyt; and three daughters, the first was Mawd and she was a Nun, the second was Jone and she was the wife of John de Solers, the third daughter Anne was the wife of Owen ap Meredith. This man gave certeine lands in the towne of Kigefone, unto the monks of Dore, and granted unto the same monks freedom of common and pasture, and other liberties in his woods.

Gerald Sittslyt.

6 Gerald Sittslyt, the first sonne of Baldwin Sittslyt knight, toke to wife Mabil the daughter of Sir William Poigne knight, and had by hir three sonnes, Gerald Sittslyt that died a child, Robert Sittslyt that married and had chylzen, and Owen Sittslyt a monke of the abbey of Dore. He had also three daughters, Catharine, that was wedded to sir Griffin ap Poreford, and after to David ap Euan, and the third time to Gessre de Bret, sonne of sir Walter Bret knight. Anne the second daughter of Gerald Sittslyt was wedded to Robert the sonne of Richard Bromelwich. And Ellen the third daughter of Gerald Sittslyt, was the wife of John Abzaball, father of sir John Abzaball knight.

Robert Sittslyt.

7 Robert Sittslyt, the sonne of Gerald toke to wife Alicia daughter of sir Robert Tregois knight, and had by hir James Sittslyt his first sonne, Gerald the second sonne, Thomas the third sonne, and Baldwin the fourth sonne; and Margaret the first daughter, and Elisabeth the second daughter.

James Sittslyt.

8 James Sittslyt the sonne of Robert, toke to wife Isabell the daughter of sir John Inell knight, and had by hir James and Gerald twins; James died young: he had also Robert Sittslyt, and John Sittslyt; and five daughters, that is to saie, Alicia wedded to Walter Ponington, Grace wedded to Roger sonne of William Blunt, Ellanoz wedded to Thomas Paine, Margerie wedded to Pogan ap Meredith, and Shillie married to Howell ap Blethin, and after to sir Hugh Bruge.

Gerald Sittslyt.

9 Gerald Sittslyt, sonne of James, toke to wife Margaret, daughter of Stephan Dalaber, and by hir had John Sittslyt; and after he wedded Bridget the widow of sir Simon Ward knight, and had by hir James Sittslyt, and the third time married the daughter of Martine Hopton, and had by hir Martine Sittslyt, Henrie Sittslyt, and David Sittslyt, and Jone a daughter. And the fourth time the same Gerald Sittslyt toke to wife Jane the daughter of Robert Emerton, and had by hir one sonne named Stigand Sittslyt, that was slaine in the warres of Striculin in the time of king Edward the second, and had no issue, as the register of the abbey of Dore maketh mention.

John Sittslyt.

10 John Sittslyt, the sonne of Gerald, toke to wife Shillie the daughter of Robert of Ewyas, and had by hir sir John Sittslyt knight, George Sittslyt, and a daughter named Margaret, that was the wife of sir Robert Baskerville knight, who had by hir sir John Baskerville knight; and by his second wife he had sir Richard Baskerville knight, that toke to wife Jane the daughter and heire of George Sittslyt second sonne of this John Sittslyt, and had by hir sir John Baskerville knight.

Sir John Sittslyt.

11 Sir John Sittslyt knight, toke to wife Alicia, the sister of the said sir Roger Baskerville, and sir Roger married his sister, as is aforesaid.

This sir John Sittslyt had John Sittslyt and Roger Sittslyt.

D. Powell.

\* In the time of the warres that king Edward the third made against Scotland, at a place called Halidon hill nere Barwik anno 6. of Edward the third, there arose a great variance and contention betwene sir William de Jacknabam knight, on the one side approuant, & this sir John Sittslyt knight, on the other side defendand, for an ensigne of armes, that is to saie; The field of ten barrets siluer and azure, supported of fine scutcheons sable charged with so manie lions of the first rampants incensed geules, which ensigne both the parties did claime as their right. But as both parties put themselves to their force to mainteine their quarrell, and vaunted to mainteine the same by their bodies; it pleased the king that iustice should be yelded for trial of the quarrell, without shedding of blood: and so the bearing of the ensigne was solennelie adjudged to be the right of the said sir John Sittslyt, as heire of blood lineallie descended of the bodie of James Sittslyt, lord of Beauport slaine at the siege of Wallingford, as before is declared. The finall order and determination of which controuersie is laid downe by John Boswell gentleman, in his booke intituled The concords of Armorie, fol. 80. This sir John Sittslyt had a charge of men at arms, for the custodie of the marches to Scotland, in the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the third.

12 John Sittslyt, the sonne of sir John Sittslyt knight, toke to wife Jone daughter of sir Richard Ponington knight, and had by hir John Sittslyt that died, his father being aliue, and Thomas Sittslyt.

John Sittslyt.

13 Thomas Sittslyt married Margaret the daughter and heire of Gilbert de Winslon, and had by hir Philip Sittslyt, and David Sittslyt. This man was a great benefadoz to the monks of Dore, and forgave them great sums of monie which they did owe him.

Thomas Sittslyt.

14 Philip Sittslyt married Margaret, the daughter of John Phillips, and had by hir Richard, John, and Margaret.

Philip Sittslyt.

15 Richard Sittslyt or Cecill married Margaret the daughter of Philip Maughan, and had by hir Philip Cecill, Margaret Cecill, John Cecill, David Cecill, and James or Jenkin Cecill.

Richard Sittslyt.

\* These pedegrees & descents I gathered faithfully out of sundrie ancient records and euidences, wherof the most part are confirmed with seales autentike thereunto appendent, manifestlie declaring the antiquitie and truth therof; which remaine at this present in the custodie of the right honourable sir William Cecill, knight of the noble order of the garter, lord Burghleie, and lord high tresuroz of England, who is lineallie descended from the last recited Richard Sittslyt, father to David Cecill, grandfather to the said sir William Cecill now lord Burghleie. And at this daie William Sittslyt or Cecill esquier cosen german to the said lord Burghleie, removed by one degree onelie, is possessed of the foresaid house of Halterrenes in Ewyas land as the heire male of the house of Sittslyts, and is descended of Philip Cecill, elder brother to the said David.

D. Powell.

The descent of sir William Cecill now lord treasurer.

This sir William Cecill lord Burghleie, liuing at this instant in the yeare of Christ, one thousand, five hundred, eightie and six, to the great support of this commonwealth, doth worthilie insoy the place of the lord tresuroz of England, of whome (for auoiding the note of flatterie) I may not saie that god which we the subiects of England doe fele by his meanes, and all the world doth see in his rare and wise government. And therefore leaving what may be said of him for his honorable deserts, from his countrie, his prince, and his countrymen, as well

Fr. Thim.

for rare gouernement at home, as for graue managing of the matter of state abroad, I beseech the almighty Lord to lengthen his yeares with perfect health and happie successe of all his good desires, to answer the worth of those his honourable deserts. Thus knitting by this discourse of the treasurers, with no lesse honorable person of the temporaltie in this our age, than I began the same discourse with a rare person of the spiritualtie in that their age: this being knowne as singular in policie as the other was supposed to be in prelacie, I here set end to that which with much labour of bodie, trauell of mind, and charge of purse, I haue brought to this forme what so euer it be. Thus this much by Francis Thyn touching the treasurers of England.]

The earle of Northumberland beheaded.

Englishmen sent to Ulster in Ireland.

Anno Reg. 15  
A strange star appeared; the bignesse thereof, and of what continuance.

Earle of Darbie deceased.

The life and death of the foresaid earle of Darbie.

The 22 of August Thomas Perrie earle of Northumberland late of Topcliffe, who had bene before attainted by parlement of high treason, as one of the principall conspirators in the late rebellion, and now brought out of Scotland, whither he had fled, was beheaded at Porke about two of the clocke in the afternone, on a new scaffold set by for that purpose in the market place. In this moneth of August sir Thomas Smith, one of the quenes maiesties priue counsell, carefullie tendering the reformation of Ireland, sent his son Thomas Smith esquier thither with a certeine number of Englishmen to inhabit the Ards in Ulster, after the maner of a colonie vsed by the Romans.

The eighteenth of Nouember in the morning was seene a star northward verie bright and clere, in the constellation of Cassiopeia, at the backe of hir chaire, which with three cheefe fixed stars of the said constellation made a geometricall figure losengwise, of the learned men called Rhombus. This starre in bignes at the first appering seemed bigger than Jupiter, & not much lesse than Venus when she is in her greatest. Also the said starre neuer changing his place, was caried about with the dailie motion of heauen, as all fixed starres commonlie are, and so continued (by little and little to the eye appearing lesse) for the space of almost fiftene moneths: at what time it was so small, that rather thought by exercises of offbetwing might imagine the place, than aye eie could iudge the presence of the same. And one thing is herein chesellie to be noted, that (by the skill and consent of the best and most expert mathematicians, which obserued the state, proprietie, and other circumstances belonging to the same starre) it was found to haue bene in place celestiaall far aboue the mone, otherwise than euer aye comet hath bene seene, or naturallie can appere. Therefore it is supposed that the signification thereof is directed purposefullie and speciallie to some matter, not naturall, but celestiaall, or rather supercelestiaall, so strange, as from the beginning of the world neuer was the like.

The foure and twentieth of Nouember Edward earle of Darbie, lord Stanleie, & Strange, of Knocking, lord and gouernour of the Isles of Man, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the quenes maiesties priue counsell deceased at his house called Latham in Lancashire. His life and death deserving commendation, and craving memorie to be imitated, was such as folloiweth. His fidelitie vnto two kings and two quenes in dangerous times and great rebellions, in which time, and alwaies as cause serued, he was lieutenant of Lancashire and Cheshire, and lastelie offered ten thousand men vnto the quenes maiestie of his owne charge for the suppression of the last rebellion. His godlie disposition to his tenants, neuer forcing aye seruice at their hands, but due payment of their rent. His liberallie to strangers, and such as shewed themselves

gratefull to him. His famous housekeeping, and cleuen score in checkroll, neuer discontinuing the space of twelue yeares. His feeding especiallie of aged persons twice a daie three score and odd; besides all commens thise a weeke appointed for his dealing daies; and euerie god fridaie these fife and thirtie yeares one with another two thousand scauen hundred, with meat, drinke, monie, and monie worth. There was neuer gentleman or other that waited in his seruice, but had allowance from him, to haue as well wages as otherwise for horse and man. His yerlie portion for the expenses of his house foure thousand pounds. His cunning in setting bones dislointed or broken, his surgerie and desire to helpe the poore, his deliuerie of the George and scale to the lord Strange, with exhortation that he might keepe it so bespotted in fidelitie to his prince as he had, and his ioy that he died in the quenes fauour. His sofull parting this world, his taking leaue of all his seruants by shaking of hands, & his remembrance to the last daie.

The eight and twentieth of Nouember John Hall late of Battell in Suffol gentle man, and Oswald Wilkinson late of Porke and gaillof of Porke castell (being before arraigned and condemned of treason) were drawn from the tower of London to Trebozne, and there hanged, bovelled, and quartered. This yere a great and sharpe frost almost continualie lasted, from before the feast of All saints, till after the feast of the Epiphanie of our Lord, with sometime great and deepe snowes, and sometime raines, which frasted as fast as the same fell to the ground: where through at Wrotham in Kent, and manie other places, the armes and boughs of trees being overcharged with ice, brake off, and fell from the forkes of the same trees. Also the wind continued north and east, till after the Ascension daie, with sharpe frosts and snowes, whereby followed a late spring.

The twelue of Januarie William lord Holward, baron of Effingham, lord priue seale, knight of the noble order of the garter, and one of the priue counsell deceased at Hampton court. The eighteenth of Januarie William lord Somerset earle of Worcester began his iourneie towards France, to the chiftening of the kings daughter there in stead of the quenes maiestie of England, who sent with him a font of gold for that purpose, weighing three hundred and six and twentieth ounces. The said earle with manie of his companie were robbed upon the sea by pirates of much of their baggage, and three or foure of their men slaine. In France he and his traine were honozablie receiued. At the chiftening he gaue the child to iuanis Elisabeth. They returned into England the seauen and twentieth of Februarie.

In the moneth of Februarie, thorough sundrie heinous complaints brought to the quenes maiestie and hir counsell of pirates that kept the narrow seas, doing manie robberies, as also the robbing of the earle of Worcester (as is aforesaid) hir highnesse, by the aduise of hir honourable counsell, took order with the lord admerall of England, that he should send to the seas, ships and men to scowze the narrow seas, & to apprehend so manie pirates ships as might be met with. And for the better doing thereof, it pleased hir maiestie to send one of hir owne ships, named the Swallow to be the admerall, vnder the charge of William Holfstocke of London esquier, comptrollor of hir highnesse ships, who had with him the Gillian, the barke Caret, and the barke of Parmouth, and three hundred and three score able marchers, gunners, and soldiers in the said three ships, and one barke which scowzed the narrow seas, from the north foreland, as farre westward as Falmouth in Cornewall, and took twentieth ships and barks of sundrie

More qualities in a noble man.

Hall and Wilkinson executed.

Great frost and a sharpe winter.

1573  
Lord priue seale deceased.

Earle of Worcester sent into France.

Earle of Worcester robbed on the sea.

The narrow seas scowzed.

Pirates of the sea.

Pirates of the sea.

A man he ro in farm Georges field. The earl went deceased.

George & deers murder at Shrewsbury.

Discourtesy murder committed.

Roger Clinton alias the Rog.

Blowne murthered to mone.

He confesse his offense upon his mination.

Pirats on the  
well seas.

Pirats execu-  
ted.

124.  
1 noble

3 man hange  
on saint  
Georges  
field.  
The earle of  
Kent deceas-  
ed.

125.  
1 noble

George Sand-  
ers murthe-  
red at Shot-  
ters hill.

126.  
1 noble

Discourse of  
the murder  
perpetrated and  
committed.

73 -  
1 noble  
of 1200  
sent in  
ance.

Roger Cle-  
ment  
the Roger.

127.  
1 noble  
of 1200  
robbed  
sea.

George the  
murderer re-  
served with  
caine.

128.  
1 noble  
narrow  
scowery

He confessed  
his offence by  
his examina-  
tion.

sun drie nations, to wit, English, French, and Flem-  
mings (but all pirats) and in fashion of warre. He  
apprehended in those ships and barks to the number  
of nine hundred men of all nations, and sent them to  
ward to Sandwich, Douer, Wight, and Portes-  
mouth (whereof three of them that robbed the earle of  
Norceser were shortly after executed at Wight.)  
Also the said William Holstoeke did rescue and take  
from the above said pirats ships, fiftene other mer-  
chants ships laden with merchandize, that were their  
prizes, being of sundrie nations, and set at libertie  
the said fiftene merchants ships and goods: which  
done, he returned to Portsmouth, and there ended  
his botage in March.

The fourth of March, a man was hanged in chains  
in saint Georges field beyond Southworke of Lon-  
don, for murdering the gailor of Portsmouth in the  
same field. The seventeenth of March deceased Mel-  
nold Greie of Kuthin, earle of Kent, at Hernefeie,  
and was buried at saint Giles without Creplegate.  
About the same time died Edmund lord Shandois.  
The five and twentieth of March being wednesday in  
Caster weke, and the feast of the Annuntiation of  
our ladie, George Browne cruelly murdered two  
honest men nere to Shoters hill in Kent, the one of  
them was a wealtie merchant of London named  
George Sanders, the other John Beane of Wol-  
wich, which murder was committed in manner as  
followeth. On tuesday in Caster weke (the foure  
and twentieth of March) the said George Browne re-  
ceiuing secret intelligence by letter from mistresse  
Anne Durie, that master Sanders should lodge the  
same night at the house of one master Barnes in  
Wolwich, and from thence go on foot to saint Marie  
Craie; the next morning he laie in wait for him by  
the waie, a little from Shoters hill, and there slue  
both him & John Beane seruant to master Barnes.  
But John Beane having ten or eleuen wounds, &  
being left for dead, by Gods prouidence did resue a-  
gaine: and creeping awaie on all foure, was found  
by an old man and his maiden, and conueied vnto  
Wolwich, where he gaue euident marks of the  
murtherer.

Immediatlie vpon the dead dowing, Browne sent  
mistresse Durie word thereof by Roger Clement  
(among them called trustie Roger) he himselfe re-  
paired forthwith to the court at Oranewich, & anon  
after him came thither the report of the murder al-  
so. Then departed he thence vnto London, and came  
to the house of mistresse Durie, where though he  
spake not personallie with hir, after conference had  
with hir seruant trustie Roger, the prouided him  
twentie pounds that same daie, for the which he laid  
certaine plate of his owne, & of mistresse Sanders  
to gage. On the next morning being thursdaie (ha-  
ving intelligence that Browne was sought for) they  
sent him six pounds more by the same Roger, war-  
ning him to shift for himselfe by flight, which thing he  
followed not to do. Neuer thelesse, the lordes of the  
quens maiesties counsell caused so speedie and nar-  
row search to be made for him, that vpon the eight  
and twentieth of the same moneth he was apprehen-  
ded in a mans house of his owne name at Rochester  
and being brought backe againe to the court, was  
examined by the counsell: vnto whome he confessed  
the deed (as you haue heard) and that he had often-  
times before pretended and sought to do the same, by  
the instigation of the said mistresse Durie, who had  
promised to make a marriage betwene him and mi-  
stresse Sanders (whome he seemed to loue excessiue-  
lie) neuerthelesse he protested (though vntrulie) that  
mistresse Sanders was not praisie nor consenting  
the rebnto.

Vpon his confession he was arreigned at the

Kings bench in Westminster hall the eighteenth of  
Aprill, where he acknowledged himselfe guiltie, and  
was condemned as principall of the murther, accord-  
ing to which sentence he was executed in Smith-  
field, on mondaie the twentieth of Aprill: at which  
time also vntrulie (as the hir selfe confessed after-  
ward) he laboured by all meanes to cleare mistresse  
Sanders of committing euill of hir bodie with him,  
and then slong himselfe besides the ladder. He was  
after hanged by in chains nere vnto the place where  
he had done the fact. In the meane time mistresse  
Durie and hir man being examined, as well by  
their owne confessions, as by falling out of the mat-  
ter, and also by Brownes appeachment thought cul-  
pable, were committed to ward. And after mistresse  
Sanders being deliuered of child, and churched (for  
at the time of hir husbands death she looked presentlie  
to lie downe) was vpon mistresse Duries mans  
confession, and other great likelihoods, likewise com-  
mitted to the tower, and on wednesday the first of  
Maie she was arreigned with mistresse Durie at  
the Guildhall.

The effect of their indictment was, that they by a  
letter written had bene procurers of the said mur-  
ther: & knowing the murther done, had by monie &  
otherwise released the murtherer: wherevnto they  
pleaded not guiltie. Notwithstanding they were both condem-  
ned as accessaries to master Sanders death, and ex-  
ecuted in Smithfield the thirtieth of Maie, being  
wednesday in Whitsonweke, at which time they  
both confessed themselves guiltie of the fact. Trustie  
Roger mistresse Duries man was arreigned on  
friday the eight of Maie, & being there condemned  
as accessarie, was executed with his mistresse at the  
same time and place aforesaid. Not long after, Anthonic  
Browne brother to the fornamed George Browne,  
was for notable felonies conueied from Petogate  
to Booke, and there hanged.

The tenth of Aprill seauen pirats which among o-  
thers had bene taken on the north seas, were lead  
from Southworke to Wapping, and five of them  
were there hanged: the other two had their pardon  
at the gallowes. The seauenteenth of Aprill a chande-  
lers wife without Aldersgate of London, who had  
practised hir husbands death by poisoning and other-  
wise, was set on the pillorie in Cheape, with three o-  
ther women, who had bene of hir counsell: two of  
them were with hir there whiped.

The seauenth of June, betwene the houres of  
one and two of the clocke in the after none, a great  
tempest of haile and raine happened at Docester in  
Portsmouth, wherethrough six houses in that  
towne were bozne downe, and fouretene more fore  
perished with the waters which rose of that tempest.  
The haillstones were square, & six inches about. One  
child was there drowned, and manie sheepe with o-  
ther cattell, which when the water was fallen, manie  
of them were lieng on the high hedges, where the wa-  
ters had left them. The sixteenth of June, Thomas  
Woodhouse, a priest of Lincolnshire, who had laine  
long prisoner in the Fleet, was arreigned in the  
Guildhall of London, and there condemned of high  
treason, who had iudgement to be hanged and quar-  
tered, and was executed at Tiburne the nineteenth  
of June.

The firste of August, Walter earle of Essex,  
accompanied with the lord Rich, and diuerse other  
gentlemen, imbarked themselves in seuerall ships  
at Elrpoole, and the wind sitting verie well, toke  
their volage towards Ireland. The earle after manie  
and great dangers on the sea, at length wone Cope-  
mans Iland, from whence in a pinnelle of captaine  
Perfes he was brought safe to Knockfergus. The  
lord Rich with the like danger landed at castell Kil-  
life,

George  
Browne  
hanged in  
Smithfield,  
and afterward  
in chains on  
Shoters hill.

Anne Sand-  
ers, Anne  
Durie, and  
trustie Roger  
hanged in  
Smithfield.

Anthonic  
Browne han-  
ged at Booke.

Pirats han-  
ged at Wap-  
ping.

Fourie wo-  
men on the  
pillorie.

Haile in Port-  
smouth.

Thomas  
Woodhouse.

Erle of Essex  
and the lord  
Rich with o-  
ther sailed in-  
to Ireland.



life, where being met by capteine Dalbie, maister Smith, & maister Hozze pensioners, he was conducted to Inch abbaie maister Dalbies house, where he had in a readinesse on the morrow morning a hundred and fiftie horsemen for their safegard to knockfergus, beside fiftie harnes which went a foot through the woods: there was among these a thirtie bowes with a bagpipe, the rest had darts. Sir Brian O'phelin had preied the countrie, and taken a waite what was to be carried o' d'riuen, but on the first of September he came to knockfergus, to the earle of Essex, and there made his submission: the number of hime were esteemed thirtie thousand, besides sheepe and swine.

Bowes, bagpipes & darts among the Irish.

Erle of Essex capteine general of Ulster in Ireland.

Peter Burchet wounded maister Hawkins.

Peter Burchet found to be an heretike.

Peter Burchet abjured his heretic, & submitted himselfe to do penance.

Peter Burchet killeth his keeper.

Peter Burchet hanged.

Anno Reg. 16.

After him Ferdough Macgillastike the blind Scots sonne, Hoze, & Dge, Macwilline did the like: and diuerse other sent their messengers to the earle, to signifie that they were at his lordships disposition as the baron of Dongarrois, Condenell, Moone, and the capteine of Kilulto. The earle of Essex hauing the countrie of Claniboie and other, the queens maiestie of England directed hir letters to the lord deputie of Ireland, willing him to make by commission the earle of Essex capteine general of the Irish nation in the prouince of Ulster, and to diuide the countrie twome, Claniboie, and else where, &c. The eleuenth of October, Peter Burchet gentleman of the middle temple, with his dagger suddenlie assailed, cruellie wounded, and meant to haue murdered a seruiceable gentleman named John Watkins esquier, as he with sir William Winter, and another gentleman rode towards Westminster, in the high street neare to the Strand, beyond the Temple barre of London: for which fact the said Burchet being apprehended and committed to the tower, was afterward examined concerning the fact. Who answered that he toke the said maister Watkins for another gentleman: and being further examined, he was found to hold certeine erroneous opinions, for the which he was sent to the Lollards tower. From thence being called into the consistorie of Pauls church, before the right reuerend father Edwine bishop of London, and others, & by them examined, he stood in his opinions, till the sentence of death as an heretike was readie to haue bene pronounced against him on the fourth of November: but through the earnest persuasions of diuerse learned men, who toke great paines in that matter, he renounced, forswore, and abjured his opinions for erroneous & damnable, promising neuer to returne to them, and also willinglie to do and performe all such penance as the bishop his ordinarie should intoeine him.

The ninth of November, the said Peter Burchet was removed from the Lollards tower, to the tower of London, where on the next morrow about none, whilst one that had kept him companie was gone doونه, and locked the doore after him, leaving another with him called Hugh Longworth, who stood at the window reading in the bible, the said Burchet walking by and doونه in the chamber, toke a billet end out of the fire, and knocked the said Longworth on the head, and left not till he had stricken him dead: for the which on the next morrow he was arraigned & condemned at Westminster, and then returned to Summer set house, where he remained that night: and on the next morrow being the twelfth of November, he was brought to the gibet, where (after his right hand being stricken off, and nailed to the gibbet) he was hanged nigh the place where he wounded maister Watkins. This yeare about Lammas, wheat was sold at London for three shillings the bushell: but shortly after it was raised to foure shillings, five shillings, six shillings: & before Christ-

mas to a noble, and seven shillings, which continued long after: bese was sold for twentie pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other fish and white meats at an excessive price, all kind of salt fish verie deare, as five herings two pence, yet great plentie of fresh fish, and oft times the same verie cheape: peale at foure shillings the bushell, otemale at foure shillings eight pence: bese salt at three shillings the bushell, &c. All this dearely notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of anie thing to them that wanted not monie.

The fourth of Aprill being Paline sondaie, there was taken fateng of masse in the lord Hozzeis house within Algate of London, one Albon Dalman priest, and the ladie Hozze with hir children, and diuerse others were also taken hearing of the said masse. There was also taken the same daie and houre for fateng masse at the ladie Wilfords in Trinitie lane, one Oliver Hestwood priest: and for hearing of the said masse, the said ladie Wilford with diuerse other gentlewomen. There was also taken at the same instant in the ladie Howins house in Cobolane for fateng masse, one Thomas Hestwood priest, and one John Cowper priest, with the ladie Howins, and diuers other were likewise taken being hearers of the said masse. All which persons were for the same offenses indicted, convicted, and had the law according to the statute in that case prouided. There was also found in their seuerall chappels, diuerse Latine bookes, beads, images, palmes, chalices, crosses, vestments, pires, paxes, and such like.

The ninth of Julie at six of the clocke at night, in the Ile of Thanet beside Ramsgate, in the parish of saint Peter vnder the cliffe, a monstrous fish or whale of the sea did shott himselfe on shore, where for want of water, beating himselfe on the sands, he died about six of the clocke on the next morning, before which time he roared, and was heard more than a mile on the land. The length of this fish was twentie two yards, the nether law twelue foot the opening: one of his eyes, being taken out of his head, was more than six horse in a cart could draw, a man stood by right in the place from whence the eye was taken. The thickness from the backe whereon he laie, to the top of his bellie (which was byward) was fourtene foot, his taile of the same breadth: betwene his eyes twelue foot, three men stood by right in his mouth, some of the ribs were six foot long, his tongue was fiftene foot long, his liuer two cart lode, in his nostrils anie man might haue crept: the oile being boiled out of the head was parmasitie, the oile of his bodie was whitish and sweet of tast. The seuenth of August, a solemne obsequie was kept in saint Pauls church at London for Charles the ninth king of France, who deceased on the twentie day of Aprill last before passed.

On the fiftenth daie of August being sondaie, Agnes Bridges, a maiden about the age of twentie yeares, and Rachell Pinder, a wench about eleuen or twelue yeares old, who both of them had counterfessed to be possessed by the diuell (whereby they had not onelie maruellouslie deluded manie people, both men and women, but also diuerse such persons as otherwise seemed to be of good wit and vnderstanding) stood before the preacher at Pauls crosse, where they acknowledged their hypocriticall counterfetting, with penitent behauiours, requiring forgiveness of God and the world, and the people to praye for them. Also their seuerall examinations and confessions were there openlie read by the preacher, and afterwards published in print for the further posteritie hereafter to beware of the like deceiners.

The fourth of September in the after none, such a storme of raine happened at London, as the like of long

Dearely bought out scarfe, a after was plentie to them that had monie.

1574. Pichs fateng masse apprehended.

A monstrous fish (but not so monstrous as some reported) for his eyes being great, wherein his head and not in his backe.

Sperma cet. Obsequie at Pauls for the French king.

Agnes Bridges & Rachell Pinder at Pauls crosse for counterfetting to be possessed.

A lad of eight or nine yeares

old boy in a chan London.

Domato laid at St Guildhal

Caraine wounded.

Two toid one houre

Fierie in pissions maruelli

Anno Re

Cramped with the south,

Bate laid bare.

157

Pres in: warrs th warrs change.

Death southe  
out scarse,  
after words  
mentie to  
hem that had  
none.

Duchess said  
ing made ap-  
prehended.

A monstrous  
fish (but not  
so monstrous  
as some repo-  
red) for his  
eyes being  
great, were in  
his head and  
not in his  
backe.

\*Sperma ceti.  
Ablesque at  
Pauls for the  
French king.

Agnes B. and  
ges a Rachel  
Pinder at  
Pauls crosse  
for counter-  
setting to be  
possessed.

It had of eigh-  
teene yeares

London  
at the  
chancell in  
London.

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chancell in  
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long time could not be remembred, wherethrough the  
chauncels of the citie suddenie rising, ran with such a  
forcible course towards the common seives, that a  
lad about the age of eightene yeares, minding to  
haue lept ouer the chancell nere unto Dowgate, was  
borne ouer with the streame, and by the same caried  
from the conduit there towards the Thames, with  
such a swiftnesse, that no man with staues or other-  
wise could stay him, till he came against a cart wheele  
that stood in the watergate, afoze which he was drow-  
ned and starke dead.

This yeare the maior of London went by wa-  
ter to Westminster, and there took his oath, as hath  
bene accustomed: he kept no feast at the Guildhall,  
although great provision had bene made for that  
purpose, but dined at his owne house with his bre-  
thren the aldermen: the companies dined at their  
seuerall halles. This was done by the speciall ap-  
pointment of the quenes maiesties counsell, to a-  
void infection of the plague, like to haue increased by  
comming togither of such a multitude. This weeke  
from the two and twentieth, unto the eight and twen-  
tith of October, deceased in the citie and liberties,  
containing an hundred and eight parishes, of all dis-  
eases, one hundred threescore & six, of the which num-  
ber threescore and five were accounted to die of the  
plague. Michaellmas term, which had bene abour-  
ned by proclamation, began at Westminster on the  
first of Nouember. The same first day in the morning,  
there happened two great tides at London, in the  
riuer of Thames, the first by conrse, the other within  
one houre following, which ouerflowed the marshes,  
with manie vaults and cellars neare adioining.

The fourteenth of Nouember being Sunday, about  
midnight following, diuerse strange impressions of  
fire and smoke were seene in the aire to proceed forth  
of a blacke cloud in the north toward the south, which  
so continued till the next morning that it was daie  
light. The next night following, the heauens from  
all parts did seeme to burne marvellous raginglie,  
& ouer our heads the flames from the horizon round  
about rising did meet, and there double and roll one  
in another, as if it had bene in a cleare foynace. The  
eighteenth daie at night blew verie stormie & tem-  
pestuous winds out of the south, as hath not bene  
knowne the like out of that quarter, especiallie af-  
ter midnight, till the next morning that it was daie  
light. These are to be receiued as tokens of Gods  
wrath readie bent against the world for sinne now  
abounding, and also of his great mercie, who doth  
onlie thus but to shew vs the rod wherewith we daile  
deserue to be beaten.

This yeare at London after haruest, the price of  
wheate began by little and little to fall, from seven  
shillings to three shillings the bushell, at which price it  
staied (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare  
after: but baie salt was raised from three shillings  
to foure shillings, five shillings, and six shillings the  
bushell, the like whereof had neuer bene seene or  
heard within this realme. The 24 day of Februarie,  
being the feast of saint Matthe, on which daie the  
saire was kept at Tenkesburie, a strange thing hap-  
pened there. For after a flood which was not great,  
but such as therby the meadows nere adioining were  
couered with water, in the after none there came  
downe the riuer of Seuerne great numbers of flies  
& beetles, such as in summer eueninges vse to strike  
men in the face, in great heapes, a foot thicke aboue  
the water, so that to credible mens iudgement there  
were seene within a paire of butts length of those  
flies aboue a hundred quarters. The mills there a-  
bout were dammed by with them for the space of  
four daies after, and then were cleared by digging  
them out with shovels: from whence they came is

yet unknowne: but the daie was cold and a hard  
frost.

The six and twentieth of Februarie, betweene foure  
and six of the clocke in the after none, great earth-  
quakes happened in the cities of Dorke, Worcester,  
Gloucester, Bristol, Hereford, and in the countries  
about, which caused the people to runne out of their  
houses: for feare they should haue fallen on their  
heads. In Tenkesburie, Wexdon, and other places,  
the dishes fell from the cupboards, and the booke in  
mens studies from the shelves. In Dorseton chappell,  
the people being on their knees at euening praier, the  
ground mouing, caused them to run abate in great  
feare that the dead bodies would haue risen, or the  
chappell to haue fallen: part of Rother chappell fell  
downe with certeine bricke chimneys in gentle-  
mens houses. The bell in the shire hall at Den-  
bigh was also caused to toll twice, by shaking of the  
hall, &c.

On Easter daie, which was the third of Aprill, a-  
bout nine of the clocke in the forenone, was disclosed  
a congregation of anabaptists, Duchmen, in a house  
without the bars of Algate at London, wherof sea-  
uen and twentie were taken and sent to prison: and  
foure of them bearing fagots recanted at Pauls  
crosse, on the fiftenth daie of Maie in forme as follo-  
weth.

### The forme of recantation openlie made by the said anabaptists.



Whereas I, J. T. H. being seduced by  
the diuell the spirit of error, and by false  
teachers his ministers, haue fallen into  
certeine most detestable and damnable  
heresies, namelie:

- 1 That Christ took not flesh of the substance of  
the blessed virgine Marie:
- 2 That infants of the faithfull ought not to be  
baptised:
- 3 That a christian man may not be a magistrat  
or beare the sword or office of authoritie:
- 4 That it is not lawfull for a christian to take an  
oath:

Now by the grace of God, and through confe-  
rence with good and learned ministers of Christ his  
church, I do vnderstand and acknowledge the same  
to be most damnable and detestable heresies, and  
do aske God here before his church mercie for my  
said former errors, and do forsake them, recant,  
and renounce them, and abiure them from the bo-  
tome of my heart, professing that I certainlie be-  
lieue:

- 1 That Christ took flesh of the substance of the  
blessed virgine Marie:
- 2 That infants of the faithfull ought not to be bap-  
tised:
- 3 That a christian man may be a magistrat, or  
beare the sword or office of authoritie:
- 4 That it is lawfull for a christian man to take an  
oath.

And further I confesse, that the whole doctrine  
and religion established and published in this realme  
of England, as also that which is receiued and preach-  
ed in the Dutch church here in this citie, is sound,  
true, and according to the word of God: wherunto in  
all things I submit my selfe, and will most gladlie  
be a member of the said Dutch church, from hence-  
forth utterlie abandoning and forsaking all and eue-  
rie anabaptistieall error. This is my faith now, in  
the which I do purpose and trust to stand firme and  
stedfast to the end. And that I may so do, I beseech  
you all to praie with me, and for me, to God the hea-  
uenlie father, in the name of his sonne our sauour  
Jesus

An earth-  
quake in sum-  
drie places of  
England, and  
what effect it  
 wrought.

Anabaptists  
bare fagots at  
Pauls crosse.

The anabap-  
tists heresies

Recanted.

Jesus Christ. The like recantation was made by them afterwards in the Dutch church.

Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie deceased.

The seauenteenth of Maie about midnighf follo-  
wing, the reuerend father in God Matthew Par-  
ker doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie  
deceased at Lambeth, and was there honozable bu-  
ried, on whose tombe ( being of blacke marble ) is  
written this most wortheie epitaph here following:

*Sobrius & prudens, studij, exultans & usu,  
Integer & vera religionis amans,  
Matthæum vixit Parkerus fonerat illum  
Aula virum iuuenem, fouit & aula senem,  
Ordine res gestit, recti defensor & equi,  
Vixerat ille Deo, mortuus ille Deo est.*

Walter Had-  
don.

Matthew Parker liued soberlie and wise,  
Learned by studie and continuall practise,  
Louing, true, of life vncontrold,  
The court did foster him both yong and old,  
Orderlie he dealt, the right he did defend,  
He liued vnto God, to God he made his end.

Jo. St. 113a.

Matthew Parker alearned antiquarie, and what monuments of his loue to learning he left behind him.

This reuerend father examined throughtlie the  
English translation of the holie bibles, wherein he  
partlie vsed the helpe of his brethren bishops, and o-  
ther doctors, and caused the same to be newlie prin-  
ted in the largest volume, for the due furniture of  
manie churches then wanting. Also making dili-  
gent search for the antiquities of the Britons, and  
English Saxons, to the end those monuments  
might be carefullie kept, he caused them to be well  
bound and trimlie couered: and such liber of he knew  
berie few examples to be extant (among the which  
was Matthew Paris, Matthew Florilegus, and Tho-  
mas Wallingham) he caused to be printed. The fa-  
mous palace of his see at Canturburie, by long con-  
tinuance decayed & consumed with fire, he renewed,  
bailded, and fullie restored with the charges of more  
than fourtene hundred pounds. He founded a gram-  
mar schole in Rochdale in the countie of Lancaster.

Founder of  
a grammar  
schole.

A benefactor  
to Corpus  
christi college.

To Corpus Christi college in Cambridge he pro-  
cured thirteene scholarships, and bare the charges in  
making and furnishing two chambers for scholars,  
and the inward librarie of the same college. Item  
he gaue to the outward and inward librarie of the  
said college a goodlie companie of printed bookes, & a  
great number of written bookes of great antiquitie  
& much value. Item he procured to the said college  
the patronage of saint Marie Abchurch in London.  
Item he hath founded two felowships in the said col-  
lege, and procured one charter of mortmaine to the  
summe of one hundred pounds by yeare. Item he  
hath giuen to the same college of siluer plate double  
guilt thre hundred nine ounces, and thre quarters,  
& surrendered to them a lease with the improuement  
of foureteene pounds and eight shillings perleic for  
seuentene yeeres. Item one hundred pounds to  
the maintenance of a fier in the hall from Walomas  
to Candlemas; and by his last will and testament  
five hundred pounds. Item to diuers scholars cham-  
bers within the said college diuerse bedsteads, with  
sufficient bedding & books to remaine for ever. Item  
he hath founded for ever five sermons to be preach-  
ed in diuerse places of Dorsetholke euery yeere in Ro-  
gation weeke; and fortie shillings to be diuided at  
Dorsetholke to the poore and others. Item to the citie of  
Dorsetholke one bason and elver of siluer and double  
guilt of one hundred seauentie and five oun-  
ces. Item to the towne of Walsall in Dorsetholke for  
ever an annuities of fiftie shillings to be diuided to  
the poore with a sermon in Rogation weeke. Item  
to Cunvill and Caius college one scholarship, with  
a standing cup; and a pot of siluer double guilt of  
five and fiftie ounces and thre quarters, and one nest  
of goblets with a couer siluer and guilt; with a num-

Sermons  
perpetuallie  
founded at his  
charges in  
Dorsetholke:  
and what o-  
ther particu-  
lar gifts he  
bestowed to  
good pur-  
poses.

ber of good bookes to their librarie. Item to Trint-  
tie hall one scholarship, a standing cup and a pot of  
siluer and guilt of thre and fiftie ounces, a nest  
of goblets siluer and guilt with a couer; and bookes  
to their librarie. Item to the vniuersitie librarie  
fiftie old ancient written bookes, and fiftie printed  
bookes. Of this prelat, to his further commendati-  
on the aforesaid doctor Haddon, in the second boke  
of his poems maketh very honozable mention, com-  
piling in six verses the ensignes of his ancestors,  
with those also which were accessarie by the gration  
nelle of the prince, who preferred him to his prelacie.  
In the same verses also is comprehended as it were  
an harmonie or consent of most goodlie qualities an-  
swerable vnto the ensignes that he bare; as thus:

*Sunt antiquorum claves monumenta parentum,  
Veni ab angusto principe stella triplex.  
Sic bene conspiciant virtus, doctrina, potestas,  
Et placida pacis semina lata ferunt.  
Sed tamen ad finem decurrunt gaudia vite,  
Ac homo pulvis erit, pulvis vt ante fuit.*

De insignibus  
eiusdem pre-  
lati.

20

The 21 of Maie being Whitsun euen, one man  
and ten women anabaptists Dutch, were in the  
consistorie of Paules condemned to be burned in  
Smithfield: but after great pains taken with them,  
onlie one woman was conuerted, the other were  
banished the land. On the first of June the nine  
women being led by the shiriffs officers, and the  
man also tied to a cart & whiped, were all conueied  
from Fleetgate to the waters side, where they were  
shipped awaie neuer to returne againe. The twelue  
of June stood at Paules crosse five persons English-  
men of the sect termed the familie of loue, who there  
confessed themselves vtterlie to detest as well the  
author of that sect as all his damnable errors  
and heresies.

Anabaptists  
banished.

18. pag. 121  
God punish  
the periarie

Archbishop  
died.

Eighte  
hundred.

Grane chan-  
ge.

Problers  
first voyage  
by the ois-  
sone of Ca-  
tia.

Thomas the  
apeine. Fi-  
ther was  
cut awie.  
Queene El-  
izabeths for-  
ward.

A woman  
brought at  
the age of  
being his  
bed.

The two and twentieth of Julie two Dutchmen  
anabaptists were burned in Smithfield, who died in  
great horroz with rozing and crieng. The thirtieth of  
Julie in the afternone was a great tempest of ligh-  
tening and thunder, wherethrough both men and  
beasts in diuerse places were stricken dead. Also at  
that time fell great abundance of haile, whereof the  
stones in manie places were found to be six or seuen  
inches about. The fourth of September being sun-  
daie about senen of the clocke in the morning, a cer-  
teine glasse house, which sometime had bene the cros-  
sed friers hall nere to the tower of London burnt  
out on a terrible fire: wherevnto the lord maiors, al-  
dermen and shiriffes with all expedition repaired,  
and practised there all means possible, by water buc-  
kets, hokes, and otherwise to haue quenched it. All  
which notwithstanding, whereas the same house in  
a sm all time before had consumed great quantitie of  
wood by making of fine drincking glasses: now it selfe  
having with in it nere fortie thousand billets of wood  
was all consumed to the stone walles, which walles  
greatlie defended the fire from spreading further,  
and doing anie more harme.

Anabaptists  
burned in  
Smithfield.

Thunder and  
haile, where  
infused great  
hurt.

The glasse  
house burned.

60

The six and twentieth of September, a puluers  
wife in the parish of Christs church within Fleetgate  
of London was deliuered & brought to bed of foure  
children at one burthen, all females or maiden chil-  
dren, which were christened by the names of Eliza-  
beth, Marie, Margaret, and Dorothy: and the same  
daie moneth the mother was buried, but all the  
four children living, and in god liking, were borne  
to church after hir. On Michaelmas euen at night  
the like impressions of fire and smoke were scene in  
the aire to flash out of the north-east, north and north-  
west, as had bene on the five and twentieth of No-  
uember last before passed.

A woman  
brought a bed  
of foure chil-  
dren at one  
burthen.

The tenth of October manie French, and some  
Englishmen, but all pirats of the seas, were arreig-  
ned

Co the man  
ber of two a  
countie pi-  
rate conden-  
ned and iud-  
ged to die.  
Pomatois  
laid at the  
Gundhall, a  
boyler.

The plagu  
disseaged at  
London.

ne) at the admeraltie court in Southwarke, where  
 to the number of two and twentie were condemned,  
 and had sentence of death pronounced against them.  
 The maior of London went by water to White-  
 churche, and there toke his oth as hath bene accus-  
 tomed: he kept no feast at the Guildhall, but dined  
 at his owne house with his brethren the aldermen  
 and others. The companies dined at their severall  
 halles, &c. This was done as in the yere last before  
 passed, to avoid the infection of the plague, which  
 might haue increased by comming together of grea-  
 ter numbers of people. That weeke, from the two  
 and twentieth unto the eight and twentieth of No-  
 uember, deceased in the citie and liberties of all diseases  
 one hundred thirtie and two, of the which number six  
 and thirtie were accounted to die of the plague. The  
 next weeke following ending the third of Novem-  
 ber (thanks be giuen to God therefore) there deca-  
 sed of all diseases but one hundred and ten, and of  
 them of the plague but six and twentie.

The eleventh of February Anne Aeries, widow, for swearing his selfe for a little monie that she should haue paid for six pounds of tow at a shop in Woodstreet of London, fell immediatlie downe speechlesse, casting vp at his mouth in great abundance, & with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should haue bene voided downewards, till she died. A terrible example of Gods iust iudgement vpon such as make no conscience of swearing against their brother. The sixteenth of February, Edmund Grindale sometime bishop of London, late archbishop of Yorke, was in the chapterhouse of S. Pauls church at London elected archbishop of Canturburie. The first of March in the night through a great flaw of wind then in the northeast, a tilt boate with about the number of one and thirtie persons, men and women, comming from Grauesend toward London, were all drowned; one boie excepted. The thirtieth of Aprill Thomas Greene goldsmith was drawn from Newgate of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered, for clipping of coine both gold and silver.

The sixtenth of June Martine Frobisher being furnished of adventures, with two small barks & one pinnelle departed from Blackswall, vpon his voyage for the discoverie of a passage to Cataia by the northwell seas. Upon the first of Julie he had sight (as he indged) of Freedland, but durst not approach the same, by reason of the great yce that lay alongst the coast. Not far from thence he lost his pinnelle and one of his barks, who mistrustring the danger of tempests returned home, with report that their generall Martine Frobisher was cast awaie: whiche woorthie capteine notwithstanding continued his course northwell, beyond anie man that hath heretofore discovered, and the twentieth of Julie had sight of a high land, whiche he named Quene Elisabeths foreland; and after that another foreland with a great passage, dividing (as it were) the two maine lands abunder: this place he named Frobishers streits. After he had passed sixtie leagues further, he went ashoare, found the same to be inhabited with savage people, caught one of them into his barke, and returning, arrived in England in the moneth of August following. One of his companie brought from thence a peece of a blacke stone, much like to a seacole in colour, whiche being brought to certeine goldsmiths in London, to make a saie thereof, found it to hold gold, and that herie rightlie for the quantitie.

The nineteenth of July a woman was burnt at  
Lunbridge in Kent for poisoning of her husband :  
and two days before a man, named Orleie, was  
hanged at Maidstone for being accessorie to the  
same fact. The tenth of August a rare piece of worke

and almost incredible, was brought to passe by an Englishman boyne in the citie of London named Peter Bales, who by his industrie and practise of his pen, contriued and wrot within the compasse of a penie in Latine, the Lods praier; the cred, the ten commandements, a praier to God, a praier for the quene, his posse, his name, the daie of the moneth, the peate of our Lord, and the reigne of the quene. And on the seuentieth of August next following at Hampton court he presented the same to the quens maiestie in the head of a ring of gold, covered with a chrysell, and presented therewith an excellent spectacle by him deuised for the easier reading thereof: wherewith hir maiestie read all that was writzen therein with great admiration, and commended the same to the lods of the counsell, and the ambassa-dors, and did weare the same manie times vpon his finger.]

This yeare, by reason of the troubles in the low  
20 countries, the English merchants sustained great  
losses diuers waies. For the men of warre that kept  
the seas, aduoting themselves to be retained with  
the prince of Orange, vnder colour to serch for their  
aduersaries goods, oftentimes boarded the English  
ships as they met with them on the seas, smalle to  
the profit of them to whome the same ships and goods  
appertained. Some they staled and toke awaie with  
them. And at length there was a generall restraint  
made by the prince of Orange, that no English  
30 ships should passe to or fro the toliue of Antwerpe  
by the riuer of Scheld, such being arrested and detei-  
ned at fflishing as were comming downe that ri-  
uer, and other likewise that were bound by the same  
time towards Antwerpe.

The English merchants, feeling themselves thus molested and damnified at sundrie seasons, exhibited their complaints to the quenes maiesties council, who accordingly dealt from time to time with the prince of Denige and his deputies for redress, 40 but speciallie now vpon this generall restraint. And although great difficultie appeared in the matter, as well for contenting of the aduenturours of Flishing, as for that there had bene foure ships belonging to the prince arrested and staid at Falmouth: at length yet such English ships as were kept and holden at Flishing were released and sent home; but not till two of the English merchants aduenturours' men of good calling and estimation (having first as hath bin said made a certeine maner of protest) were faine to 50 enter into bond for the loane of a summe of monie, and were therewith kept at Flishing till the contract in that behalfe might be performed. Wherevpon the quenes maiestie, misliking that hir subiects should be thus hardly dealt with, armed and set forth certeine of hir ships, which going to the seas to see that hir subiects might traueise the same in safetie, toke diuerse of the Flishingers vessels, and brought them into the English streames. The Flishingers herewith on the other part toke and arrested other of 60 the English ships, so that the troubles seemed rather to increase than to be in any wise appeased: although afterwards by sending to and fro, the matter was taken vp, and such order had as was thought to stand best well for the surtie, commoditie, and good liking of the English merchants.

But in the meane time, and befoze this could be brought to passe, through a disordered mutinie which chanced among the Spanissh souldiers, it so fell out, that the states of those loto countreies agreed with the prince of Orange, and set themselves whole against the Spaniards. Whereupon the young count de Egmont, the marquess de Hauerie entered the towne of Antwerpe, with a power of souldiers for the states, and meant to haue kept that towne against the

Here work-  
manship shew-  
ed, in the com-  
passe of a penne  
by the hand-  
writing of an  
Englishman.

Anno Reg. 18.  
1576  
English mer-  
chants su-  
steine great  
losse by sea;  
and whyp

The English  
merchants  
complainte to  
the queene of  
their wrongs.

These foure  
ships were  
frayed for sa-  
tisfaction of  
one Simons  
ship, out of  
the which a  
Flishingec  
had taken cer-  
taine tuns of  
Canarie  
wines.

\* Martin  
Caltrop &  
William Co-  
dard.

**The troubles increase.**

This was the fourth of November, 1550 one with another slain, drowned and burned.

the Spaniards that held the castell. But they doubting to be inclosed & shut up by some siege, got more of their fellows to them, entered the towne by force, & spitefullie killing no small number of people, sacked the towne, and put aswell the towne-men as others that were merchants resident there to their ransoms. Amongst other our Englishmen escaped not altogether free, so as diuerse were spoiled of that they had, and the whole number put to their ransome; although vpon the sending ouer of doctor Willson hir maiesties ambassadoz, so much of the ransome as remained vnpaid was promised to be remitted.

Thus were our merchants euill intreated on each hand, by reason of those ciuill tumults in the low countries, aswell this yeare as in the former yeares past, and small hope would be of better successe there, if some end should not be had of that ciuill dissention, which hath so long continued betwixt the king of Spaine and his subiects in those countries, not onelie to the hinderance of themselves, but also of others that haue to trade among them, spectallie for traffike sake and intercourse of merchandise. But at length they haue compounded their controuersies, and are growen to a full agreement and perfect conclusion of peace, which God grant may take place so effectualle, as may turne to the quietnesse and publike commoditie not onlie of those countries but of their neighbors, whereby merchants and passengers may in suertie passe to and fro without disturbance, so as no occasion be giuen of breach of leagues and amities betwixt princes and countries, but that the same may be maintained to Gods glorie, and the suertie of the christian commonwealth.

In this yeare the right honorable Walter Deuereux earle of Essex and Cu, earle marshall of Ireland, viscount Hereford and Bourcher, lord Ferrers of Chartlie, Bourcher & Louaine, knight of the most noble order of the garter, fell sicke of a losenesse of his bodie the one and twentieth of August being fridaie, and for the space of two and twentie daies together he was so grieuouslie tormented therewith, that finally on saturday the two & twentieth of September he departed out of this transitorie life, passing from hence to the ioies of heauen, as by his godlie end all that were about him gaue testimonie. The losse of this noble man was greatlie bemoaned, aswell by the English as Irish, for the noble courage, vertuous qualities, and tender zeale to the advancement of the commonwealth which appeared in him.

So that it were a fowle fault in the highest degree, not to laie by some commemoration of so worthie and well deseruing a gentleman, both of prince and people, in perpetuall records: which I will do by Gods grace none otherwise than I am lead by such matter, yea memorable matter, as I find in a funeral sermon, made by the reuerend father in God Richard bishop of saint Dunis, at the buriall of this right honorable earle of Essex, in the parish church of Caermerthin in Wales, where the said bishop taking for his text these words of S. John, in the 14 of the reuelation, *Audini vocem de celo, dicentem: Beati mortui, &c.* I heard a voice from heauen, saying: Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, &c. After he had discoursed vpon the text as the spirit of God gaue him utterance, he descended at last to a particular treatise tending wholly to the praise of this right noble man: saying in sort as followeth.

Behold the heauie hand of God for our sins, vpon all the whole countrie in the death of this noble man, which is not onelie a messenger of Gods wrath towards this towne and countrie (wherein he was borne) but also in verie deed a great losse to the whole realme. And although this countrie, who shall misse so noble and so worthie a ruler and magistrate, that

boze them so great affection, so ready to benefit all, and hurt none, and for the high calling he was of so able to pleasure and to do good: although I saie this countrie by the death of this noble earle is most earnestlie & effectualle cited to appeere before the Lord, and to fall to a reckoning: yet do I beleue that the quaines maiestie, hir highnesse counsell, and all the nobilitie of the realme may hereby receiue admonition, and cause of further circumspection and aduigilancie. For such valiant and couragious noble men are the bulwarks and walles of defense of the whole realme. They saie the realme is walled about, because it is intrenched with the sea: but I hold rather with their iudgements, that make the fidelitie and true hearts of the subiects, and especiallie of such of the nobilitie that haue made themselves (by Gods especiall grace) expert to gouerne and rule vnder hir maiestie, aswell in warre as peace, the strong towers of defense both of hir maiestie and hir highnesse realme.

This noble earle was one of these number: for I beleue there is no prince in the world, that had a more faithful noble subiect, than hir maiestie had of him in his time. And for the notable valiantnesse, experience, and vertues that were in him, I am persuaded that hir maiestie (if he had liued) might haue used his seruice to be a terrour to all enimies, foren or domestical. And now that I may speake somewhat of his great nobilitie, his excellent, vertuous, and worthie qualities: first I thinke I may saie thus much in a generalitie, that it was easie for a man of any iudgement, that should behold his countenance and behauiour, to find in him nobilitie, maiestie and honoz, planted by the especiall gift of God, euen from his mothers wombe. When I consider the nature of nobilitie with the causes efficient and finall, it seemeth vnto me that nobilitie may be compared vnto a riuer or a fountaine, which in the original issueth out of foure principall welles, and all the foure rise out from the compasse of one hill. The welles of nobilitie are prudence, fortitude, iustice, and temperance: the hill whence they spring is the feare of God, or true religion.

Although this worthie earle by progenie was of noble blood, whose ancestors were of great honour, which of it selfe, if a man degenerat not too far from his forefathers, deserueth honorable acceptation in this world: yet was he not therewith satisfied, as it may appeere by his studie and trauell in his life time: for he seemed to be of that iudgement that Alphonsus king of Aragon (of whose we read in stories) was of. When a certaine man toke in hand to set out the laud and praise of his nobilitie, he stood much in recitall that he was a king, a kings sonne, a kings nephew, a kings brother, and such like titles. The king interrupting his tale answered, that he neuer esteemed much of that kind of glorie: and that it was the praise and commendation of his ancestors, who by vertue and worthie qualities had deserued such high callings and honour, and not of him: and that his praise stood not in that which might fall vnto him by testament, but in the imitation and performing of the noble acts, prouesse, and valiantnesse of his forefathers. This noble earle likewise, not answered to his expectation in that he was a noble man by blood and inheritance, gaue himselfe wholly all the daies of his life to purchase and win the nobilitie that springeth immediatlie from the verie originall fountaines of the same, as partly I will put you in remembrance of. We will begin with prudence, which may be thus defined.

Prudence is a power or facultie of the mind giuen of God, whereby man is made wise, prudent, and circumspect, and whereby man attaineth knowledge, cunning, and expertnesse in all matters that

A conclusion of peace betwixt the parties before divided.

Walter Deuereux earle of Essex departed this life.

Abt. Fl. ex conuisione funebri, vbi patet in contextu.

The place of the eris birth: wher tolle all England hath of him.

What noblemen are the walls of the realme.

The praise of the earle for his iudgement and circumspection.

Comparison of true nobilitie vnto a riuer or fountaine.

Prudence is a power or facultie of the mind.

The disposition of the earle to enlarge and augment his nobilitie.

Prudence is a power or facultie of the mind giuen of God.

How he showed his piety.

The report of his knowledge.

The effect in scripture and mat of religion.

He was a true preacher.

His experience in all matters.

Fortitude noble and true.



the children of men haue to deale with in this world. This noble erle was of great wisdom, deepe iudgement, graue consideration, and so blessed with vnderstanding, experience, and manifold vertues and gifts of God, that he was right worthe to serue his maiestie in princelie and weightie affaires, both in warre and peace. He was of such prudent and excellent discretion, that he had a speciall grace to intertaine all states of men, superiour, equall, and inferiour, with such comelinesse and decencie, that for ciuillitie, humanitie, maners, and honorable behauiour, he was a paterne and an example for nobilitie to imitate and to follow. In his youth he bestowed not the time in banitie, slovenesse, or voluptuousnesse, but in atchuing and winning of such sciences, properties and vertues, which might beautifie and increase his nobilitie, and preuailed therein so effectually, that he became excellent in all kinds of knowledge and qualities, meet, commendable, or necessarie for a man of honour. Concerning diuine matters, I haue in my time conferred with his lordship, and therefore can saie somewhat therein: and amongst others, one thing is notable, which in conference I receiued at his mouth. He affirmed this in effect, that there was nothing in the world that could blemish and abate the heritall nature of nobilitie so much, as to haue the eyes of vnderstanding so closed and shut vp, that a man in honour should not be able to discern betwixt true religion, and the hypocriticall false religion; betwixt the right worshipping of God, & idolatrie; betwixt the traditions of men and Gods word: but remaine subiect to lies and superstition, and to call bad good, and good bad: and concluded that to be free from this seruile state, was a necessarie point of true nobilitie.

He therefore in his time had diligently travelled in the scriptures, and so furnished himselfe with principles of christian religion, that he was able readilie to discern sermons and disputations, and to find out who had veritie on their side: and also probable to speake with authoritie of scripture in matters of controuersie. His vnderstanding by the especiall worke of the holie ghost was so illumined, that he claue & drew to true christian religion, as the adamant stone cleaueth and draweth to Steele. His lordship therefore furthered and fauoured all preachers of Gods word, so that whosoeuer will iudge of the successe of Christs religion by humane reason, must confesse that the gospell hath lost a mightie protector, and an earnest defender. But God in setting out of his word, beth to worke beside the expectation of man, and beyond the reach of reason. I haue yet further to speake of his lordship, that I beleue there be vertie few noble men in England, more readie and expert in chronicles, histories, genealogies, and pedigrees of noble men, and noble houses, not onlie within the realme, but also in foren realmes, than this noble erle was in his time. He excelled in describing and blasing of armes, and in all skill pertaining thereto: and to be short, his vnderstanding and capacitie was so liuie and effectual, that it reached to all kind of matters that a perfect nobleman shall haue to deale withall in this world.

Fortitude is another founteine from whence nobilitie floweth, of Cicero *In Tusculanis questionibus* thus defined: *Est affectio animi qua grauius patiendo legibus obtemperatur*: It is an affection of the mind whereby to satisfie the lawes a man is content to suffer hardnesse; he meaneth mans lawes, and not Gods law. It satisfieth the refoze that it may be thus more euidentlie and fullie defined: Fortitude is an affection of the mind, whereby a man is made hardie and couragious to suffer difficulties and dangers, auoiding on the one side rashnesse, & repelling on the other side feare,

to performe that which Gods law and honestie prescribe and commandeth. Although by this definition on we find, that the effect of fortitude reiecteth much in banishing of feare of bodilie hurts: yet both it agree verie well with the feare of God. Ietho therefore counselling Moses to chuse men to gouerne vnder him, saith; *Prospice viros fortes, timentes Deum*; See thou men indued with fortitude, fearing God, &c. Whereby we perceiue, that fortitude and the feare of God are not, but are linked together. Deepe was the fount of nobilitie that this valiant erle had fetched out of this founteine. For in this together with the well of prudence, he found that excellent knowledge of this world, the cunning to lead an armie, to guide and to rule soldiors, that experience of stratagemes & warlike policies, that notable magnanimitie and incredible courage, whereby he indured and ouercame so manie dangers and perils, for the which he is renowned in England and Ireland, and shall neuer be forgotten. He was by nature the sonne of Mars; and by practising feats of war and exercise aforesaid he had made himselfe in manner a perfect warriour, as fore that euer he came to the wars; and was for prowess, magnanimitie, and high coage to be compared to the old Romane capteins, that be so much in stories commended. This fortitude is no lesse necessarie for nobilitie in time of peace than in time of war. For it belongeth vnto them to minister iustice betwixt partie and partie, without respect of persons, which cannot be performed without the assistance of this vertue. I haue god cause to thinke of this noble erle, that there was no subject in England, that could feare or corrupt him from executing of iustice. He was to the proud and arrogant a lion, and to the meeke and humble a lambe, neither is there anie contrarietie in this: for true nobilitie discerneth a due and conuenient time and place to vse both the one and the other.

Iustice is the third well of nobilitie, it is a constant and a perpetuall will to giue euerie man his owne. This is a diuine vertue, pretious, and commendable in all men, and especiallie in the nobilitie, who by reason of authoritie may do iniurie without remedie for the same. We see by experience that great is the number of them that would oppresse, if they had authoritie: we see also the iniuries that are done daillie by them that haue colour of authoritie, be it neuer so simple. But examine the life of this erle who will, and I beleue there is no man liuing that can iustlie complaine of anie iniurie or wrong done by him. I once in my time heard him not a little offended with one of his men that was complained upon; saying that his seruant could do him no greater dishonor, than by pretense of his authoritie to do anie worse man wrong. Job in the time of his authoritie & wealth, was commended to be a iust & a righteous man. And in the explication of part of that iustice Job hath these words, *Eui oculus ceco, vice pedum claudo, &c.* I was the eyes to the blind, and I was the feet to the lame, I was a father to the poore, and when I knew not the cause I sought it out diligentlie, I brake the chawes of the vnrightheous man, and plucked the preie out of his teeth. Here we find that who soeuer will do iustice, must not onlie do no wrong, but must also with all his might, succour and comfort the helpleesse and oppressed. In this part of iustice there was neuer noble man more forward than this good erle. He was the comfortable refuge of all such as were in aduersitie, or oppressed by power.

Of Titus Tlespianus emperor of Rome we read, that he answered one of his friends, admonishing him to hold his hands, and not to make his liberalitie and gentlenesse common to all men, saierg; that it becommeth not a prince to let anie man part

The earles chualrie, martiall knowledge and prowesse advanced.

Fortitude needfull both in time of peace and warre.

Iustice a noble vertue, wherewith this erle was indued.

The bishop reporteth of the earles iustice vpon his owne knowledge.

Iob. 29, 15.

The paterne of a good erle indued.

Suetonius; from

how he bestowed his youthfull years.

The bishops report of him vpon his own knowledge.

There is preface in the scriptures and matters of religion.

He was a fauourer of preachers.

His expertise in chronicles, histories, &c.

Fortitude a noble vertue wherewith this erle was indued.

if possible be earle and nobles.

ence a vertue with the word.

The huma-  
nitye, courtesie,  
affabilitie, and  
other vertues  
of this earle.

from him with a heaute hart. This worthy erle was of like mind: for he was so full of humanitie and compassion, that he would be loth to let anie distressed part from him without some comfort and ease. In so much that in him (if euer in anie man) this adage, *Homo homini Deus*, A man a god to man, was as true, lie performed, as in tyrants the contrarie adage, that is, *Homo homini lupus*, A man a wolfe to man. Wee read in chronicles of emperors, kings, & noble men, which for their bountifullnesse, gentlenesse, affabilitie, and godnesse, deserued some honorable addition to their names; as amongst the emperors *Antoninus pius*, Anthonie the vertuous; amongst the Britissh kings, *Elidorus pius*, Elidor the goodlie; and amongst noble men, in the time of king Richard the second, sir Thomas Pontacute the good earle of Salisburie; and in the time of king Henrie the first, sir Thomas Beuchampe the good earle of Warwicke. This noble earle for the verie like qualitties hath trulie deserued to be called, the good earle, the vertuous earle, and the valiant earle of Essex.

Temperance,  
a noble vertue  
wherewith  
this erle was  
indued.

Temperance is the founteine of nobilitie; it is a vertue whereby a man obserueth a moderation, & a reasonable meane in the vse of all things pertaining to bodie & mind: it is the mother of all other vertues, without which, the rest are blemished and disgraced. In the Dutch chronicles that tell of the liues of emperors, the first qualittie that is noted, is temperat, or not temperat, as an argument of the rest of his life and doings: for he is thought unworthy to rule others that can not rule himselfe. This noble earle had a speciall grace, and an excellent gift of God in obseruation of this vertue, whether you respect diet, or the suppression of all vicious affections. I haue diuerse times noted in him, when vnderstanding was brought vnto him of some Thasonicall contumelious word, spoken by some glorious inferiour aduersarie against him, he would neuer be stirred to anie perturbation of mind thereby, but with graue wise, dome and magnanimitie contemne it and smile, deriding the banittie and wailwardnesse of that cankered stomach that vomited such soore rotten infection: for he did effectuallie consider that it became no better a noble hart to take in & receiue wanglingings, biallings, chafings, and anger, than it is conuenient to daub a golden piller with mire and claie. Salomon was of that mind, and therefore saith; Wee not thou hastie to be angrie, for anger resteth in the bosome of foles. I haue had occasion by that I noted in his lordship to call to remembrance this saying of Christ; A good man out of the good treasure of his hart bringeth forth good things: & the euill man out of the euill treasure of his hart bringeth forth euill things. For though occasion were ministred, yet should you neuer heare him vtter anie opprobrious words, no not against his aduersarie, so pure & immaculate did he studie to preserve the nobilitie of his mind. Where be some that count themselves worthy honor & estimation, when they feare God in peeces with chaffing and horrible oaths: which this noble earle detested and abhorred, as a matter not onelie vndecent, but also repugnant to the nature of true nobilitie, attributing due reuerence to the name of the Lord, & thereby prouing the founteins of his nobilitie to spring out of the hill of the feare of God.

The earle  
could not a-  
waite with  
swearing, cha-  
fing, nor anie  
disordered  
dealing, &c.

The disposi-  
tion and de-  
uotion of this  
earle in the  
time of his  
sickenesse.

But what was his religion, what faith God had blessed him withall, what godlie disposition he was of, and how abundantlie God had enriched him with his holie spirit; the confession of his faith, his speeches, naie rather his sermons in his sicknesse afore his death shall testifie for euer. For I receiued by the relation of such as are worthy credit, and were present about him, although not all, yet manie of his learned godlie sayings at that time. Concerning his

saluation, he reposed his affiance and sure trust in the blood of Iesus Christ. He forgaue all the world, and by inuincible faith apprehended, laied hold, and imbraced remission of his sinnes, in the merits of the sacrifice of Christs bodie offered vpon the crosse for the sinnes of the world. Trentals, masses, diriges, pardons, and such other papisticall trifies he vterlie contemned, as wicked and blasphemous against the death and passion of Christ. He sared like the children of Israel in the wilbernesse, which when they were stinged with serpents euen to death: yet when they looked vpon the brazen serpent, they were made whole, safe, and sound. So this noble earle grieued with the remembrance of his former vnthankfull life (as he iudged) immediatlie directed the eyes of his mind to the passion of Christ, and forthwith felt such health of soule, that he was filled with ioie in the holie Ghost, and all his delight was in meditation of the ioie of the world to come, and the fruition of the presence of God for euer: inso much that fise or six daies before he died, he shewed himselfe more like an angell from heauen, than a man compassed with flesh and blood.

My lord the archbishop of Dublin (as I was informed) could moue him in no question or article pertaining to saluation, that he was not readie in, and learnedlie, and godlie resolved: yea, and made such answers in all things, that my lord of Dublin had them in great admiration, and affirmed that his speeches at that time should serue him for sermons as long as he liued. How trulie he relinquished the vanities of this world, and how effectualie he thirsted after the ioies of the life to come, his godlie admonitions ministred vnto such as visited him, and his heauenlie lessons & exhortations to his seruants, shall testifie for euer: for they were such that his seruants report they shall neuer forget, and such as they shall be the better for whilst they liue. Thus haue I brieflie and partlie declared vnto you, both the life and death of this worthy magistrate, to the end we should consider how seruicelie God doth call vs to a reckoning by the losse of such a good magistrat. Now a word or two to shew who they be that die in the Lord, and then an end. They principallie are said to die in the Lord, which suffer death vnder the beaue, for confession of Christs religion, for they properlie die in the Lords cause. Such are the martyrs, as well of the primitiue church vnder the cruell emperours, as the martyrs of all ages since vnder antichrist of Rome. They also die in the Lord, which though they die not by the crueltie of the beaue, yet they die in the faith of Iesus Christ, and are therefore blessed.

Of this number was this godlie earle, as I haue before declared. Wherefore I will conclude and direct my speech for two or three words to this god earle. A noble earle of Essex, in thy time the pearle of nobilitie: the mirror of vertue and worthy qualitties: the child of chualtrie: the beautifull floure of England: the pretious iewel and comfort of Wales: the true state of Ireland. Thy life was most honourable: thy worthinesse incomparable: thy death pretious in the sight of God: for thou diedst in the Lord a right inheritor of the euerlasting kingdome of heauen. Wherefore by authoritie of the heauenlie oracle that saint John was commanded to write, thou art to be pronounced blessed for euer. Our sins haue shortened thy life, so that we could intoie the same no longer. Thou hast notwithstanding bequeathed thy bodie to be buried amongst vs here in Wales. Of verie dutie therefore I noble earle, thy tome shall be with vs in reuerence, estimation, and honor: the same name of thy nobilitie, valiantnesse, vertue, and worthinesse shall neuer be forgotten; but shall liue and be kept with vs in memorie from generation to generation while the world standeth. Thus far the words

Numb. 21. A

The heauen-  
lic conten-  
plation of this  
earle becom-  
ing to his end,

My lord  
of Dublin  
was  
in  
great  
admiration  
of his  
speeches

How his  
seruants  
were  
affected at  
his  
last  
speeches.

Who they  
be that  
die in the  
Lord.

A speech  
con-  
cluding the  
bishop direct-  
ed to the earle  
departed.

The earle  
terms his life  
as a  
sacrifice.

of the bishop offered in a sermon preached in the ears  
of no mean audience, either for reputation or num-  
ber. Now then briefly considering wherein true and  
perfect noblenesse consisteth, & that the heroicall be-  
times with their naturall life were most firmelie fixed  
in his heart, and practised by his hand: there is great  
reason to moue even his enemies (if it were possible  
for so good a gentleman to haue anie) to confesse in  
him most absolute nobilitie; and that this epitaph al-  
luding to his right honorable enignes, is deserv-  
lie to be recorded; being an abstract of that notable  
epitaph intituled Epitaphium genealogicum in obitu  
illustrissimi Gualteri comitis Essexiæ, & Euiæ, &  
comitis marischalli regni Hiberniæ, vicecomitis He-  
reford & Bourghcher, domini Ferrers de Chartleue  
Bourgher & Louein, & prænobilis ordinis garterij  
militis, qui obiit Dublinij 21. Septemb. 1576. æta-  
tis sue 36 sepulti apud Maridunum 26. Nouemb. &c.

Si quicum clares veterum splendor parentum,  
 Aut famam meritis morum probitate perennem,  
 Proficteatur in hys nomen Effexius heros:  
 Qui præclara virum gestat monumenta tot vni,  
 Quot raro licuit multis gestamina ferre,  
 Qui intrepide ob patriam tot mille pericula passus,  
 Quot raro poterint vlla aulica corpora ferre.  
 Aureolis partus \* matris, patriæ decus ingens,  
 Qui non exultat moderante Herefordia sola,  
 Aut Trinobantum, titulo probitatis honorem  
 Plebs referens: strepitum validissime Britannia sola  
 Sensit, in adversos Boreales, dum bene gessit:  
 Tota sed heroem cognovit Marte feroci  
 Eugenia tellus Hibernica post pericula  
 Regia cum proprijs expendens, bella per annos,  
 Dura gerit binos, et multa pericula tentans,  
 Plutonia fines, vultus dextræque quieti  
 Persicis, hinc comitis donatur nomine belli:  
 Nec tamen is potuit gladio finire labores.  
 Mori nemini parcens Dublinia funera fletu  
 Trans mare transevit, Maridunica sidera volvens,  
 Clutbo colum tenuit post septem lustræ per annum,  
 Quinque dies. Lachryis post hæc sua fila trahebat,  
 Tæque dies septem septeno mense, videns heu  
 Atropos, eximij fulgentia lumina clausit:  
 Quatuor aff pueris illustria stamina spondent.  
 In tribus regni titulos gestabat honori,  
 Nam comitem Eufenem cognovit Gallia fortem,  
 Arcus heroem demonstrat circulus Effex,  
 Ob bello vires comes est martis Hibernus.  
 Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,  
 Armipotens Gualtere dedit probitate laborem,  
 Perpetuamque labor vitam, sic vita salutem.

This epitaph with the said eares whole genealogie of pedigree compisied in heroicall verse, and intuned with the funerall sermon, was presented to the right honourable lord Robert now earle of Essex and Glo, bicont of Hereford and Bouchier, lord Ferrers of Chartleie Bouchier & Louaine, at such time as he was the quenes maiesties ward; with an epistle of the presenter: which because it is a beine of godlie deuise, & tending to a verie honourable purpose, deserueth here to be placed, answering the president heretofore set out in print, as followeth.

The epistle of E. W. prefixed before  
*the genealogicall epitaph, and funerall sermon*  
published at the interring of the right  
*honourable the lord Walter earle*  
of Essex. &c.



¶ Lord, your absence latelie from  
the funerals of my lord your father,  
was lamented by such in Wales as  
would gladiie haue beheld the liue-  
lie image of him in you; and if the ten-

detresse of your yeares (brimmet for so tedious and so  
unseasonable trauell) had not by necessitie disappoint-  
ted their hope, then should the lamentable speech of  
the graue and reuerend father, the bishop of saint  
Dauies (expressed with abundance of colour & tears)  
haue left in you a deepe impression of griefe for the  
intollerable losse of so honourable a parent. But it  
maie be iudged that God hath turned your absence  
to your more benefit; sith the importunacie of such  
as loue & honour you, and who couet to haue your fa-  
thers vertues descend with his inheritance, hath ob-  
teined the publishing of that learned sermon; wherein  
you maie at good leasure view in the lust rest of  
his life & death the paterne & foyme of true nobilitie.

The heroically description that the bishop maketh of nobilitie, comparing it unto a mountaine, from which foure famous riuers must issue (the mountaine true religion, the riuers, prudence, iustice, fortitude, and temperance) is a rule to you : first to follow your father in truth of religion, then to be as he was, wise, iust, valiant, and temperat. The naturall and vnforced courtesie & affabilitie that was in your father, and that excellent mixture of disposition and aptnesse, both for warre and peace, doth promise to the world a singular perfection in you hereafter. For as your grandfather (who died in his young age) did make shew of much more honour than was in the noble vicount his father : and this our earlie by famous actions did altogether eclipse the vertuous hope conceived of your grandfather : so considering that God in nature continueth as it were the race by outward shew of good parts in you, and that you haue more advantage of education, both by the place where you liue, and by the honour and wisdom of your patrons than your grandfather or father had; we can not but hope of a further degree of excellencie in you to ouershine the goodnesse both of your father and grandfather.

Some people there be that can hardlie discern  
40 betwene honour & profit, that doo vermuch thinke  
of the disadvantage offered you by the earle your fa-  
ther, in diminishing some part of his patrimonie in  
his forren seruices; and will wish you perhaps with  
a contrarie course to deserue more of your here, and  
worse of the world. But as I wish in you a liberrall  
frugalitie vnder this rule and possession, that no-  
thing can be profitable that is not honest: so to de-  
serue well (as your father did) of your soueraigne  
and countrie in matters appertaining to hir mai-  
esties obedience, rather thow the helue after the hat-  
50 chet, and leaue your ruines to be repared by your  
prince, than anie thing to degenerate from honoura-  
ble liberalitie. And as in attempting great things,  
it is good to be circumspect, and with iudgment wise-  
lie to foresee the end before you begin: so hauing en-  
tered into anie honourable attempt that maie be  
iustlie grounded vpon reason, follow the same with  
such inuincible constancie in all extremities as your  
father did, so shall you iustlie deserue like testimo-  
60 nie as hir maiestie gaue to him in hir gracious let-  
ters: namelie, that he was a rare excellent of hir  
realme, and an ornament of hir nobilitie.

True religion and wisdome (upon whome iustice  
dependeth) doe proceed from God by grace, and there-  
fore by invocation, prayer, and studie to be obtained:  
but the other vertues, as fortitude, temperance, cour-  
tesie, affabilitie, liberalitie and constancie, be pecu-  
liar to your house, descending by nature, and grafted  
as it were in your principles. So that to degenerat  
into the loathsome contraries of these, & in stead of the  
habit of vertue, to disguise your selfe with vice, shall  
be harder to you, and more impossible for the contra-  
rie of your nature, than to attaine in good things  
to the perfection of excellencie. And to the end that

G a a a a a.      you

The death of  
the earle much  
lamented.

The heroic  
description of  
true nobility.

) A persuasor  
rie reason to  
mone the  
young earle  
now living to  
an excellent  
imitation of  
his ancesto: &

Notable  
counsell to the  
earle to be-  
serue well of  
his soveraigne  
and countrie.

The queene's  
testimonie of  
the earle.

Virtues natural  
 allie inci-  
 dent to the  
 cric by course  
 of descent.

mb. 21.4

he heavens:  
contem:  
ition of this  
le drawing  
his end,

Swonderfull  
ft of the ho:  
: Ghost and  
oft Sworthe  
be chzoni=  
2d.

how his servants were affected at his last speeches.

Who they be  
that die in the  
Lord.

A speech concluding the bishop directed to the earls departed.

The earliest  
term used was  
fed.

To what end  
the epitaph  
genealogicall  
was added to  
the funerall  
sermon.

The old earls  
counsell at his  
death to the  
young earle  
now alive  
touching the  
shortnesse  
of life.

you may know what you are by birth and blood, and that you should not by ignorance or lacke of knowledge of your selfe, do any thing unworthie the noble houses from whence you are descended: a well-willer of yours hath ioined to this sermon (amongst other epitaphs containing your fathers due praises) his statelie descent in well digested Latine verses: not to puffe you up with any swelling vanities, but to giue you a reason how you beare your armour and badges of honour, and to remember you that error you enter into, if you should blemish the vertues of your noble ancestors, or to do any thing (as I said) unworthie your birth and calling.

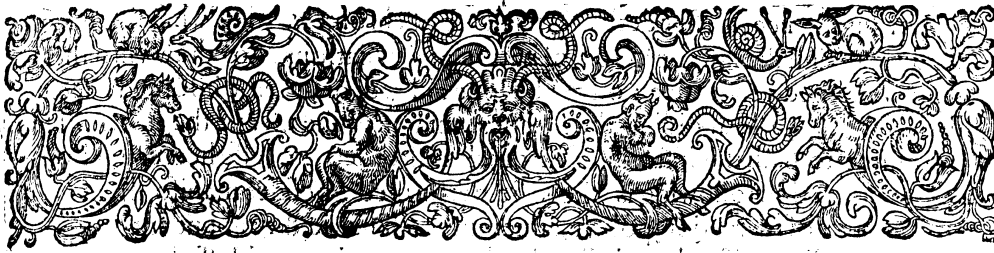
Lastlie my lord, haue alwaies before your eyes the feare of God, and the counsell of the earle your father at his death: namelie, that you should euer be mindfull of the moment of time, assigned both to your father and grandfather, the eldest hauing attained but to six and thirtie yeares, to the end that vpon consideration of the short course of life that you in nature are to looke for, you might so imploie your tender yeares in vertuous studies and exercises, as you might in the prime of your youth become a man well accomplished to serue his maiestie and your countrie, as well in warre as peace: wherevnto he commanded you to bend all your indures, & with those conditions heaped his blessings vpon you. I praeise therefore that God will increase those conditionall blessings, and the causes of them in you, to the end that his maiestie may thinke of you hereafter as of a true seruant and humble subiect, one of the pillars of his estate, his maiesties kinsman by manie alliances, and the sonne of a most noble father.

Your L. at commandement E. W.

Thus much concerning the two earles, the father departed, and the sonne suruiuing, of whose proceeding in the steps of his father, there is no doubt but within few yeares the world shall haue iust cause (as there is present hope) to beare witnesse: whome in all his attempts we will leaue to such fortunat successe, as God the giuer thereof shall vouchsafe to provide and assigne.]

The tenth of Nouember a proclamation was published for the free traffike of merchants to be restored as had been accustomed in times past betwixt the kingdoms and countreies of the quenes maiestie of England and the king of Portugal, which traffike had been discontinued by reason of certeine states and arrests made of diuerse subiects on both parts, with their goods & ships. But now it was accorded in name of both their maiesties, that all manner of both their subiects of what kingdome or countrie so euer they be, from the fiftenth of the said moneth, might vse the like mutuall traffike for merchandises, and in the same places: that is to saie, his maiesties subiects in the kingdomes of Portugal & Algarbia, and in the Isles of Medera and Azore: and likewise the subiects of the king of Portugal in England and Ireland, as they were lawfullie accustomed before the said arrests. This restitution of the said traffike to remaine from the said fiftenth daie of Nouember in this yeare one thousand, five hundred, seauentie and six, during the space of three yeares next ensuing. At the end of which terme, if by the said princes in the meane time it be not otherwise provided for continuance of the said traffike to indure perpetuallie, no new arrests shall be made of any things brought into the kingdoms and Isles aforesaid, of either of the said princes during the time of the said three yeares. It was further agreed by the said princes for the more sure preservation of the amitie and friendship betwixt them, their said realmes and subiects, that neither of them shall receiue any pirat or rouer into any of the ports or creeks of either of their realmes, dominions, and countreies, which may or shall haue committed any piracie or robbrie vpon either of their subiects, nor shall they any fauour, giue any aid or succor, or suffer any to be giuen directly or indirectly to the said rouers or pirats. Neither shall they during the time of the said amitie, in either of their kingdoms, or any place of their dominions, fauour, intertaine, receiue or retaine, nor suffer to be fauoured, intertaine, receiued, or retelined by any of their subiects, any rebels, traitors, or fugitives, subiects to either of them.

Thus farre haue I continued this collection of the English histories, noting briefelie in these later yeares, such things as I find in the abridgement of Richard Grafton, and in the summarie of Iohn Stow, increased somewhat (as may appeare) in places with such helpes as haue come to my hand; humbly beseeching the reader to accept the same in good part, and to pardon me where I haue not satisfied his expectation: for herein I must confesse, I haue nothing contented my selfe, but yet at the request of others haue doone what I could & not what I would, for want of conference with such as might haue furnished me with more large instructions, such as had beene necessarie for the purpose.

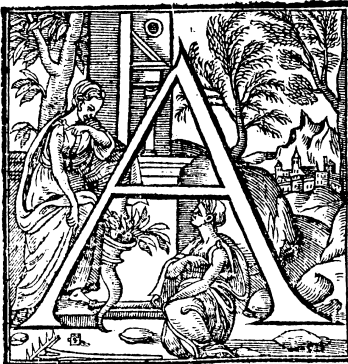


# THE CHRONICLES OF England, from the yeare of our

Lord 1576, where Raphaell Holinshed left;

*supplied and continued to this present*

yeare 1586: by Iohn Stow,  
*and others.*



Disciple of Socrates, by name Aristippus, a man fuerlie of a verie sharpe iudgement and pleasant wit, when he was demanded what profit he tooke by the studie of wisedome, made this answer: Forsooth this profit, that with all sorts of men I can frankelie and boldlie speake. Which answer might well be of that mans making; bicause he bare a mind indifferentlie free, as well from hope as feare: for he serued no man, nor yet flattered anie person, nor otherwise behaued himselfe than his hart gaue him. Of the same mind it were to be

wished that all storie-writers were: for then should Chronicles approach next in truth to the sacred and inuiolable scripture, and their vse not onelie growe more common, but also of greater account. And right good reason whie. For therein is contained the rich and pretious treasure of time, the wisest counsellor vnder the cope of heauen. And that saw Thales the philosopher well inough, who being asked what of all was the eldest? answered, God: what of all the fairest? the world: what of all the greatest? place: what of all the swiftest? the mind: what of all the strongest? necessitie: and what of all the wisest? time. Time in Greeke is called χρόνος, whereof the word Chronicles ariseth, termed τὰ χρονικά, that is, obseruations of time: so that if nothing in wisedome dooth excell time, then who can but wax wise by reading and perusing the obseruations of time, which are meerelie & simplie Chronicles? Chroniclers therefore deserue a reuerence of dutie, whome time hath called and culled out as it were by the hand, to vse their ministerie and seruice for the disposing and distributing of the riches of his wisedome to all ages, that successors may be taught by their predecessors, wit by their follie, fealtie by their disloialtie, obedience by their rebellion, vnitie and peace by their dissention, plainnesse by their doublenesse, sobrietie by their vntemperance, courtesie by their churlishnesse, pitie by their vncharitablenesse; finallie all goodnesse by their badnesse; for the which (as we may see by a sea of examples in this booke) sith they were greuouslie punished, it is our gaine by their smart to be admonished.

Gggggg.iiij.

For



## The Epistle.

For surelie heerein standeth a speciall vse of chronicles, that whilest some of-  
fending against the lawes of God, of nature, and of nations, doo draw vnto them-  
selues deserued vengeance: others by loue allured, or by feare inforced, seeing  
their rufull fals, and auoiding the meanes, may happilie escape the paine. This  
frute hitherto hath this historie of chronicles afforded, no lesse heereafter by the  
continuation following is like to be performed; besides manifold mat-  
ters of recreation, policie, aduentures, chiuallrie, &c: abundant-  
lie ministred; and all vnder the golden reigne of blessed  
queene Elisabeth, the sweet floure of ami-  
able virginite:

*Cui vitam, studiūque Deus, regniue coronam  
Perpetuet, beet, & tranquillo prosperet usu:  
Postque hanc exactam vitam, studium atque coronam,  
Cælesti vita, studio, diademate donet.*

A. F.



An. 1

1. Stow.  
In vna  
rall both  
murder  
his natur  
brother, bi  
the vnnat  
rall brothe  
was hang  
as he was  
disfrud.

Anno Reg

3 tempest  
Richmont  
Guz.

1577  
Comer on  
Londō hui  
taken dow

Robinson  
banged for  
clipping of  
p. 2.

Second be  
252 to Ca-  
142.

Strage sic



# THE CONTINVATI on of the chronicles of England from the year of our Lord 1576, to this present year 1586, &c.

Shew.  
In vnnaturall  
kill & other  
murdereth  
a naturall  
cutter, but  
the vnnaturall  
brother  
was hanged  
as he well  
deserued.



Anno Reg. 19.

Tempest in  
Richmond-  
shire.

1577

Down on  
London bridge  
was downe.

Richmond  
bridge for  
clipping of  
gold.

Second booke  
of the  
Chronicle.

Sheweth.

smiting his braynes out of his head with an ar, and after cutting his throte to make him sure, and then buried him vnder the hearth of a chimneie, thinking thereby (though longfullie) quietlie to haue intoid his brothers gods long before in his possession: but not long after this secret murder comming to light, the murderer was rewarded according to his deserts, and to the terror of such vnnaturall murdering brethren. The seventeenth of March, through a strange tempest which hapned in the North, nere to a towne called Richmond, not onelie cotages, trees, barnes and haiesakes, but also the most part of the church called Patrike Wymton was overthrowen, with most strange sights in the aire, both fearefull and terrible.

In the moneth of Aprill, the decayed stone house called the tower vpon London bridge was begun to be taken downe, and the heads of traitors that were wont there on poles to be fired, were removed thence, and set on the gate at the bridge foot toward Southworke. The seventeenth daie of Maie, Richard Robinson goldsmith was drawne from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged for clipping of gold. The one and thirtieth daie of Maie, Martin Frobisher with one ship and two barks furnished for that purpose, sailed from Hartwich in Essex towards Cataia by the north-west seas, and entered the streits beyond quene Elizabeths forleand, about thirtie leagues, where he went on shore, and finding store of the blacke stone, which the goldsmiths had said to hold gold, and therefore called the same gold ore, he sought his ship & barke, caught a man, a woman, and a child of that countrie, and then on the foure and twentieth of August returning from thence, arrived at Milford hauen in Wales on the twentieth of September next following.

The fourth, six, and first daie of Iulie, the assises

being holden at Driford, there was arraigned and condemned one Rotoland Fenkes, for his seditious tongue, at which time there arose amongst the people such a dampe that almost all were smouldered, verie few escaping that were not taken at that instant: the iurors died presentlie, shortly after died sir Robert Bell lord chiefe baron, sir Robert de Olie, sir William Babington, master Wineman, master de Olie high shiriffe, master Dauers, master Harcombe, master Kirtle, master Metipace, master Oxenwood, master Foster, master Path, sergeant Waram, master Stephans, &c. There died in the towne of Driford thre hundred persons, and sickened there, but died in other places two hundred and ob, from the first of Iulie to the twelke of August, after which daie died not one of that sickenelle, for one of them infected not an other, nor ante one woman or child died thereof.

¶ Of this sickenelle there passed a report in print, published vnder the name of M. B. who (as he saith himselfe) was present with sir William Babington, and therefore was able, and did (as he thought good) set downe the certaintie of that heauie accident, for the satisfaction of such friends of his as desired to know the vndoubted truth. And the same M. B. setting downe the opinion, that diuerse conceiued of this venemous maladie, saith that some supposed it to be of two sorts; howbeit (saith he) it is not so. For those that bled till they died, strone so much with their sickenelle, that the blood issued out at their vents: but yet had perfect memorie, euen to the yelding of their breath, as was verie well perceived by sir William Babington, who neuer ceased to call vpon God in his great agonie, &c. This reported M. B. as a certaine truth, to stop the lying rumors of those that (as he saith) haue spoken vnrulie in this behalf, and published their owne fantasies.]

On sundaie the fourth of August, betwene the houres of nine and ten of the clocke in the forenone, whilst the minister was reading of the second lesson in the parish church of Blithborough a towne in Suffolke, a strange and terrible tempest of lightening and thunder strake thorough the wall of the same church into the ground almost a yard deepe, & aue done all the people on that side aboute twentie persons, then renting the wall vp to the reuestre, cleft the doore, and returning to the steeple, rent the timber, & brake the chimnes, & fled toward Wongie a towne sir miles off. The people that were stricken downe were found groueling more than halfe an houre after, whereof one man more than fortie yeares and a boie of sixteen yeares old were found stark dead:

nesse as  
Driford.

Ab. Fl. ex re-  
latu W. B. im-  
press. 1577.

Tempest in  
Suffolke.

The tower on  
London  
bridge new  
builded.

Anno Reg. 20.  
Cutbert  
Waine exe-  
cuted.  
An example of  
for cersers, and  
such as seme  
to worke woe-  
ders to deccieve  
men of their  
monie.

Nelson and  
Shere wood  
executed.

Counterfet-  
ters of coine  
executed.

Pirats  
hanged.

1578

Frobishers  
third voyage.

the other were scorched. The same or the like flash of  
lightening and cracks of thunder rent the parish  
church of Worgie, nine miles from Dorwich, worging  
in sunder the wiers and wheles of the clocks, and  
two men which sat in the belfrete, when the other  
were at the procession of suffrages, and scorched an  
other which hardlie escaped. The tower on London  
bridge being taken downe, and a new foundation  
drawne, sir John Langley lord maiors of the citie of  
London laid the first stone on the eight and twen-  
tith daie of August, in the presence of the shiriffes of  
London & the two bridgemasters, which new tower  
was finished in the moneth of September, Anno  
1579.

The thirtieth daie of November, Cutbert Waine  
was drawne, hanged, and quartered at Lancaster  
in Cornwell for preferring Roman power. The  
seuententh of Januarie, one Simon Penbrooke  
dwelling in saint Georges parish in Southworse,  
being a figuredinger, and vehementlie suspected to  
be a confuter, by commandement of the ordinarie  
iudge for those parties, appeared in the parish church  
of saint Saviours in Southworse, at a court holden  
there. Which Simon being busied in interteining a  
proctor, and having monie in his hand, leaned his  
head vpon a pew wherein the proctor stood: which af-  
ter he had done a certeine space, the proctor began to  
lift by his head to see what he asied, and found him de-  
parting out of life, and straightwaie the said Simon  
fell downe, rattling a little in the throte, and neuer  
spake word after. This was done euen as the iudge  
came into the church, who said it was the iust iudge-  
ment of God towards those that used sorcerie, and a  
great example to admonish other to feare the iustice  
of God. After, his clothes being opened, there were  
found about him fine diuellish bookes of confutation,  
and most abhominable practises, with a picture of sin  
of a man, having three dice in his hand with this  
posse: Chance dice fortunatic; & diuerse papers of  
such like matters, as he had dealt in for men, such  
men I meane as are mentioned in Leuiticus the  
twentieth chapter and first verse: If any soule turne  
himselfe after such as worke with spirits, and after  
soothsayers, to go a whoying after them (saith the  
Lord) I will put my face against that soule, and will  
cut him off from among my people.

The third daie of Februarie, John Nelson for  
denying the quenes supremacie, and such other tra-  
itorious words against hir maiestie, was drawne  
from Newgate to Tyburne, and there hanged,  
bowelled, and quartered. And on the seventh of the  
same moneth of Februarie, Thomas Sherewin was  
likewise drawne from the tower of London to Ty-  
burne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for  
the like offense. The five and twentieth of Februarie,  
John de Loy a Frenchman, and five English gen-  
tlemen, was conueied from the tower of London  
towards Dorwich, there to be arraigned and execu-  
ted for coining of monie counterfeit. And on the  
ninth of March, seven pirats were hanged at Wap-  
ping in the ouze beside London.

The ladie Margaret countesse of Lennox deca-  
sed on the tenth of March, at hir house in the parish  
of Hackneie besides London, and was buried at  
Westminster on the third of Aprill. The one and thir-  
tith and last of Maie, Martine Frobisher with fif-  
teene saile of good ships, manned, vittelled, and other-  
wise well appointed, departed from Harwich in Es-  
sex on his third voyage towards Cataia. And on the  
one and thirtieth and last daie of Iulie, after manie  
attempts, and sundrie times being put backe by  
flurds of ice in the streits, he recovered his long  
withed port, and came to anchor in the Islands, new-  
lic by hir maiestie named *Meta incognita*, where (as

in the yeare before) they sought their ships with the  
like stone or gold ore out of the mines; and then on  
the last of August returning thence, arrived safelie  
in England about the first of October.

The two and twentieth of Januarie being thursdaie,  
about seven of the clocke at night, John Castlere  
countie palatine of Rhene, duke of Banare, landing  
at the tower of London, was there by diuerse noble  
men and others honourablie receiued, and conueied  
by cresset light and torch light to sir Thomas Crel-  
hams house in Bishops gate street, where he was  
receiued with sounding of trumpets, drums, fies,  
and other instruments of musike, and there both  
lodged and feasted till sundae next, that he was by  
the nobilitie fetched and conueied to the court at  
Westminster, where after he had talked with hir ma-  
iestie, he returned vnto Summerfets house at the  
strand, and was there lodged. In the weeke follo-  
wing he hunted at Hampton court. On sundae the  
first of Februarie he beheld a valiant iustling and  
running at the tilt at Westminster. On the next  
morrow in the same place he saw them fight at bar-  
riers with swords on horse backe. On tuesdaie he  
dined with the lord maiors of London; on wednes-  
daie with the dutchesse of Suffolke, at hir house cal-  
led the Barbican in Red crosse street; on thursdaie at  
the Stillard, &c. On sundae the eight of Februa-  
rie, the quene made him knight of the garter, by de-  
liuering to him the collar, & putting the garter on his  
leg at White hall. And on the fourteenth of Februa-  
rie, he departed from London to Rochester home-  
wards, with great rewards giuen to him by the  
quenes maiestie, the nobilitie, men of honour, the  
lord maiors of London, and other citizens of that  
citie.

The same moneth of Februarie; so wit, on the  
fourth daie, and in the night next following, fell such  
abundance of snow, that on the fifth daie in the mor-  
ning, the same snow was found in London to lie  
two foot deepe in the shallowest, and otherwise being  
driven by the wind, verie boisterous in the westward  
on banks one ell or a yard & a half deepe. In the which  
drifts of snow, farre deeper in the countrie, manie  
cattell, and some men and women were ouerwhel-  
med and lost. It snowed till the eight daie of that  
moneth, and stilled till the tenth, and then followed a  
thaw with continuall raine a long time after, which  
caused such high waters, and great floods, that  
the marshes and low grounds being drowned for  
the time, and the water of the Thames rose so high  
into Westminster hall, that after the fall there-  
of, some fishes were found to remaine in the said  
hall.

The seuententh of Februarie, an Irishman for  
murdering of a man in a garden of Stephenheth pa-  
rish, was hanged in chaines on the common called  
Spile end greene. This common was sometimes  
yea in the memorie of men yet liuing, a large mile  
long (from White chappell to Stephenheth church) and  
therefore called Spile end greene, but now at this pre-  
sent, by graedie (and as seemeth to me vnlawfull) in-  
closures, and building of houses, notwithstanding  
hir maiesties proclamation to the contrarie, it re-  
maineth scarce halfe a mile in length. The twentieth  
daie of Februarie deceased sir Nicholas Bacon, who was  
lord keeper of the great seale of England, who was  
honourablie buried vnder a sumptuous monument  
or tombe (by him in his life time erected) in S. Pauls  
church of London, on the ninth daie of March. This  
sir Nicholas Bacon in his life time gave for six sho-  
lers, to be found in Bennets college in Cambridge,  
to each of them three pounds six shillings and eight  
pence the yeare for ever.

The said sir Nicholas Bacons tombe aforesaid, bea-  
ring

On the so  
side these  
berles.

On the m  
side these.

Great kno  
in the mor  
of Spill.

Sir Tho  
Bacon  
chancelor

The colle  
hon of Fra  
as Thun,

Great lond  
waters.

3 murther  
hanged on  
Spile end  
greene.

Lord keeper  
deceased.

As Elcolle  
ex epitaph di  
the pzenobils.

ing certeine representations of his wines and chil-  
dren in imagerie worke, is adozned with a notable  
epitaph, wherein is pithilie described the meanes  
whereby he grew to be noble, as also immortall. The  
same being contained in these verses following, and  
sufficient by the vertie epitaph, whereof this is a true  
transcription, & great pittie but it shuld be perpetuall.

*Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum  
Existima illum, tam diu Britannici  
Regni secundum columen; exitium malis,  
Bonis asylum; caca quem non extulit  
Ad hunc honorem fors; sed equitas, fides,  
Doctrina, pietas, unica & prudentia.  
Non morte raptum crede, qui unica  
Vita perennes emerit duas: agit  
Vitam secundam cælestes inter animus,  
Fama implet orbem, vita quæ illi tertia est:  
Hæc positum in ara est corpus olim animi domus,  
Ara dicata sempiterna memoria.]*

On the fourth  
for these  
verses.

On the moneth  
for these.

Great snow  
in the moneth  
of Aprill.

for Thomas  
Bromleie lord  
chancellor.

This yere in the moneth of Aprill, to wit on the  
fourth and twentieth daie, fell such a snow betwene the  
hours of foure of the clocke in the morning, & nine of  
the clocke before none of the same daie, that in Lon-  
don the same snow was found to lie one foot deepe.  
The 25 daie of Aprill, sir Thomas Bromleie knight  
was made lord chancellor of England.

### The chancellors of England, col- lected out of sundrie ancient histories.

The collec-  
tion of Fran-  
cis Thun.



The creation of this sir Thomas  
Bromleie lord chancellor, hath occasi-  
oned me to treat of the chancellors of  
England, a matter which I haue bene  
the willingest to set downe, because I would mini-  
ster cause to others (who haue long wanted of their  
cunning in this matter) to impart to the world some  
of their great knowledge herein, to the benefit of  
their countrie. But since I doubt that they will  
not accept this in good part till that come. And as I  
may, & perhaps doe (in this) somewhat more largelie  
(than in the iudgement of others shall seeme answe-  
rable to the most receiued opinion, touching the  
chancellors) treat of the antiquitie of them; so yet  
I haue no mind to erre, or to leade anie other into  
error. Wherefore, if things be not in perfection by  
on this first rough helwing (as nothing is at the first  
so exquisit, as time doth not after amend it) yet  
disdaine it not, sith this may giue more light than  
before was knowne. And I determine God wil-  
ling, either to amend, or to confesse and auoid in the  
large description of their lines, whatsoever imper-  
fections haue now distilled out of my pen, either for  
mistaking or misplacing of name, person, or time;  
and so to the matter.

It hath bene some question amongst the best an-  
tiquaries of our age, that there were neuer anie  
chancellors in England, before the comming of Ed-  
ward the confessor out of Normandie, whome they  
suppose to haue brought the same officer with him  
from thence into this realme. But sith I am with  
mante reasons and ancient authorities led to beleue  
the contrarie; I will embrace the contrarie opinion  
thereunto, and hold in this discourse (as the order  
thereof shall proue) that there were chancellors be-  
fore saint Edwards time; for the confirmation  
whereof and for the authoritie of them; for the ety-  
mologie and originall of the name, and for the conti-  
nuance of their office, thou shalt find an ample dis-  
course in my booke purposedlie written of the lines  
of the chancellors, wherunto I wholie refer thee: who  
I hope shall within these few yeares be partaker  
thereof, and in the meane time giue thee this tast of

the age and names of the chancellors, and vicechan-  
cellors, and such keepers of the great seale, as ser-  
ued in place of chancellors. For euerie one that was  
keeper of the great seale, was not intituled chan-  
celloz, no more than euerie chancellor was intitu-  
led the keeper of the great seale. But because the  
one did serue in the vacancie of the other (so that  
after a certeine sort, the keeper of the great seale  
was vicechancellor, and possessed the place, though  
not the name of a chancellor; as in our age, sir Phi-  
lipps Bacon did: we therefore haue set downe  
the names of the one and the other, as they followed  
in succession of time, after this manner.

Turketill chancellor to Ethelwald, who began  
his reigne about the yere of Christ 718, which Tur-  
ketill gaue sir manours to the abbete of Crowland,  
as I haue sene noted.

Saint Swithin bishop of Winchester was chan-  
celloz, and chiefe of counsell to the great monarch  
king Egbert, though some attribute him to E-  
gar, which Egbert began his reigne about the yere  
of Christ 802.

Willinus, chancellor to king Athelstan, who began  
his reigne in the yere of our redemption nine hun-  
dred and foure and twentie.

Adulphus, chancellor to king Edgar, who began  
his reigne in the yere that the world became fleshy,  
nine hundred fiftie and nine: of this man speaketh  
Hugo Petro Burgenfis; and Leland calleth this A-  
dulph *Cancellarium & archigrammatum*: chancellor or  
chiefe secretarie.

Alsius or Aelfius the second abbat of Elie, chan-  
celloz to king Ethelred, who began his reigne in the  
yere of Christ nine hundred seuentie and eight, this  
man, being by Ethelwold bishop of Winchester,  
consecrated abbat at the appointment of the said  
king Ethelred or Egfred, and being then abbat of  
Elie, when Ethelred gaue forth his commande-  
ment that the abbat of Elie should then, and for e-  
uer, be chancellor; I doubt not to place him here a-  
mongst the chancellors: the prouer of which matter I  
haue here verbatim set downe, out of the second  
booke of the historie of Elie. *Statuit* (which was  
Ethelred) *atque concessit quatenus ecclesiam de Eli, ex tunc  
& semper in regis curia cancellarij ageret dignitatem, quod  
etiam alijs sancti videlicet Augustini & Glefonia eccle-  
sijs constituit, ut abbates istorum canobiorum vicissim adsign-  
natis succedendo temporibus annum triuaria diuiderent,  
cum sanctuarijs & ceteris ornamentis ministrando: &c.*

Leofricus Bathonicus chancellor to Edward the  
confessor, in the yere of Christ one thousand fortie  
and siue, and some yeares before: this man was bi-  
shop of Eridington in Cornewall, which see was af-  
ter translated to Excester.

Willinus, or Willinus chancellor to Edward the  
confessor, in the latter end of the said yere of Christ  
one thousand fortie and siue, being the thirde yere of  
his reigne; this man cannot be he which some would  
haue to be Willinus the abbat of Westminster. For  
that Willinus died one and fortie yeares before  
this Willinus the chancellor; sith that Willinus  
was made abbat of Westminster, about the yere  
nine hundred fiftie and eight, and died in the yere  
one thousand and foure; being bishop of Shireburne.  
Yet I will not at this time iudiciallye resolute, al-  
though I suppose it true, whether this Willinus the  
chancellor, and Willinus the bishop of Lichfield,  
witness to a deed, wherein Edward the confessor  
granted certeine liberties to Leofwine, abbat of the  
abbete of Conentre, built by Leofrike erle of Here-  
cia, be all one man or no. Again, there is an other  
man which was abbat of saint Albons called Will-  
inus, which for affinitye to the name of this man I  
thought onelie to touch in this place.

Wesley

Saint Swi-  
thin.

Willinus.

Adulphus.

Hist. Elicen-  
lib. 2. scriptum  
in the time of  
St. Stephan.

Leofricus.

Willinus.

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Hesembaldus, or Hesembaldus, for I take them both by manie and ancient authorities to be all one man, was chancelloz to Edward the confessor, and seale bearer, witnesse amongst others, to manie deeds which I haue seene of the confessor; some dated in the yeare one thousand three score and six, and some otherwise. He was buried at. Cirencester, or Cicerster.

Hauricus. Hauricus chancelloz to William the Conqueror in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and seven, being the first and part of the second pere of William the Conqueror.

Osmondus. Osmondus, after bishop of Sarum, chancelloz to William the Conqueror, in the pere one thousand three score and seven, and after in the pere one thousand three score and fiftene, about the ninth yeare of the kings reigne.

Arfalus. Arfalus bishop of Helmane, who translated his see from Helmane to Evesford, was chancelloz to William the Conqueror, in the pere of Christ one thousand three score and eight, being in the second and third pere of the Conqueror, and also in the pere one thousand seuentie and seven, being about the tenth yeare of William Conqueror.

Hirmanus. Hirmanus that was first made bishop of Surin, or Wilton, and translated his see from Wilton to Shirburne, & from thence to Sarum; he is that Hirmanus which I suppose was chancelloz to William the Conqueror, and called Hirmanus, and that wrote the life and miracles of saint Edmund king of the Eastangles.

William Welfon. William Welfon borne of a noble house, chapleine and chancelloz to William the Conqueror (as hath Robertus Montensis) succeeded Arfalus in the bishopricke of Evesford, to whom by the gift of William Rufus succeeded in that see Herbertus Losinga abbat of Ramseye, which translated the bishops see to Norwich; of which Losinga were (as hath Matthew Westminster) these verses here set downe compiled:

*Surgit in ecclesiam monastrium genitore Losinga,  
Simonidum secta, canonum virtute refecta,  
Petre nimis tardas, nam Simon ad ardua tentat,  
Si presens eses, non Simon ad alta volaret,  
Proh dolor! ecclesie nummus venduntur & are,  
Filius est presul, pater abbas, Simon uterque.  
Quid non speremus, si nummos possideamus?  
Omnia nummus habet, quid vult facit, addit & aufert,  
Res nimis iniusta, nummus sit presul & abbas.*

William Gifford. William Gifford bishop of Winchester was chancelloz in the time of the Conqueror, and of William Rufus, & of Henrie, who made him bishop of Winchester in the yeare one thousand and one hundred, and was consecrated in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred and seven: though it seemeth that Robert Bluet came in place of this William Gifford, remoued about the fourth of the same Rufus from his office of chancellozship, as I suppose will be well proued, but after placed againe in that office. At the death of this William is much contrarietie, for Matthew Westminster placed it three severall pears, of Henrie the first, and againe in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred fortye and two, being the seuenth yeare of king Stephan.

Robert Bluet. Robert Bluet, or Bloet made chancelloz in the pere of Christ one thousand and ninetie, being the fourth yeare of William Rufus, he was made bishop of Lincolne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand ninetie and two: but as it appeareth to me by some authoritie that I haue seene, he did execute that office being bishop of Lincolne: he died at Wadsworth in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and three, being about the three and twentieth pere of the reigne of Henrie the first, whose

epitaph Henrie Huntington recited in this manner;

*Pontificum Robertus honor, quem fama superste,  
Perpetuare dabit, nec obiturnus obit:  
Hic humilis, diues (res mira) potens, pino vltor,  
Compatiens, mitis, quum pateretur erat,  
Noluit esse suis dominus, studuit pater esse,  
Semper in aduersis murus & arma sua:  
In decima Iani mendacis somnia mundi  
Liquit, & euigilans vera per hunc videri.*

Ranulphus in the time of William Rufus, which might be that man which was after chancelloz in the time of Henrie the first.

Walozicus chancelloz to Henrie the first, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and three, being the third yeare of his reigne.

Herbertus chancelloz in the fourth yeare of Henrie the first, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand one hundred and foure (as appeareth by an anonymous pamphlet in written hand) of whome I am not yet resolved whether this were Herbertus Losinga bishop of Norwich or no.

Roger bishop of Salisbury, whome Henrie the first called a met chapleine to serue soules, was chancelloz to king Henrie the first, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred and one, being the first pere of king Henrie the first, and in the pere one thousand one hundred and seven, about the seuenth yeare of the said Henrie the first, being chosen bishop in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred and two, and consecrated in the yeare one thousand one hundred and seven.

Calfridus Rufus bishop of Durham, witnesse to a deed wherein Henrie the first confirmed to the priorie of Christ church a peece of ground without Aldgate called Knighton guild, in the presence of Gessrie chancelloz, Gessrie Clinton, and William Clinton: he was also chancelloz in the two and twentieth pere of Henrie the first, and so untill the three and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the first, and then was made bishop of Durham, which Gessrie died about the pere of our redemption one thousand one hundred fortye and one.

Ranulphus, called by Matthew Westminster Ranulphus, chancelloz to Henrie the first, and Richard the chapleine, keeper of the great seale, being at one time. This Ranulph was chancelloz in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred and sixtene, being the sixteenth of king Henrie the first, in which office I suppose that he continued, untill the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and three, being the three and twentieth of the said Henrie, in which yeare this chancelloz (for so is he then called) fell from his horse and brake his necke on a hill not far from Dunstable, where the king kept his Christmasse.

Reginald chancelloz to king Henrie the first, as Leland hath set him downe, writing in this sort in his notes of Pontacute abbey: Reginald cancellarius, so named (belike) of his office, he was a man of great fame about king Henrie the first: he fell to religion, and was prior of Pontacute, and enlarged it with great buildings and possessions, &c.

Roger bishop of Salisbury againe chancelloz in the latter end of the reigne of king Henrie the first, and in the beginning of king Stephan, in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and six, which Henrie the first died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred thirtie and five, being the five and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the said Henrie. This Roger died in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred thirtie and nine, being about the fourth yeare of king Stephan.

Godfrey chancelloz to Henrie the first (as I gather out of Matthew Parker in the life of William Godfrey) the six and thirtieth archbishop of Canturbury

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suo.

Robert

Reginald

Reginald



to which dignitie this William was  
in the thre and twentieth yeare of Henrie  
the second, being the yeare of Christ 1123, of which God-  
frede the said Matthew further writeth in this sort,  
speaking of the said William the archbishop retur-  
ned from Rome with the pall: *Deinde Alexandrum  
Lincolniensem episcopum Cantuariæ, Godefredum regni can-  
cellarium Bathoniensem episcopum Londini consecrauit.* Con-  
cerning which Godfrede we will speake more here-  
after in the liues of the chancellors, onelie at this  
time setting downe that this Godefredus was the  
quenes chapleine, and could not be that Galfredus  
before named, which was bishop of Durham; for this  
Godefredus died six yeares before that Galfredus,  
for this bishop of Bath died in the yeare of our Lord  
1135, being the last of king Henrie Beauchelke,  
and the first of king Stephan; that bishop of Dur-  
ham died in the yeare of our Lord 1141, being a-  
bout the first yeare of the said king Stephan; and this  
Godfrede was the second bishop of Bath and Wells  
after the uniting of those two cities to one bishop-  
rike by John de Loores, the first bishop of those two  
places in the yeare of our Lord 1092, being about  
the first yeare of William Rufus.

Alexander bishop of Lincolne (as may be after a  
sort gathered out of Wilhelmus Paruus lib. 1. cap. 6.)  
being cousin or nephue to Roger bishop of Salis-  
burie was chancello: the words of which W. Paruus  
be these: *Eidem (that was to king Stephan) quoque  
sublimato in regem, se (that was Roger bishop of Sa-  
lisburie) talem exhibuit, ut obsequiorum gratia præclarum  
apud illum habere fiduciam videretur. Tanti ille beneficii in-  
gratus, et in ipsam episcopum (cuius opera nunquam episco-  
palia fuere) ultor diuinitus ordinatus, eundem tanquam ex-  
igui hominem momenti primo carcerati custodia, postmodum  
etiam cibi inopia, et nepoti eius (qui cancellarius fuerat regis)  
intentato supplicio ita coarctauit, ut duo illa præclara castella  
(which were the castles of Wille otherwile called de  
Deuilles, and the castell of Shirburne) in quibus thesauri  
eius erant repositi resignaret. Eius much Wilhelmus  
Newburgenfis, the truth whereof I leaue to other to  
consider, with the words of those authors may be di-  
uersely expounded, either that this Alexander was  
chancello: or his sonne, or else the sonne of Roger bi-  
shop of Salisbury. But be it any or none of them, as  
the truth shall hereafter be made plaine, yet because  
I haue mentioned Alexander in this place, I thinke  
it not amisse to set downe such verses as Henrie  
Huntington hath recited of this Alexander, which are:*

*Splendor Alexandri non tam renitefcit honore,  
Quam per eum renitefcit honor, flos namque virorum,  
Dando tenere putans thesauros cogit honorem,  
Et gratis dare festinans ne danda rogentur,  
Quod non dum dederit non dum se credit habere  
Ob deum! oh morum directio! quo veniente,  
Certa fides hilaris clementia, cauta potestas,  
Lenè iugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,  
Libertasque decens, venere pudorque facetus.  
Lincolnia gens magna prius, nec maxima semper,  
Talis et iste diu sit nobis tutor honoris.*

Robert chancello: of England in the time of  
king Stephan, but I find not in what yeare, because  
the charter is without date, neither can I learne  
what he was, because I know not his surname.

Philip chancello: to king Stephan, about the  
fourth yeare of his reigne, being about the yeare of  
our Lord 1139, witnesseth to manie deedes which  
king Stephan made to the monks of Ely, and to  
Algellus the bishop of that see.

Reinold abbat of Walden, whome I haue scene  
in one anonimall brieue written chronicle to be ter-  
mer chancello: but in what time he liued, or what o-  
ther name he had I do not yet know, but by the  
course of the bishopric much about this time.

John chancello: of England in the time of king John.  
Henrie the second, but what he was or in what yeare  
of king Henrie he liued I do not know, and there-  
fore leaue it to him that both can and ought to giue  
life to these persons whom he impudently in the east  
castell of London; not doubting but in time he will  
do his countrie good, and correct other men; though  
now he be so strictly laced, as that he will not procure  
anie furtherance of other mens traucils.

Thomas Becket made chancello: (as some write)  
in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the se-  
cond, others saie in the fourth yeare: but the best au-  
thors agree that he gaue ouer the seale in the yeare  
of Christ 1162, being the eight yeare of the victorious  
prince the said Henrie the second against the will of  
the prince, he died in the yeare of our redemption  
1170, as these verses do proue, being such as the  
curiositie of that superstitious age would permit:

*Pro Christo, sponsa Christi, sub tempore Christi,*

*\* In templo Christi, verus amator obit,*

*Anno mileno, centeno, septuageno,*

*Anglorum primas corruit ense Thomas.*

*Quis moritur? præsul: cur? pro grege? qualiter? ense?*

*Quando? natali: quis locus? ara Dei.*

Rafe Warneville archdeacon of Here and trea-  
surer of the church of Poike, was made chancello: a-  
bout the yeare that the world became flesh 1173, be-  
ing about the eighteenth yeare of king Henrie the  
second: of this man speaketh Matthew Paris and  
Mathew Westminster.

Walterus de Constantijs archdeacon of Oxford  
after bishop of Lincolne, in the yeare of our redem-  
tion 1182, from whence he was advanced in the  
yeare 1184, being the one and thirtieth yeare of king  
Henrie the second unto the archbishopricke of Here,  
of this man is more spoken in my discourse of the  
protectors of England pag. 1069.

Geffreie the bassard sonne to king Henrie the se-  
cond, after that he had surrendered the bishopricke of  
Lincolne, whereof he was neuer consecrat bishop,  
but kept the place and receiued the reuenues, was  
made chancello: much about the first and twentieth  
yeare of king Henrie the second, being the yeare  
of Christ 1180: yet be there some that saie he relin-  
quished the bishopricke in the seven and twentieth yeare  
of king Henrie the second, in the yeare of Christ  
1181. The difference whereof groweth (as I suppose)  
for that some accompt the beginning of the yeare of  
our Lord from the first of Januarie, as all other na-  
tions of Europe do; some from the birth of Christ,  
as we in England did long time since the conquest;  
and some from the five and twentieth of March, on  
which it is supposed that the world began first to be  
created: which last accompt we in England (and the  
Scots as hath Lesleus) do keepe, together with them  
of Genoa or Gene in Italie, contrarie to the order  
of all other nations. The beginning of which maner of  
accompt amongst vs I cannot as yet certeinly  
learne: but I suppose it began much about the time  
of king Edward the third, for all the former histo-  
riographers begin the yeare from the birth of Christ.

William Longchampe the proud bishop of Ely, william  
legat of England for the bishop of Rome, chiefe in-  
flicke of the south and west parts of England, and de-  
putie of that part of the realme, when Richard the  
first went to the warres of the holie land, was made  
chancello: in the said first of king Richard, being the  
yeare of our redemption 1189: of the sumptuous  
feast of whose institution thus writeth Ferthul-  
phus (or Ferthulphus) by the waie of comparison:

*Præfuit alijs, Elyensia festa videre,*

*Est quasi præfuit nocte videre diem.*

He died in the yeare of Christ 1197, going to Rome,  
in the abbete of Winc, being of the charterhouse or  
det.

Thomas  
Becket.

\* Christes  
church in  
Cantuarie.

Rafe warne-  
ville.

Walterus de  
Constantijs.

Geffreie.

William  
Longchampe.

Eustachius.

der. About which time in the first yeare of Richard the first, there was a vicechancellor called *Malm Catulus*.

Eustachius deane of Salisburie, was chancellor of England, being elected bishop of Elie the third dayes of August, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1196, being the ninth yeare of king Richard the first, of whome thus writeth Matthew Parker, in the life of Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, contrary to that which others ascribe, writing that Eustachius succeeded William Longchampe in the office of chancellor, and in the bishopricke of Elie. The words of Matthew Parker in the life of Hubert be these: *Hubertus deposito magistratu civili, ecclesia cura totus vacabat, consecrantique postea Robertum de Salopesbri episcopum Banchorensem, & Eustachium qui in cancellarij munere ei successit Eliensem episcopum, Westmonasterij debita accepta ab utroque subiectionis professione.*

Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert.

Hubert Walter or Walter Hubert, for such a transmutation of the name is used by authors, being first bishop of Salisburie and then archbishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor shortly after the coronation of king John, which was in the yeare that the virgin brought forth Christ 1199, at what time a certaine noble man said unto him in scoone, I haue often seene of a chancellor made a bishop, but I neuer before saw an archbishop made a chancellor.

Simon.

Simon or rather Hugh, of which is more hereafter, archdeacon of Welles in the first yeare of king John (after as I suppose that Hubert had left the office being so disgraced & abased as he thought) was witness to a deed, in which king John granted to the citizens of Yorke a guildhall, banke, and other liberties, as I haue seene noted in the copie of the same charter, for which cause I haue here set it downe as an other man, although in truth I am fullie resolved that this Simon and the Hugh following were all one person, leauing it yet for euerie mans iudgement.

Hugh de Welles.

Hugh de Welles archdeacon of Welles, witness to the deed in which king John, in the first yeare of his reigne, confirmed to the monasterie of Wells minister. Gislep or Gilep in Orfordshire, in which house Edward the confessor was borne, he was made bishop of Lincoln about the tenth yeare of king Johns reigne, in the yeare of our Lord 1209, and died in the yeare of our Lord 1235.

Walter Bate.

Walter Bate chosen bishop of Exeter, in the yeare of our Lord 1210, was bishop of Worcester and after bishop of Yorke, a man of extreme age, was made chancellor in the seuenth yeare of king John as one anonymall chronicle saith, to hold that office during his life. Others saie that he was made chancellor in the yeare of Christ 1209, being the tenth yeare of king John after Hugh de Welles. But I suppose he surrendered that patent to hold it during his life, when he came to be bishop of Yorke. Of this man is more spoken in my treatise of the protectors of England pag. 1069.

Richard de Sparischo.

Richard de Sparischo, whom Matthew Paris termeth *Tholenarius*, as it were tolgatherer or treasurer if you list, being archdeacon of Northumberland, was chancellor in the fourth yeare of king John, as appeareth by a deed that I haue seene: and further he was made chancellor in the 15 yeare of king John, in which office he continued to the 17 yeare of the said king, and as some doe write during king Johns life, and died about the calendes of Maie in the yeare of our redemption 1226, in the tenth yeare of the long reigne of king Henrie the third, as some haue. But the booke of Durham saith, that he was made bishop of that see by Gwado the legat, and consecrated by Walter Bate bishop of Yorke, in the yeare of our redemption 1214, being about the sixteenth

yeare of king John, and died suddenly at Peterborough the first daie of Maie, in the yeare of Christ 1226, being the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after that he had bene bishop of Durham nine yeares, of whom a monke of Durham made this epitaph in formall verse as you see following:

*Culmina qui cupi  
Est sedata si  
Qui populos regi  
Quod mors immi  
Vobis preposi  
Quod sum vos erit*

*Laudes pompasque sui  
Sine pensare veli  
memores super omnia si  
non parit honore poti  
similis fueram bene sci  
Quid me currendo veni*

And here sith I am entered into the surname of Sparischo, I will set downe what I found ingrauen on the wall of the doore of the chapter house of the monasterie of Bath (almost defaced with the weather) written in Greke Saxon characters. *Hic iacet Alexander de Alueto, & Ernberga uxor eius, & Fulco de Alueto filius eorum: & Lucia de Mariscis filia eius, & Iordanus de Mariscis filius eiusdem Lucie, & Wilhelmus de Mariscis filius eiusdem Iordani.* Which name of the Sparishes, Sparishes, or Sparies, if it like them to expound it, as I doubt not but manie will quiddle thereupon, was as great a name in Ireland as it was in England.

Rafe Penill was confirmed (as it seemeth) chancellor by the whole consent of the nobilitie, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1226, being about the tenth yeare of king Henrie the third, after which he was made bishop of Chichester in the eleuenth yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption 1227, as hath Matthew Westm. he was made bishop of Chichester in the yeare of Christ 1223, being before chancellor. After which the king in the two and twentieth yeare of his reigne, offended with Penill, took from him the great seale, & deliuered it to Gesteie of the temple, as hath Matthew Paris, and to John de Lerington: although that the said Penill remained still chancellor, and receiued the profits thereof, to whom the king would after haue regien the seale in the yeare of Christ 1239, being the thre and twentieth yeare of the said king Henrie, but Penill would not receiue it. This man died in the yeare of Christ 1243, being the seuen and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, at his palace at London not far from the new temple.

Gesteie the Templer & John de Lerington were made keepers of the great seale. But shortly after this Gesteie had the seale taken from him, because he grew in dislike of the nobilitie in continuall prouoking them to anger.

Hugh Batehall canon of Paules is by Matthew Paris fol. 656, called chancellor in the thre and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, which I much doubt to be true. Of this man shall be more said in the treasures of England.

Simon the Poorman keeper of the great seale in the thre & twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1229: he had the seale shortly after taken from him, and was banished the court, because he would not seale the patent, whereby Thomas earle of Flanders might take four pence for custome of euery sacke of wool that came out of England into Flanders. This Simon died in the yeare of Christ 1249, being the thre and thirtieth of king Henrie the third.

Richard Grosse or Grossus abbat of Cusham (the said Simon expelled) had the keeping of the great seale in the thre and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, he kept the seale thre yeares, and being chosen bishop of Exeter, he resigned the same in the yeare of Christ 1242, being the six & twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third: he died (being wise & learned in the canon and ciuill law) in the same yeare

John de Lerington.

Ranalle Lerington.

Rafe Penill bishop of Chichester.

Sparischo or Sparischo.

John Sparischo.

Gesteie the Templer.

Hugh Batehall canon of Paules.

John de Lerington.

John Sparischo.

peare in Calcoine, in a citie called in Latine *Riola* or *Regula*, where he was buried.

John de Lerinton was againe made keeper of the seale in the fir and twentieth yere of king Henrie the third, being the yere of our redemption 1242, to execute that office, Wase Jewell being in life and still chancelloz, but in the kings disgrace, shortly after which this Jewell died. This John Lerinton died 1257, being the 41 yere of Henrie the third.

Ranulfe Biston (as I read) is said to be chancelloz and tresuroz of the chamber, about the seven and twentieth yere of Henrie the third, being the yere of our Lord 1242. I suppose that he onellie had the keeping of the great seale as the rest had before him, during the life of Wase Jewell, and so I leave him to the iudgement of others, fith Mathew Paris continuallie nameth him tresuroz and once chancelloz, who suddenlie died after dinner beholding plaiers at dise, in the yere of Christ 1246, being the thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the third: of whom thus writeth the said Mathew Paris in his greater historie fol. 954. *Ranulphus Brito quondam domino familiarissimus regi & regina (multis posthabitis nobilibus) & eiusdem cancellarius specialis, quum post mensalem refectiorem aleatores certatim insperisisset colludentes, lateralis apoplexie inexpectato vulnere corruit suffragatus.*

Spluester de Cuerden receiued the great seale the nine and twentieth yere of Henrie the third, being the yere that the son of God became flesh one thousand two hundred fortye and six: he was vice-chancelloz & consecrated bishop of Carleill (being a man most cunning in the custome of the chancerte) in the yere of Christ 1247, being the one and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third.

John Spanfell tresuroz of Poike, parson of Wadstone in Kent, and parson of Wigan, chancelloz of Pauls, master or ruler of Beuerlete, chiefe iustice of England, one of the priue counsell to Henrie the third, his chapleine, ambassadoz into Spaine, and a worthy soldier, crossed to go to Jerusalem, who at one feast had two kings, two quenees, and I know not how many noble men, and whose spirituall livings were about foure thousand marks of yerelie revenues (as I haue gathered) he was at the will and instance of the king made keeper of the great seale as vicechancelloz (for Mathew Paris saith, *Custodiam sigilli regij accepit cancellarij vices acturus & officium*) about the one & thirtieth of king Henrie the third, in the yere that God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1247, he built a house of regular canons at Rommele two miles from the sea. To this man king Henrie the third, in the thirtieth yere of his reigne, did grant that his towne of Wigan should be a burrow.

John de Lerinton, being after chiefe iustice of the foress from the river of Trent southward, was againe keeper of the great seale, untill some part of the two and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third, in the yere of Christ 1248.

John Spanfell againe keeper of the great seale, who at Widdstocke in the two and thirtieth yere of king Henrie the third, did receiue the great seale of the said John Lerinton, which he kept (as I suppose and that with some good profe) untill the three & thirtieth yere of the said king, being the yere of our redemption 1248. Of which John Spanfell thus writeth an old anonymall chronicle concerning the barons warres: *Sed & Iohannes Mansell multarum in Anglia ecclesiarum rector seu potius incubator, reddituum quoque quorum non erat numerus possessor magnificus, ita quod ditior eo clericus non videbatur in orbe episcopali, puta dignitate minime insignitus, metus baronum aufugit & latenter ultra mari de turri London, in qua rex Anglia & regina sua tunc temporis tenebantur se. Quem quum Henricus filius regis Ale-*

*mania fugientem insequeretur, & ipse capitur quum applicasset Bononia a magistro Gerando de Fenes procuratore deputabatur regine, &c.*

Ranulphus de Diceto was chancelloz (as I read & suppose) much about this time: but for certaintie I refer the same to the large booke of their liues, where he shall not faile to haue his right time and place.

William of Bilkennie, being a modest, wise, William of Bilkennie. and faithfull man, learned in the canon and ciuill lawes, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred and fiftie, being the foure & thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He was elected to the bishoprike of Elie, as saith the historie of Elie, the eighteenth kalends of September, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie & foue, being about the nine and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third. But others saie that he being then vicechancelloz, was elected bishop of Elie in the yere of our Lord one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third, after that he had faithfullie and to his great commendation vsed and bozne the great seale, he was consecrated to that bishoprike in the yere of Christ 1255, and died in the yere 1256 being about the one and fortieth yere of king Henrie the third, whose heart was buried at Elie.

Henrie de Wingham was made chancelloz in the nine and thirtieth yere of Henrie the third, and continued in the one and fortieth and two and fortieth yere of Henrie the third, in which yere (as some haue) and in the 43 of Henrie the third (as others haue.) He was chosen bishop of Winchester, vpon condition that he should giue place to Athelmer halfe brother to king Henrie the third, & son to Hugh Bzune earle of March, and of Cleano: king Henrie the thirds mother, being banished by the barons, if that he should againe returne into England, and then leaue the bishoprike of Winchester vnto him, which he did vpon the coming againe of the said Athelmer into England, and for that cause was after chosen bishop of London, being chosen thereto in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred fiftie and nine, being the three and thirtieth yere of king Henrie the third, and still chancelloz, and is buried in Pauls on the south side of the quier (next to Cuthbertus bishop of London) in a monument of marble, with this inscription on the wall to tell who it was: *Hic iacet Henricus de Wingham quondam episcopus huius ecclesie, qui multa bona contulit ministris ecclesie sancti Pauli.*

Walter Mertton chancelloz in the foure and fortieth yere of king Henrie the third, being the yere 1260.

Nicholas of Elie made chancelloz by the barons, in the said yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred and fiftie, and Walter Mertton displaced. But king Henrie the third, disdainning to haue officers appointed him by his subiecs, did in the month of Daober following, in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred and fiftie, or rather one thousand two hundred fiftie and one, depzie the said Nicholas, and replaced the said Walter Mertton.

Walter Mertton bishop of Rochester the second time made chancelloz as before appeareth.

John de Chesill archdeacon of London and tresuroz of England, was made keeper of the great seale, in the yere of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie and foure, being the eight and fortieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the third. This man was consecrated bishop of London in the yere of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, the third kalends of Maie, as hath Mathew Westminster: he died in the yere that the twod of the fasther became flesh one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, the fourth ides of February, in the seuenth yere of the scourge of the Scots and Welshmen.

Th h h h h h. Thomas

John de  
Lerinton.

Ranulfe  
Biston.

Wase Jewell  
shop of Chy  
jester.

Spluester de  
Cuerden.

John Span-  
fell.

Geffrey the  
Templer.

Hugh Pates  
hall chanon  
of Pauls.

John de  
Lerinton.

Simon the  
Norman.

John Span-  
fell.

Richard  
Gracie abbot  
of Westminster.

Walter Mer-  
ton the se-  
cond time.  
John de  
Chesill.

Thomas de Cantelupe, borne of the noble house of the lordes Cantelupes (the son of William Cantelupe and Gillescent, who, as saith Leland dyed hit originall from the counteies of Powke) being archdeacon of Stafford, was doctor and after bishop of Hereford in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and six, and before that made chancelor, after the feast of saint Peters chaire, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie & five, being the nine and fozth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third. He died beyond the seas coming from the court of Rome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, being the first yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, or more trulie (as others haue) in the yeare one thousand two hundred eightie & thre, being the eleuenth yeare of king Edward the first, whose bones were brought to Hereford.

Walter Gifford  
1020 bishop  
of Bath.

Walter Gifford bishop of Bath and Welles, whose manie do call William, did inspy the state of the chancelor, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred sixtie & six, being the fiftith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the third: he was translated from Bath to Powke, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred sixtie and nine, being the nine and fozth yeare of the same Henrie the third, and died the seuenth kalends of Aprile in the twelwe yeare of his bishopricke, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie & seuen, being the first yeare of king Edward the first, or (as hath Nicholas Triuet) in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and nine, being the seuenth yeare of king Edward the first.

Geffreie  
Gifford.

Geffreie Gifford was chancelor also in the one and sixtith yeare of king Henrie the third, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and seuen. This man was bishop of Worcester about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine, where he sat foure and thirtie yeares, foure moneths, and foure daies, and died in the yeare one thousand thre hundred and foure, being about the two and thirtith yeare of king Edward the first.

John de  
Cheffill.

John de Cheffill was the second time honoured with the place of the chancelor, in the yeare that the word became flesh one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, being the thre and sixtith yeare in which king Henrie the third of that name did hold the scepter of England.

Richard de  
Middleton.

Richard de Middleton, so surnamed of the place where he was borne, was advanced to the office of the chancelorship, in the said thre and sixtith yeare of king Henrie the third, in the moneth of Julie, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred sixtie and eight, and was also (as appeareth by a charter which I haue seene) witness to the same deed, in the foure and sixtith yeare of the said king Henrie, who (as farre as I can gather) died in August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and one, being the six and sixtith yeare of the long government of king Henrie the third. There was a writer of England that wrote many volums of this name living at this time, whom I doubt not for a thing that I can yet learne to be the same man which was chancelor.

John de  
Kirbie.

John de Kirbie, after the death of Richard Middleton, was made keeper of the great seale in the said six and sixtith yeare of king Henrie the third. Whether this were the same John Kirbie, which after was bishop of Ely, and treasurer of England, I haue not as yet to determine, although I rather hold the affirmative than the contrarie.

Walter Hert  
ton.

Walter Hertton the third time made chancelor of England, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand

two hundred seuentie and thre, being the first yeare of the reigne of that famous prince king Edward the first of that name: he was bishop of Rochester, and built Hertton college in Oxford, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, being the sixt yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first.

Robert Burnell the eleuenth bishop of Bath and Wells (after the uniting of those two sees in one by

William  
hameto

John de Tournes in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and two) was made bishop of Bath in the yeare of our Lord (as saith Euerden) one thousand two hundred seuentie & foure, and chosen archbishop of Canturburie in the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie and eight, but relected by the pope: he was chancelor in the second yeare of the said Edward the first, in which place it seemeth that he long continued: of whom thus writeth an anonymall Chronicle; *Dominus Edmundus comes Cornubie fundavit novum studium ordinis Cisterciensis apud Oxonias, et monachos de Thame primo ibidem introduxit, et dedit eis prima donatione manerium de Erdington, et fecit dedicare locum abbatia terti idus Decembris: per dominum Robertum Burnell episcopum Bathon et Welles, cancellarium regis, et posuit fundamentum novae ecclesiae eodem die Northosneia.* This bishop was required with the son of Edward the first, and Gilbert de Clare earle of Gloucester, in the time of Edward the first, to be deliuered for pledges for Lleweline prince of Wales for his safe returne, if he came to the parlement, whereunto he was summoned by the said king Edward. In the time of this chancelor the court of chancerie was kept at Wyke. This man died in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and thre, being the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first.

Walter M  
doke.

John de Langhton made chancelor of England in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and thre, being the one and twentieth yeare of the scourger of the Scots, king Edward the first, in which office he remained untill the thirtith of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand thre hundred and two. He was made bishop of Chichester about the six and twentieth or rather the seauen and twentieth yeare of king Edward the first, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and eight, or rather one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine: and in the said yeare one thousand two hundred ninetie and nine he was before chosen bishop of Ely, but relected by the pope, who made him archdeacon of Canturburie: from which Langhton this Edward did take the great seale in the thirtith yeare before said, and deliuered it to John Dokenford.

John de  
Langhton.

John  
Lang

Matthew  
Parker.

John Dokenford keeper of the wardrobe was made keeper of the great seale in the thirtith yeare, as before, in which office he continued from about the sixteenth daie of August untill Michaelmas.

John Doken  
ford.

William de Greinfield, deane of Chichester, and canon of Powke, was advanced to the place of the chancelor, in the yeare that God became man one thousand thre hundred and two, being about the thirtith yeare of the said king Edward the first, which office was given unto him at saint Radigunds (as saith Anonymus M.S.) He was after chosen bishop of Powke, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand thre hundred and thre: who in the yeare of our Lord one thousand thre hundred and eight buried the body of the said king Edward the first at Westminster, though that king died in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand thre hundred and seauen. This bishop died about the yeare of our saluation one thousand thre hundred and fiftene (being about the first yeare of king Edward the second) at Calwood, after that

William de  
Greinfield.

Walter  
not.

that he had bene bishop nine yeares, eleven months, and two daies, and was buried in saint Rich-  
las porch of Dorke, receiuing his consecration at  
Rome in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hun-  
dred and five (after that he had bene there two  
yeares) of pope Clement. This Greinfield was a  
man verie eloquent and pithie in counsell.

William de Hamelton, deane of Poike, was created chancello: of England, in the yeare that the virgine brought forth the sonne of God one thousand three hundred and five, being the thre and thirtieth yeare of that noble prince king Edward the first. This William surrendered his bo:rowed life in the yeare of our Lo:rd one thousand three hundred and seven, being about the five and thirtieth yeare of the said king, at the abbey of Fontnesse in Poikshire, being a man that well deserved of the commonwealth.

Kalfe de Baldoche chosen bishop of London, in the yere of Christ one thousand thre hundred and thre, was confirmed at Titenhall by Robert of Winchelsea bishop of Canturburie, and consecrated at Lions by Peter of Spaine bishop of Alba, the third calends of Februarie, in the yere of our redemption one thousand thre hundred and five. He was made lord chancellor of England, after the death of the said William Hamelton in the said five & thirtieth yere of king Edward the first, and receiued the great seale in the Rogation weeke following, being some foure or five weekes after that he was advanced to that office at the archebise. Shortly after which died king Edward the first; for which cause the said Baldoche sent the great seale to king Edward the second then at Carleill, by reason of his fathers death. This Kalfe Baldoche died on saint James euen in the yere of our redemption one thousand thre hundred and thirtene, being the seuenth yere of the reigne of king Edward the second.

John Langhton bishop of Chichester againe made  
lord chancellor of England, in the yeare that the  
word of the father toke on him the forme of a ser-  
uant one thousand three hundred and seauen, being  
the first yeare of king Edward of Carnaruan, in  
which office it seemeth that he continued, untill the  
yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and  
ten, being the third yeare of the reigne of the after  
deposed king Edward the second.

William Spelton, hauing two others ioined with him, had the great seale deliuered onto them for a certeine time, to execute all such things as were to be done therewith during the kings pleasure. This man was a canon of Pozke, pposset of Beuerleie, treasurer of England, and archbishop of Pozke, as saith Anonymus M. S. He was consecrated bishop of Pozke at Rome, where he tarried two yeares for the same: he was a man neuer wearied with travel. He first of all the bishops of Pozke (after a long controversie betwene the deane and canons of Pozke) visited the chapter by due order: he was wise, rich, severe in correction, gentle, familiar, and humble: he finished the west part of the church of saint Peters in Pozke with three hundred pounds, he was archbishop of Pozke two and twentie yeares, five or six moneths, and two daies: he died at Calwood on saint Georges euen, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and thirtie, and was buried in the church of Pozke nere to the font.

Walter Beaulieu bishop of Worcester, treasurer of England and archbishop of Cantuarburie, was made keeper of the great seale, and chancellor of England on the first of Julie one thousand three hundred and ten, in the said yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred and ten, being the said thirde yeare of that king Edward, whome his sonne Ed-

ward the third deposed from his kingdome. Of this man & all other chancellors, which were archbishops of Cantuarbie, shall be somewhat more said at another time, in the order and placing of the bishops of that see, which caution I haue here set downe, because I would once for all make repetition thereof in one place, and not seuerallie in manie places, vnder the severall names of euerie chancellor: that was inserted with that metropolitane honor of Cantuarbie.

John de Sandall clerke, bishop of Winchester, & treasurer, was at Po: he made chancello: of Eng: land, in the yere that the virgin Marie was deliue: red of the first begotten son one thousand thre hund: red and fourtene, being the eight yere of king Edward the second, in which place he continued two yea:es and more; some part thereof being after that he was bishop of Winchester (as I gather) and then deliue:red backe the seale at Westmynster, in the yere of our redemption one thousand thre hund: red and seuentene, being the eleuenth yere of the said king Edward the second. Of this man is more spo: ken in the treasurors of England.

John Beham biſhop of Elie was created lord Chancellor of England in the yere of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and ſeuentieſe, being the cleauenty yere of king Edward the ſecond, in which office he continued untill the yere of our Lord God 1319, being the thirtieth yere of the laſt before named king Edward. During whose government of the ſie of Elie, in the yere one thouſand three hundred fortye and one, the ſteeple of the chaire fell downe, which made ſuch terrible noiſe and ſhaking of the ground that it was ſuppoſed to haue bene an earthquake. He died of the paſſie in the yere of our redemption one thouſand three hundred thirtieth and ſix, being the tenth yere of that king Edward the third that firſt wrote himſelfe king of both realmes, England and France.

John Salmon bishop of Norwich was aduanc-  
ed to be chancelor, in the yeare that God took on  
him the forme of a seruant, one thousand three hun-  
dred and nineteene, being the thirtieth yeare of  
that king Edward the second, against whome the  
nobles rebelled for the misdeemeanor of Piers de  
Gauessone (the Galcoine) earle of Cornewall. In  
this yeare one thousand three hundred and nineteene  
as faith one anonymall chronicle (M.S.) was Wil-  
liam Airenme keeper of the seale vicechancelor ta-  
ken prisoner by the Scots. The wordes of the which  
author for the more certentie thereof we haue here  
set downe, in the yeare of Lord one thousand three  
hundred and nineteene. *Episcopus Eborum, episcopus Eliæ  
thesaurarius, abbas beata Maria Eborum, abbas de Selbie, de-  
canus Eborum dominus Willielmus Armenne vicecancellar-  
ius Angliæ, ac dominus Iohannes Dabehum cum 8000  
ferme hominum, tam equorum quam peditum & ciuium pro-  
perauerunt \* ciuitatem egredientes, quoddam flumen \* Sivalæ  
nuncupatum sparsis cuneis transcurrentes, & indispõsitis seu po-  
tius confusis ordinibus cum aduersarijs congressi sunt. Scotti si-  
quidem in Marte ignari amplitudinem eorum exercitus caute  
regentes, in nostros agminibus strictis audacter irruerunt, no-  
strorum denique in breui laceratis cuneis atque dissipatis. Cor-  
ruerunt ex nostris tam in ore gladij quam aquarum scopulis  
suffocati, plusquam 4000, & capti sunt domini Iohannes  
de Pabehum miles & dominus Willielmus de Armenne ut  
prefatur de cancellaria, &c. Which William Aire-  
menne was also in the fiftieth of the said king Ed-  
ward the second, one of the keepers of the great  
seale, as I haue sene registred.*

Robert Baldocke archdeacon of Middlesex, a man  
euillie beloned, and whom the old English chronicle  
called a false peld priest, was made chancelor of  
England in the seauentieth yeare of the reigne  
of king Edward the second, at the castell of Puke-  
ring

Robert W  
docke.

W h h h h h, ring

John De  
Handall.

John H. H. H.

John Bale  
mon bishop of  
Norwich,

\* Dr. Pabraham  
 \* York.  
 \* Twelve  
 miles from  
 York.

MAN Robert Wals  
icle DOCK,



Histor. episc.  
Norwich.

William Tice-  
remee keeper  
of the seale.

John Hoth-  
ham bishop  
of Elie.

Henric Cliffe  
master of the  
rolles.

Henric  
Burghwath  
bishop of  
Lincolne.

John Strat-  
ford.

ring in Dorsetshire, he was after made bishop of Norwich, and did his fealtie for restitution of his temporalities in the nineteenth yeare of the said king Edward the second at Woodstocke in Dorsetshire, he was apprehended in the 20 yeare of Edward the second, being the yere of our Lord 1326, (as others haue) one thousand three hundred & five and twentie, & first committed to the custodie of Adam Warleton or de Wileton bishop of Hereford, & after was put in the prison of the Newgate in London, in which twentieth yeare of the said Edward the second the great seale was againe deliuered to William Aresme, who I suppose was then also made bishop of Norwich, and this Baldocke deposed from that see, of which Baldocke thus writeth a Polychronicon of Durham: *Robertus de Baldocke cancellarius An. 1 3 2 5 captus cum Hugonibus de despensers, quia clericum fuit & sacerdos in noua porta Londinorum, ponit fecit Edwardus princeps & Isabella mater eius, ubi pro nimia miseria mortuus fuit infra breue.*

John Hotham bishop of Elie the second time was at Westminster made chancellor of England, in the yeare that the word became flesh 1326, being the first yeare of the reigne of that king which first intituled himselfe king of England and France: but he continued not long in the same office, for he was remoued in the second yeare of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption, one thousand three hundred twentie and eight. He was elected bishop in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred and thirtene, in which place he ruled twentie yeares, and died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred and six and thirtie of the passeie at Summerham, being buried in the church of Elie vnder a goodlie monument of stone, with the image of a bishop carued out of alabaster vpon his tombe.

Henric Cliffe master of the rolles had the charge and keeping of the great seale of England, in the said yeare of Christ 1328, being the second yeare of king Edward the third, and was the kings chancellor also.

Henric de Burgh, Burghwath, or Burgesse, nephew vnto sir Bartholomew Bladsmere baron of Leeds in Kent, hauing bene treasurer of England, intioied the honoz of the chancellor in the second yere of king Edward the third, being the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a seruant 1328, and was made chancellor at Northampton, which office he did not long intioie. Here because I haue a little mentioned sir Bartholomew Bladsmere, I will saie somewhat moze of him, which is, that being orator for the king in diuers weightie affairs, he spent in those busineses, 15000 pounds of the kings monie, and yet produced little or nothing to effect in the kings causes, except the procuring of this Henric Burghwath to the bishoprike of Lincolne, who was buried in the east end towards the north of the church of Lincolne, at whose feet was also buried Robert his brother a knight of great fame in the warres, in which church is also buried Bartholomew sonne to the said Robert. They founded a grammar schole, and five priests, & five poore scholars in Lincolne.

John Stratford bishop of Winchester, and after of Canturburie, and sometime treasurer of England, was made chancellor of the realme, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred and thirtie, being the fourth yeare of the said king Edward the third, who being sent in the first yeare of Edward the third, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred two and thirtie, ambassadoz beyond the seas about the affaires of the king & kingdome, did not (like cardinall Wolfeie the chancellor

in the daies of R. Henric the eight) presumptuously carrie the great seale with him beyond the seas, but left the same in his absence with others, who both could and would answer the well or euill bling there of whilst he was in France. His man continued in the office vntill the eight yeare of Edward the third.

Richard de Burie, other wise called Richard de Angerulle (being borne in a little village beside saint Comundburie, commonlie called the Worrie abbrie, was so surnamed Burie of that place) had to his father sir Richard Angerulle knight. His man being first kept at schole by his uncle sir John Wilobie priest, was after ward treasurer of England, chancellor and bishop of Durham: to which place of chancellorship he was aduanced in the yeare that the second person in trinitie was brought into the world 1334, being the eight yeare of that king of England which first quartered the armes of England and France. Which office he receiued by the kings gift at Westminster, in which yeare he was inthronized (being first consecrated bishop in the yere of Christ 1333) in the bishoprike of Durham by William Cowton prior of Durham: he kept the see 11 yeares two moneths and 12 daies, & died in the yeare 1345, & was buried in the south angle of the church of Durham.

John Stratford the second time lord chancellor, being now archbishop of Canturburie, was installed therein at Poze in the yeare of Christ 1335, being the ninth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third.

Robert de Stratford or Stratford (as some haue written, but as I thinke corruptlie) being archdeacon of Canturburie (which office was first ordeined by Anselme archbishop of the said citie of Canturburie) was made chancellor of England on the foure and twentieth daie of March (being the daye of the annuntiation of the virgin Marie) at Westminster, in the yeare that the word of the father toke on him the forme of a seruant 1336, being the eleventh yeare of the gouernement of king Edward the third. He was after made bishop of Chichester, desiring to be remoued from that office of chancellorship, which was granted vnto him: whereupon he surrendered by the seale to the said king Edward the third in the twelue yeare of his reigne, being the yeare of our redemption 1338.

Richard de Bintonwath chosen bishop of London, and confirmed by John Stratford archbishop of Canturburie at Westford in the tenth kalends of June 1338, was at Waltham aduanced to the honoz of lord chancellor in the moneth of Iulie, in the said yeare of Christ 1338, being the twelue yeare of that king which first ordeined the knights of the order of the garter.

John Stratford the third time lord chancellor of England, in which office he did not now long continue.

Robert bishop of Chichester, being the foresaid Robert Stratford, was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the yere of our redemption 1340, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the third, who was put out of that office, and should with the treasurer of England haue bene sent into France for a pledge for the payment of certeine summes of monie.

Robert de Bourchier, borne of the honorable house of the lord Bourchiers, was in the towze of London made lord chancellor of England in December, in the said fourteenth yeare of king Edward the third, being the yeare of our Lord 1340, though some saie he was made chancellor in the fifteenth yeare of the said king.

Robert Berning, Bernicke, or Bernwicke, also treasurer of England, was made chancellor of England,

Richard de  
Burie of  
Angerulle

Robert de  
Saddington

John Dho  
of Wroth.

John Strat-  
ford archbi-  
shop of Can-  
turburie.

Roberte  
Stratford

John Tho-  
ma.

Richard de  
Bintonwath  
bishop of  
London.

John Strat-  
ford archbi-  
shop of Can-  
turburie.

Robert bishop  
of Chichester.

William de  
Edington.

Simon  
Langham.

Robert de  
Bourchier.

Robert Bern-  
ing iustice  
at the law.

land in the yere that the virgine brought forth the the Messiah 1341, being the sixteenth yere of king Edward the third. He died in the yere 1342, being the seventeenth yere of the foresaid king Edward the third. This man was a sergeant in the third yere of Edward the third, when he began to plead as a sergeant, in which he continued untill about the eleventh yere of Edward the third, and was after that justice, treasurer, and chancellor, and did in the common place, being chancellor, sit and argue amongst the justices, as appeareth in the law booke of those yeres of Edward the third, of whom is last mention made in the seventeenth yere of Edward the third, where he is named chancellor.

Robert de Saddington knight, was inuested with the dignitie of lord chancellor after the death of Perring in the yere of Christ 1343, and the fourteenth yere of the often mentioned king Edward the third. There was also one sir Richard Saddington knight treasurer of England, of whom I haue spoken in my discourse of the lord treasurers.

John Dofford or Wofford, deane of Lincolne, was made chancellor of England, in the yere of our redemption 1345, being the nineteenth yere of king Edward the third. He was elected to be bishop of Canturburie, and so was installed, but neuer received the pall. He died in the moneth of Maie, in the yere of Christ 1349, being the three and twentieth yere of the reigne of that victorious king Edward, which neuer received greater honour than that he was father unto Edward surnamed the Blacke prince the flower of chivalrie, and worthy conquerour of the French dominions.

John Thorpe bishop of Worcester, archbishop of Yorke and cardinall, was installed in the seat of the lord chancellor, in the yere that God became man, one thousand three hundred forty and nine, being the three and twentieth yere of that king Edward the third, so often before recited, who at his great sute was discharged of the office of chancellor, by deliuerie of the great seale in Nouember, in the thirtieth yere of the said king, being the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred fiftie and six, after that he had kept that place by the space almost of seauenteen yeres. He in the tenth yere of his bishopricke in the third calends of August, began the frame of the quere of St. Peters church in Yorke, & laid the first stone therof, to which he gaue a hundred pounds. He died at Thorpe, and was buried at Yorke in the yere of Christ 1363, or as other haue 1373, after that he had bene archbishop one and twentie yeres, and one and twentie daies.

William de Edington, bishop of Winchester, lord treasurer of England, was made chancellor of this realme in Nouember in the said yere of Christ 1356, and the thirtieth yere of the reigne of that king Edward, which at Saouie in England kept king John of France his prisoner. See moze of him in the treasurers of England.

Simon Langham, abbat of Westminster, bishop of Elie, archbishop of Canturburie, and lord treasurer of England, was made lord chancellor in Februarie, in the yere of our redemption one thousand three hundred fiftie and three, being the seauen and thirtieth yere of the government of king Edward the third, and was chancellor in the fortieth yere of the reigne of that king: being the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred fiftie and three. Of this Simon were these verses made, when he was removed from Elie to the bishopricke of Canturburie:

*Exsultet celi quia Simon transit ab Eli,  
Cuius in aduentum fient in Kent millia centum.*

Of whom also, because he richlie indowed the abbeye of Westminster with great gifts, of singular cost &

value, a certeine mounke composed these verses:

*Reses de Langham tua Simon sunt data quondam,  
Ostingentena librarum millia dena.*

Of this man is moze spoken in the former discourse or treatise of the lord treasurers of England.

William de Wicheham, so called of the place of his birth, was by surname from his parents called Perot, and Long, whome Leland maketh treasurer of England, which by any possible meanes cannot be so for any thing that I can yet learne. This man being bishop of Winchester, and aduanced to that place in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred fiftie and seuen, in the one and fortieth yere of the reigne of Edward the third, in which place he sat seauen and thirtie yeres, was sometime keeper of the priuie seale, and made also chancellor of England, in the yere that the virgine brought forth the first begotten sonne one thousand three hundred fiftie and seauen, being the one and fortieth yere of the government of the foresaid Edward the third, in which office he remained about foure yeres; and (in March in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and one, being the fise and fortieth of king Edward the third) did deliuer by the great seale to the king at Westminster. He was buried in the bodie of Winchester church, which he new built with the other places about it: of whom were these verses composed for the building of his colleges, the one at Drenford and the other at Winchester:

*Hunc docet esse pium fundatio collegiorum  
Oxonie primum stat Wintonieque secundum.*

Robert Thorpe knight, being before justice of the law in the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauentie, was after at Westminster aduanced to the chancellorship, in March, the fise & fortieth yere of king Edward the third, being the yere of our redemption (as is before said) one thousand three hundred seauentie and one, who going home to his owne house, left the great seale with foure of the gardians or maisters of the chancerie, wherof the one was called Walter Polowe, to keepe and vse as need required.

Sir John Antuet or Antuell (as some booke haue by the transcriber corrupted) was made chancellor of England in Iulie, in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred seauentie and two, being the six and fortieth yere of king Edward the third, in which office he continued (as I for this time do gather) untill the fiftith yere of the said king Edward, in which yere (as here at hand appeareth) came in place of the bishop of S. Dauids.

Adam de Houghton, bishop of Penensa or of Saint Dauids in Wales, was aduanced to the office of lord chancellor in the yere of our redemption 1376, being the fiftith yere of king Edward the third, who in the one and fiftith yere of the said king, was with the earle of Salisbury, and the bishop of Hereford, sent ambassado: beyond the seas. And here I thinke it not amisse to set downe the originall of the rolles in chancerie lane in this sort.

Henrie the third did build a house for the Jewes conuerted to the faith of Christ, which house is at this daie (& hath bene long before this time) appointed for the keeping of the kings rolles and records, being now called and knowne by the name of the rolles in chancerie lane besides Lincolns inne. In which house the maister of the rolles (for the time being) hath a goodlie and statelie lodging. In which also there is a faire chappell, called the chappell of the rolles, being a place commonlie appointed wherem men accustom to paie monie vpon contracts, wher, in also is buried John Pong, sometime maister of the rolles and doctor of both laws, on the left side in his doctors weed: and maister Allington under a statue.

h h h h h.

William de Wicheham.

Robert Thorpe.

Sir John Antuet.

Adam de Houghton.

lie towne of white marble, set, and other rich stone, on the right side of the said chappell, the epitaphs of both which persons are hereafter recited: besides which in this chappell are the ancient records of all inrolments, confirmations of the prince, & of other states in the chancerie kept in chests and presses, built on each side about the middle part of the chappell, beneath the chaire or place of service. At the west end whereof (on certaine appointed daies therefore) the maister of the rolls doth in the afternoones sit in a place formed and railed in, after the manner of the courts of Westminster, to heare and determine matters depending in the chancerie: which maister of the rolls now living is Sir Gilbert Gerrard knight, sometime generall attorneie to the noble princeesse queene Elisabeth. And here before I leaue this chappell, I thinke it not amisse to set downe the epitaphs of the two persons before named there buried, with these words.

### The epitaph of maister doctor Yong maister of the rolls.

*Io. Yong LL. doctoris sacror. scrinior. ac huius domus custodi decano olim E B O R. vita defuncto xxv Aprilis sui fideles executores hoc posuerunt M.D.XVI.*

*Dominus firmamentum meum.*

Beside which in an old table hanging by are twitt-  
ten in text hand these verses hereafter following:

*Hic iacet ille Iohannes Yong cognomine dignus,  
Tali quod nunquam marcesceret vixisse charus:  
Omnibus apprimè summo testante dolore,  
Quem neque celabant neque dissimulare valebant,  
Dum sternit iuuenem mors immatura labentem,  
Quis non desereret iuuenis miserabile fatum,  
Ex quo multorum pendebat vita salisque:  
Horum inquam inprimis, quos ille benignus aiebat  
Impensis donec vitales carperet auras.  
Nec satis illi erat hoc priuatis consuluisse  
Rebus, quin etiam prudenter publica gessit  
Munia sue forensis sue etiam extera summa  
Cum laude, illa quidem dum sacra præsuit olim  
Scripseris, hac vero legati functus honore.*

### The epitaph of maister Alington is in this sort.

*Hospes qui fueram quondam si queris amice,  
Nomen Alingtonus stirps generosa fuit:  
Hac monumenta mihi conuix fidiissima struxit,  
Quaque mihi struxit destinat illa sibi.  
Charaque coniugy tres nata pignora nostri,  
Sunt, vultus quarum marmora sculpta tenent,  
Cum matre has omnes precor ut post funera summe  
Caelica perducas in tua regna Deus.*

*Richardus Alington armiger qui hic sepultus est  
obijt 23 die Nouembris 1561.*

Now (as you haue heard before that this house of  
the rolls was first a house of conuerts) it shall not be  
amisse also for the more profe thereof, to set downe  
the grants of the princes and kings which conuerted  
the same to those uses.

### The grant of Henrie the third, for erecting of the house of conuerts.

*Ex archiepiscopis, &c. Sciatis nos intuitu Dei, & pro salute anima nostra, & animarum antecessorum & heredum meorum concessisse, & hac charta nostra*

*confirmasse pro nobis & heredibus nostris, domum quam fundari fecimus in vico, qui vocatur Newstreet, inter vetus templum & nouum London, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras qua fuere Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschata nostra, excepto gardino, quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico predicto de Newstreet, & quod prius per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri Radulpho Cicestrensi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschatas, qua tempore nostro per feloniam, vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infra libertatem ciuitatis nostre London. Quare volumus, & firmiter precipimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris, quod predicta domus habeat & teneat liberè & quietè, bene & in pace, ad sustentationem fratrum conuersorum & conuertendorum de Iudaismo ad fidem catholicam, in auxilium sustentationis eorundem fratrum in eadem domo conuersantium, domos & terras qua fuerunt Iohannis Herbeton in London, & sunt in manu nostra tanquam eschata nostra excepto gardino quod fuit eiusdem Iohannis in vico predicto de Newstreet, & quod prius per chartam nostram concessimus venerabili patri R. Cicestrensi episcopo cancellario nostro, & omnes alias eschatas, qua tempore nostro per feloniam vel quacunque ex causa nobis accident in ciuitate nostra, vel in suburbio infra libertatem ciuitatis nostre London, sicut predictum est. Hijs testibus venerabilibus patribus, W. Kaerl. & W. Exon. episcopis, H. de Burgo comite Kantie Radulpho filio Nicholai, Godfrido de Crancumbe, Iohanne filio Philip. Amaurico de sancto Aumundo, Will. de Picheford, Galfrido de Canz, & alijs. Dat. per manum Ve. P. R. Cicestren. episcop. cancellar. nostri apud Westmin. 19. die Aprilis.*

### The grant of Edward the third, where- by the said house was in the one and fiftieth and last yeare of the said Edward con- uerted to the custodie of the rolls and records of the chancerie.

*Ex omnib. ad quos, &c. salutem. Sciatis quod nos, considerantes qualiter domus conuersorum in suburbio ciuitatis nostre London, de patronatu nostro existens, & capella, edificia, & clausur. eiusdem, tempore quo dilectus noster Will. Burstall custodiam eiusdem domus ex collatione nostra primò habuit, per negligentiam & incuriam aliorum qui ante dictum Will. custodiam domus illius habuerunt & ibidem, morari seu inhabitari non curauerunt, multipliciter & quasi totaliter in ruina extiterunt, & quod predictus Will. tempore suo de bonis suis proprijs grades costas & expensas super recuperatione & emendatione domus, capella, edificiorum, & clausur. predict. ac etiam super factur. nouar. domorum ibidem. Nos ut domos conuersorum capella, edificia, clausur. & noua domus supradict. cōpetenter sustententur, & custodiantur in futurum, ad supplicationem predicti Willielmi qui custos rotulorum cancellaria nostra existit, in presentem concessimus de gratia nostra specialis pro nobis & heredibus nostris, quod post mortem eiusdem*

dem Will. dicta domus conuerforum cum suis iuribus & pertinent. quibuscunque remaneat & moretur in perpetuum clerico custod. rotulorum cancellar. nostra & heredū nostrorū pro tempore existent. & similiter annex. eidē officio in perpetuum: & quod cancellarius Angliæ vel custos sue custodes magni sigilli nostri & heredum nostrorum Angliæ pro tempore existentium, post mortem ipsius Willielmi habeat & habeant potestatem ad quamlibet vacationem dicti officij custodis rotulorum per mortem, cessionē, vel mutationem, persona quocunque tempore futur. \* institutum succēssue custodes rotulorum & predictorum in dicta domo conuerforum, & custodes illos ponend. in possessionem eiusdem cum suis iuribus & pertinent. quibuscunque, in cuius, &c. T. R. apud Shene 11 Aprilis An. 51 Edw. 3.

But after the death of this king Edward, the said William Burfall master of the rolles (belike not supposing this to be a sufficient grant) procured this house by act of parlement, in the first yeare of king Richard the second, to be more strongly established, to the vse of the master of the rolles for the time. After which John de Waltham, master of the rolles, after bishop of Salisbury and treasurer of England, procured R. Richard the second in the 6 yeare of his reigne, by his letters patents to confirme the said house to the said Waltham and his successors masters of the rolles. And whereas by the patent of Edward the third, the master of the rolles was appointed and installed in that house by the chancellor, it is to be noted, that the same manner of induction and instalment continued as long as the master of the rolles were of the clergy, as I haue sene set downe by others, and as the presidents of those instalments and the wittes themselves extant of record do well proue.

Sir Richard Scrope knight lord of Bolton, hauing bene lord treasurer in the time of the deceased king Edward the third, was now in October about the latter end of the yeare 1378, or the beginning of the yeare 1379, being the second yeare of the after deposed king Richard the second, made lord chancellor, and had the great seale deliuered unto him, who in the third yeare of the said king at a parlement did surrender by his office. Of this man is more set downe in the discourse of the treasurers.

Simon Sudburie, so surnamed of the place of his birth, but by descent called Tholde the sonne of Nicholas Tholde, descended of a gentlemanlie race dwelling at Sudburie in Suffolke. This Simon was archbishop of Canturburie, and made chancellor about the yeare of Christ 1380, in the third yeare of Richard the second, and was by the rebels beheaded at the towre of London, in the fourth yeare of the disquieted government of that vnfortunat, but valiant king Richard the second; after whom in the fifth yeare of the said king Richard, was R. B. of London, wherof I haue sene and taken a note: which bishop was (as I coniecture & haue some authoritie to proue) Robert Baisbroke which followeth, & was made chancellor againe after sir Richard Scrope.

Sir Richard Scrope knight lord of Bolton, made chancellor againe about the latter end of November, by the lords of the parlement (as I take it) in the fifth yeare of the reigne of king Richard last mentioned, and was the yeare following, being about the yeare of our Lord 1383; againe deposed from his office, and the king receiuing the great seale, kept it a certaine time, and therewith sealed such grants and writings as it pleased him, and in the end deliuered the same to Robert Baisbroke. Of this man see more in the treasurers before.

Robert Baisbroke bishop of London made lord chancellor in September following the moneth of Iulie, when sir Richard Scrope was deposed, was aduanced to that dignitie on saint Mattheus eue, in the first yeare of the reigne of the said king Richard the second, in which he continued not longer than the year following, as hath Anonymus M. S. he was consecrated bishop of London the first of Iannaris 1381, he died the seuenteenth of August in the yeare 1404, being the fifth yeare of king Henrie the fourth.

Michael de la Pole, or at Pole (as hath Thomas Walsingham) was made chancellor in the moneth of March, in the first yeare of the said king Richard the second, and was made earle of Suffolke in the ninth yeare of the said king, being after deposed from his office of chancellorship at his owne and earnest request in the tenth yeare of the said king. This man hauing fled the realme, for that he was pursued by the nobilitie, died at Paris in the thirtenth yeare of the said Richard the second, being the yeare of our redemption 1389, of whom that worthy poet sir John Gower, liuing at that time, in his booke intituled *Poetis clamentis*, composed these verses:

*Est comes elatus fallax, cupidus, sceleratus,  
Fraudes per mille stat cancellarius ille,  
Hic proceres odit, & eorum nomina rodit  
Morsibus à tergo, fit tandem profugus ergo:  
Sic Deus in caelis mala de patre Michaelis  
Acriter expurgat ne plus comes ille resurgat.*

Thomas Arundell, of the noble house of the earles of Arundell, was first bishop of Elye, and then of Poike, and lastlie of Canturburie, he was made lord chancellor of England in the tenth yeare of the reigne of the vnfortunat king Richard the second, being about the yeare of our redemption 1386, in which office he remained about two yeares, as farre as my search will giue leaue to vnderstand.

William Wickham was againe made lord chancellor of England, in the twelue yeare of the said king Richard the second, but was in the end removed from thence in September, in the sixteenth yeare of the troublesome gouernement of the said king Richard.

Thomas Arundell aforesaid was the second time created lord chancellor of England (in the said sixteenth yeare of king Richard the second) in place of William Wickham, in which office he remained about five yeares, and was deposed and banished the realme in the twentieth yeare of the said king Richard.

John Scarle, Scirlé, or Serle, master of the rolles, of the chancery, and keeper of the great seale: he was chancellor, or in place of the chancellor, in the first yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare in which the sonne of God descending from the bosome of his father, took flesh in the wombe of his mother, one thousand three hundred ninetie and nine.

Edmund Stafford keeper of the priuie seale, bishop of Excester, and sometime bishop of Rochester, and lastlie bishop of Poike, keeper of the priuie seale, and bozne of the noble house of the Staffords, was made lord chancellor of England about the moneth of March, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and foure hundred, being about the second yere of the usurping king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued untill the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and thre, being the fourth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth. He being keeper of the priuie seale was made bishop of Excester the twentieth of Iune, in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred ninetie & foue, being the daie before king Richard the second began the

Michael de la Pole earle of Suffolke.

\* Michael de puteaco, or of the Pole.

Thomas Arundell bishop of Elye.

William Wickham.

Thomas Arundell.

John Serle master of the rois.

Edmund Stafford.

Walle 32. ill.

William.

Sir Richard Scrope.

Simon Sudburie.

Sir Richard Scrope lord of Bolton.

the one and twentieth yeare of his reigne. He was consecrated at Lambeth, and kept the see of Excester three and twentieth yeares. He increased two fellowships in Stapletons inne in Oxford, reformed the statutes of the house, and called it Excester college: he died the fourth of September, in the seventh yeare of king Henrie the first, being the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety. About the making of this Stafford chancellor (as farre as my memorie serueth) Ypodigma is much deceived, if I haue not for want of the booke mistaken his iudgement.

Henrie  
Beauford.

Henrie Beauford, the sonne of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swineford, made bishop of Lincoln in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninety and eight (as hath Ypodigma) was advanced to the dignitie of chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and three, being the fourth yeare of king Henrie the fourth his elder brother, by the daughter of the earle of Hereford, in which office he was in the first yeare of king Henrie the fourth, and first of the same king (as our chronicles doe remember.) He was made bishop of Winchester in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and four, being the first yeare of Henrie the fourth.

Thomas  
Langley bis-  
hop of Dur-  
ham.

Thomas Langley priest, and bishop of Durham, was at Westminster made chancellor, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand four hundred and five, being the first yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued (as farre as I know) untill he was made bishop of Durham, which was on the seventh of Maie, being the seventh yeare of the reigne of king Henrie last before named, being the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and six. He was bishop one and thirtie yeares, and died in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and seven, being the sixteenth yeare of king Henrie the first. See more following.

Thomas  
Fitzalen.

Thomas Fitzalen, brother to Richard earle of Arundell, being returned out of exile with Henrie of Bollingbroke duke of Hereford and Lancaster, and after king of England by the name of Henrie the fourth, was the third time being bishop of Canturburie, made lord chancellor of England, the ninth yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, and continued therein about two yeares, being removed from that place about September, in the eleventh yeare of the reigne of the said king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and ten.

Thomas  
Beauford.

Thomas Beauford knight, the sonne of John of Gaunt son to king Edward the third, brother to king Henrie the fourth, was made lord chancellor in the eleventh yeare of the said king Henrie the fourth, being the yeare that the sonne of God toke on him the forme of a servant one thousand four hundred and ten, in which office he remained not full three yeares, but left the same office together with his life, as I suppose, in the thirtenth yeare of the same king, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and twelve.

John Wake-  
ring cleark.

John Wakering cleark, maister of the rolles, was made keeper of the great seale, when Thomas Beauford left the office of chancellor, which seale he kept about the space of a moneth. For in Januarie after that he receiued the seale, there was a chancellor created.

Thomas Arundell arch-  
bishop of Can-  
turburie.

Thomas Fitzalen or Arundell, archbishop of Canturburie, was the fourth time inuested with the chancellorship, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand four hundred and twelve, being the thirtenth yeare of king Henrie the fourth, in which office he continued during the life of the said king Henrie the fourth, who died in the fourteenth yeare of his

kingdome, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and thirtene.

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester, and after cardinal in the time of Henrie the first, being uncle to king Henrie the first then reigning, was the second time made chancellor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and thirtene, being the first yeare of the first king Henrie, in which place he remained untill the first yeare of the said king Henrie, being the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred and seuentene.

Henrie Beauford  
lord bishop of  
Winchester.

Rich-  
ard  
Shali

Thomas Langley bishop of Durham was the second time made lord chancellor of England, in the said yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and seuentene, being the first yeare of that worthy conqueror king Henrie the first, which office he receiued at Southwicke, and continued in that honour (as farre as I can learne) by the space of six yeares or more, whereof five yeares were fullie ended in the life and death of the said Henrie the first, and the first yeare ended in the last of the first or beginning of the second yeare of king Henrie the first.

Thomas  
Langley bis-  
hop of Dur-  
ham.

Thom-  
as  
Shali

Henrie Beauford bishop of Winchester before named, was the third time made lord chancellor of England, in the second yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred twentieth and three, or one thousand four hundred twentieth and four. For the second yeare of that king fell part in the one and part in the other of the said yeares of our Lord, in which office he continued about four yeares, untill he was made cardinal, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred twentieth and six.

Henrie Beauford  
lord bishop of  
Winchester.

John  
Beauford  
Cantuar

John Kempe, bishop of London, was made lord chancellor of England in the fourth yeare of that king Henrie, who in his youngest yeares was crowned first king of England, and then king of France in Paris; in which office he remained (as I suppose) about six yeares.

John Kempe  
bishop of  
London.

William  
ten, or  
Shali  
Wendell

John Stafford deane of S. Martins & of Welles, prebend of Spilton in Lincoln church, bishop of Bath and Welles, lord chancellor and treasurer of England, and bishop of Canturburie, was made lord chancellor of England in the moneth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and one, falling in the tenth yeare of king Henrie the first: he remained in that office untill John Kempe was againe made lord chancellor, which was about the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first. And here I think it not vniuersal to remember that some haue noted William Wandet that was bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of Oxford, to be chancellor of England, when he built Magdalen college in Oxford, in the five and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first: which possiblie can not be, for this John Stafford held that office from the tenth of Henrie the first, untill the eight & twentieth of the same king, which was eightene yeares: during which time they place this Wandet to be chancellor of England. Which error (I suppose) they haue committed, in that they finding him chancellor at the time of the building of his college, in the said five and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first, haue taken him to be chancellor of England, when he was then but chancellor of Oxford: although in deed afterward he was chancellor of England, in the five and thirtith yeare of the said king, as after shall appeare.

John Stafford  
lord bishop of  
Bath.

George  
arch-  
bishop of  
York.

John Kempe bishop of York and cardinal, was the second time made lord chancellor in the eighth and twentieth of king Henrie the first, being about the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and fiftie, in which office he died, being bishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our redemption (as said)

John Kempe  
bishop of  
York.



saith Matthew Parker, one thousand four hundred fiftie and three, being the two & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the simple king Henrie the first. This man was first bishop of Rochester, next of Chichester, thirddie of London, then of Poike, where he sat eight and twentie yeares, and lastlie he was archbishop of Canturburie.

Richard Penill  
earle of  
Salisbury.

Richard Penill earle of Salisbury, the sonne of Rafe Penill earle of Westmerland, and father to the balliant Richard Penill earle of Warwike, was after the death of John Kempe by parlement made lord chancellor in the two & thirtieth yeare of H. Henrie the first: though others make it to be in the three & thirtieth yeare of the same king, in which place he continued not long. For in the yeare following another was substituted, and he remoued.

Thomas Bourchier  
bishop of  
Ely.

Thomas Bourchier (brother to Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex) bishop of Ely, and bishop of Canturburie, was made chancellor in the three & thirtieth yeare of the gouernement of king Henrie the first, in which he remained much about two yeares. In whose time, as saith Matthew Parker, about the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred three score and one, was the art of printing inuented at the citie of Argentorat in Germanie. About the which matter, and especiallie for the exact & certeine time thereof, manye wryters although their count about one time do disagree: yet at the inuention of that woorthie thing were these verses composed in the commendation of the same most excellent art.

John Thomas  
Bourchier episcopus  
Eboracensis.

*O felix nostris memoranda impressio textis,  
Inuentore nitet utraque lingua tuo.  
Deserat quasi totum quod fundis in orbe,  
Nunc paruo doctus quilibet esse potest.  
Omnes te homines igitur nunc laudibus ornent,  
Te duce quando ars hac mira reperta fuit.*

William Paten  
or Paten  
was William  
Paten.

William Paten or Paten, bozne of a gentle manlie familie, being commonlie called William Wansled of the place of his birth, and being prouost of Eaton, and bishop of Winchester, was lord chancellor in the five and thirtieth, six and thirtieth, and the seven and thirtieth yeare of the vnsfortunat king Henrie the first, as haue the records of the exchequer. By which appeareth the error of those, as I haue before noted, that mistaking the five and twentieth of king Henrie the first, in which time he was but chancellor of Oxford; for the five and thirtieth of the said king, in which he was chancellor of England.

George Penill  
earle of  
Salisbury.

George Penill (the sonne of Richard Penill earle of Salisbury, and brother to Richard Penill earle of Warwike) being made bishop of Excester, came to that see in the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred fiftie and five; in which see he continued ten yeares, and was remoued to Poike in the yeare that God became man one thousand four hundred three score and five, he was made lord chancellor in the eight & thirtieth yeare of the reigne of the after deposed H. Henrie the first, in which office he remained about eight yeares, & then was remoued in the seventh yeare of the woorthie H. Edward the fourth, being the yeare that the woord became flesh one thousand four hundred three score & seven. He was a great friend to saint Albons, & procured Edward the fourth in the fourth yeare of his reigne to giue & confirme to John Wethamsted, abbat of saint Albons, the priorie of Penbroke. This bishop Penill did after in the thirtieth yeare of king Edward the fourth grow in such disgrace with the king, that he was spoiled at one time of twentie thousand pounds, as in his life shall be more at large declared. To this man did Hugh Meine giue the manour of Hener Cobham, and Hener Brokas in Kent, in the fourth yeare of king Edward the fourth. He died at

Wiltshire comming from Poike, being almost fortye yeares old, and was buried at Poike. And here I thinke it not amisse, to note the mistaking of time of such historiographers as haue set downe, that Edward the fourth did, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, take the chancellorship from the bishop of Excester (brother to the earle of Warwike, which must needs be this George Penill) & gaue the same to the bishop of Bath. For by that which I haue saide, this Penill liued vntill the seventh yeare of Edward the fourth, and that for this time I suppose to be the truest.

Robert Kirkeham maister of the rolles was made lord keeper of the great seale (vpon the removing of George Penill) in the moneth of Iulie in the said yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred three score and seven, being the seventh yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Robert Kirkeham  
maister  
of the rolles.

Robert Stillington doctor of the lawes, keeper of the priute seale in the third yeare of Edward the fourth, bishop of Bath & Wells, being made chancellor in the seventh yeare of king Edward the fourth, did still so continue (as I gather) vntill the thirtieth yeare of the said king.

Robert Stillington  
doctor  
of the lawes.

Henrie Bourchier earle of Essex, and first advanced to that title of honor by Edward the fourth, came in place of the last chancellor, about the fourteenth yeare (as some vntrolie haue noted) of Edward the fourth. But in my poze opinion, the same was in the thirtieth yeare of the said Edward the fourth: in which place he remained not much more than one Trinitie terme. For in the said thirtieth yeare, about the moneth of August, was both lord chancellor of England.

Henrie Bourchier  
earle of  
Essex.

Laurence Both sometime maister of Penbroke hall bishop of Durham, and after of Poike, was made lord chancellor about August or rather before, betwene that and Trinitie terme (after Henrie Bourchier) in the said thirtieth yeare of the balliant king Edward the fourth, after his redemption of the kingdome of England. This bishop (being brother to William Both sometime bishop of Poike) did build the bishop of Poikes house at Batherfete, which manour he before bought of Nicholas Stanleie, whome Leland the minster and refiner of all English names doth most curiously in Latine call *Nicholaum stenelegium*. He continued in the see of Poike three yeares & nine moneths, and died at Southwell in the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred and four score, being the twentieth yeare of king Edward the fourth.

Laurence Both  
bishop  
of Durham.

Thomas Scot surnamed Kotheram, because of the towne of Kotheram in Poikeshire where he was borne and bred vp, was bishop of Rochester, and then of Lincolne, where he sat nine yeares, and after that was bishop of Poike: whereinto he installed first at Poike, and then at Ripon, being prouost of Beverleie, he was made chancellor of England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand four hundred senentie and four, being the fourteenth yeare of the reigne of king Edward the fourth. This bishop, in the sixteenth yeare of the said king, went over the sea (as I haue saide noted) with the said Edward the fourth, when he went to haue an interuiew with the French king: of which meeting monsieur de Argentine by name Philip Comineus (besides our English chronicles) doth make mention, as a person that bare a part in that pageant.

Thomas Scot  
surnamed  
Kotheram.

John Alcot bishop of Rochester was made chancellor, during the absence of king Edward, as I haue found recorded.

John Alcot  
bishop of  
Rochester.

Thomas Kotheram, being before lord keeper of the priute seale, was after his returne out of France the second time made lord chancellor, about the time in

Thomas Kotheram.

in which the said king had gotten Berwike from the Scots, being about the twentieth yeare of the said Edward the fourth. For the free gaining of the toline was not much before his death; in which office this Kotheram continued all the life of king Edward the fourth, & in the time of the little or no reigne at all of the guiltlesse murdered yong prince king Edward the first; untill it was ascribed to him for ouermuch lightnesse, that he had deliuered in the beginning of the rebellious gouernement of the protectorship of the bloudie and unnatural Richard duke of Gloucester the seale to the queene, to whom it did not apperteyne, and from whom he receiued it not. He founded a college at Kotheram, dedicated, it to the name of Iesus, & indowd it with great possessions & ornaments, and annexed thereto the churches of Langhton, and Almarburie.

John Russell  
bishop of Lincolne.

John Russell bishop of Lincolne, a graue and learned man, had the seale deliuered to him by the said protector of England, during the time of the short reigne of the yong king Edward, when the same seale was taken from Kotheram: and so this Russell was made chancelor in the moneth of June, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand foure hundred foure score and thre, being the first yeare of the vsurped gouernement of the bloudie tyrant the mishapen king Richard the third. This Russell is buried in the church of Lincolne, in a chappell cast out of the upper wall of the south part of the church.

Thomas Barow  
maister of the rolles.

Thomas Barow maister of the rolles was made keeper of the great seale (as I haue seene recorde) which I suppose, was in the third and last yeare of the said king Richard the third: for in that yeare he was maister of the rolles.

Thomas Kotheram.

Thomas Kotheram made againe lord chancelor, in the first entrance of king Henrie the seventh into the gouernement: but verie shortly after he was displaced, and the bishop of Worcester placed in that roome; he was archbishop of Yorke nineteene yeares & ten moneths; he was verie beneficall to all his kindred, and advanced some with mariages, some with possessions, and some with spirituall livings. He died the nine and twentieth daie of December, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred, being the firste yeare of king Henrie the eighth, at Caluod in Yorke shire the morrow after the Ascension, being of the age of thre score and sixteene yeares or more: he was buried in Yorke minster on the north side in our ladie chappell, in a tombe of marble which he caused to be made whilst he was liuing.

John Alcot  
bishop of Worcester.

John Alcot bishop of Worcester, made in the yeare one thousand foure hundred thre score and sixteene, was lord chancelor of England in the first yeare of the said R. Henrie the seventh, the Salomon of England, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score & five: shortly after the entrance of the said Henrie into the gouernement of England. For though Kotheram were chancelor when he got the victorie, for that he had bene so before, & for that the king was neither prouided nor minded suddenly to haue a man not mete for that place to execute the same: yet this Kotheram kept not that roome manie moneths, but that Alcot came in place because the king found Alcot a meter person to execute the same office, answerable to the disposition of the kings humors. All which notwithstanding, whether for malice of others, or for his owne defects, or both, or for more especiall trust that king Henrie put in Spoxton bishop of Ely, who had bene the meanes to bring him to the crowne, this Alcot fell shortly in the kings disgrace, was displaced of his office, and Spoxton came in his roome. So that in this first yeare of the said king Henrie the seventh, there seemed to

be thre chancelors in succession one after another, if I haue not misconceiued the matter: all which before Spoxton in this first yeare of king Henrie the seventh, may perhaps more properly be termed keepers of the great seale, than chancelors.

John Spoxton doctor of the ciuill law, an aduocate in the ciuill of the counsell to Henrie the first, and to Edward the fourth, to whom also he was maister of the rolles, was made bishop of Ely in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred thre score and eighteene, and lord chancelor of England, (upon his returne from beyond the seas) in the first yeare of the twelfth prince R. Henrie the seventh, being the yeare that the wood became fleshy, one thousand foure hundred foure score and five: after which he was aduanced to the bishopricke of Canturburie; he died in the yeare of our redemption one thousand foure hundred foure score and nineteene, in the fiftieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the seventh, as hath Matthew Parker.

John Spoxton  
bishop of Ely.

William Warham aduocate in the arches, maister of the rolles, bishop of London, and then bishop of Canturburie; was (before his aduancement to the see of Canturburie) made chancelor of England in the time of Henrie the seventh, in which office he continued untill about the latter end of the seventh yeare of king Henrie the eighth. At what time surrendering the seale by reason of his age and weakenesse, the same great seale was deliuered to Thomas Wolfeie.

William Warham  
archbishop of Canturburie.

Thomas Wolfeie sometime chapleine to Henrie Deane archbishop of Canturburie, after the kings almoner and abbat of saint Austins, who possessing manie other abbeyes and bishopricks, as in other places shall more largely appeare, was aduanced to the gouernment of the great seale, about the beginning of the eighth yeare of the triumphant reigne of king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of our Lord and Sauer Iesus Christ one thousand five hundred & teene, to hold the same during his life (as I gather) in which office yet he continued not above thirtene yeares, untill the one and twentieth of the said king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred twentie and nine. During which time of his chancelorship, in the nineteenth yeare of king Henrie the eighth, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and seauen, he went into France, representing the king of Englands person, to set order for the deliuerie of pope Clement the seventh and Francis the French king, at what time he carried the great seale over the seas to Calis, which seale he left with doctor Talloz maister of the rolles, to keepe the same at Calis untill the cardinals returne out of the French dominions. He died in Leicester abbeye (not without suspicion of poison as was thought, which he had prepared for himselfe, and giuen to his apothecarie to deliuer when he called for it) the two and twentieth of king Henrie the eighth, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie.

Thomas Wolfeie.

Thomas Spore knight, sometime vnderstricke of London, and chancelor of the dutchie of Lancaster, was aduanced to the honor of chancelorship of England, in the yeare that the wood became fleshy one thousand five hundred twentie and nine, being the one and twentieth yeare of that king Henrie which expelled pope Clement the seventh his authoritie out of his dominions, in which office this rare witted knight (to vse Erasmus his epitheton) and learned chancelor continued not full thre yeares; but in the foure and twentieth yeare of the reigne of the said king Henrie the eighth, with much labor and earnest lute he left his office. Touching which it shall not graunte me to set downe the words of Matthew Parker

Thomas Spore

Hillo, per Cal

Thomas Spore

William Parker

John Ric

Thomas Spore

ker of the liues of the bishops of Canturburie in the life of Thomas Crammer writing after this maner: *Inter ea rex dum papa meditabatur excidium, singulorum de papali auctoritate sensus iudicij: haud obcuris collegis. Inter quos Thomas Morus, quia regis conatus pontificis valde suspectus fuit, cancellarij munere, venia regis agre impetrata, se abdicauit.*

Thomas Audlete attoznie of the dutchie of Lancaster, sergeant at the law (as most affirme) and speaker of the parlement, was made knight and lord keeper of the great seale the fourth of June, in the fourth and twentieth yere of the reigne of the famous prince king Henrie the eight, being the yere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred thirtie and two, not long after which he was indued with the title and hono-  
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noy of lord chancellor of England. This man in the tenth yere of his chancellorship, being the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred thirtie and two, and the five and thirtieth yere of king Henrie the eight, changing the name of Buckingham college in Cambridge, did name it the college of Saint Marie Magdalen, and indued it with some possessions. He died on Maie euen in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred thirtie and foure, being the five and thirtieth yere of Henrie the eight.

Thomas Wriotheslie knight of the garter, being created baron at Hampton court on the first of Januarie, in the five and thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and three, was after aduanced to the honoy of the great seale and chancellorship of England, about the beginning of Maie, in the six and thirtieth yere of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, being the yere of grace one thousand five hundred thirtie and foure, in which office he continued untill the death of the said king Henrie the eight, and in the beginning of the reigne of king Edward the first, untill for his obstinacie in the Romane religion he was the first of March removed, and the seale was delivered to William Paulet lord Sent-John of Basing. This Wriotheslie (being created earle of Southampton by king Edward the first) died at his house of Lincoln place in Holborne the 30 of Julie, in the fourth yere of the said king Edward, in the yere 1550, & was buried at saint Andrews in Holborne commonlie called Holborne.

William Paulet knight being first steward of the lands of the bishoprike of Winchester, then treasurer of the household, lord Sent-John of Basing, lord great master of the kings house, afterwards earle of Wiltshire, marquisse of Winchester, and treasurer of England, being of the priue counsell to king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, queene Marie, and queene Elisabeth, had the keeping of the great seale committed vnto him the seventh daie of March, in the yere that the second person in trinitie descended from the bosome of the father into the wombe of the mother one thousand five hundred thirtie and seven, being the first yere of the reigne of the young king Edward the first, which seale he had in custodie about seven moneths, untill the three and twentieth or foure and twentieth of October following, at which time sir Richard Rich was made lord chancellor.

Sir Richard Rich knight, lord Rich, was aduanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor of England about the 23 of October in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred thirtie and seven, being the first yere of the reigne of the noble king Edward the first, in which place he remained about five yers.

Thomas Goderich or Goderike being bishop of Ely had the great seale delivered to him, and was made lord chancellor of England the twentieth of December (as Iohn Scow hath noted in his chronicle) in

the yere of our redemption one thousand five hundred fiftie and one, being the first yere of the reigne of king Edward the first, in which office he continued all the life of the said king Edward, which died in Iulie one thousand five hundred fiftie and three, being the seventh yere of his reigne, and about one moneth after untill the thirtieth or fourtieth daie of August, in which queene Marie made Stephen Gardener his chancellor.

Sir Nicholas Hare, master of the rolles, had at the comming of queene Marie to the crowne the keeping of the great seale, after the death of king Edward, as lord keeper by the space of one fortnight, and shortly after was Stephen Gardener made chancellor.

Stephen Gardener bishop of Winchester was in August, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and three, being the first yere of the reigne of the vnfortunat queene Marie, made chancellor of England. This man going in ambassage vnto Calis left the great seale in the custodie of William Paulet marquisse of Winchester, which bishop after his returne into England continued in that office all the time of his life, which he ended the 19 of Nouember, in the yere that the word became flesh one thousand five hundred fiftie and five, being the third yere of queene Marie. After which the great seale lieng in the custodie of the prince, the on the new yeres daie following made a new chancellor.

Nicholas Heath bishop of Rochester, almoner to the king, ambassador into Germanie, bishop of Worcester, president of Wales, and archbishop of Yorke, was upon new yeres daie, in the yere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred fiftie and five, being the third yere of the reigne of queene Marie, aduanced to the honorable dignitie of the chancellorship. But queene Marie deceasing the seventeenth daie of Nouember, in the yere of grace one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, and the first yere of his gouernement, this Heath vpon the placing of the fourth queene Elisabeth vpon the throne of the English gouernment, was removed from his office, and master Bacon aduanced.

Sir Nicholas Bacon equier, attournete of the court of wards, was made knight, and lord keeper of the great seale the two and twentieth of December, in the yere of our redemption 1558, being the first yere of the now reigning Elisabeth the Sabah of England. Which name of lord keeper he still kept during his life, and the time of his office. In whose time there was an act of parlement established, to make the power of the keeper of the great seale equall with the authoritie of the chancellor. This man continued in this office, and worthilie executed the same, being a man of rare wit and deepe experience, during the time of his life, which continued untill the twentieth of Februarie, in the yere of our saluation 1578 after the account of England, being the one and twentieth yere of the rare and singular gouernement of the world wonder the famous queene Elisabeth, which place this man kept eightene yeres, being (as I suppose) double as long time as any other chancellor or keeper of the great seale possessed that place, except Rafe Penill bishop of Exeter, and John Stafford bishop of Bath and Wells, both which held it equallie eightene yeres with him: a strange thing, that in the course of almost 600 yeres, no such officer might possesse that place by twentie yeres together.

Thomas Bromfielde, the generall solicitor of queene Elisabeth, a counsellor of the law, and one of the inner temple, was aduanced to the dignitie of lord chancellor on the five and twentieth day of April, in the yere of our redemption 1579, being in the one & twentieth yere of the reigne of the said queene Elisabeth.

Elisabeth, which office at this date he beareth.

Thus (although I maie be a little weythod in passing our the deepe sea of this difficultie of the chancelloz, in which I am sure I am not ouer head and eares) I haue at length brought my chancelloz to end: a worke of some labour and difficultie, of some searce and charge, which I haue done onelie of my selfe without the furtherance or help of some others, who more inconsideratlie than trulie do disorderlie report, that I haue attained unto this in obtaining those names by some sinister means, from the priuat bookes of them who haue trauelled in the same matter. In which (as I said in the begining, so I saie againe) if anie imperfection for hast, by reason of the printers speedie calling on me, haue now fallen out of my pen, it shall hereafter God willing be corrected in the large volume of their liues. Wherefore as I neither esteeme nor feare the secret reports of some others; so for their countries good it shall be well that they would deliuer something to the worlde to bring truth to perfection (if other men haue binwillinglie set downe error) and not as they do, for a little commoditie & gaine to theiuelues, neither benefite their countrie, nor speake well of such as would and doe helpe posteritie. Thus this much by Francis Thin, touching the chancelloz of England.]

Ab. Fl. ex pub-  
licis additio-  
nibus B.G.  
& T. C.

Here though somewhat out of place (for it should haue bene entered in 1578) it were better to record the receiuing of the queenes maiestie into Suffolke & Dorsette, than making no commemoration thereof at all, to let it perish in the halfeperie pamphlets, and so die in oblivion. It maie also serue for a rest of recreation, after so long an introduction of serious matters, as also (and that most worthilie) maie remaine in record, to signifie what well affected subiects the queens maiestie hath within hir dominions, to whome goods, lands, friends, kindred, or life, none of these seuerallie, nor all iointlie, are so pretious and dore, but for hir sake they can find in their hearts to esteeme them as dore. And now to the matter. The truth is (saith one that wrote the whole intertainment) that albeit they had but small warning certinlie to build vpon, of the coming of the queenes maiestie into both those shires, the gentlemen had made such readie provision, that all the beluets and silks were taken vp that might be laid hand on, and bought for ante monie, and some conuerted to such garments and lutes of robes, that the shew thereof might haue beautified the greatest triumph that was in England these manie yeares. For (as it was said) there were two hundred yong gentlemen clad all in white beluet, and three hundred of the greater sort apparelled in blacke belust cotes, and faire chaines, all readie at one instant and place, with fiftene hundred seruing men more on horsebacke, well and brauelie mounted in god order, readie to receiue the queenes highnesse into Suffolke, which surelie was a comelic troupe, and a noble sight to behold: and all these waited on the shiriffe sir William Spring, during the queenes maiesties abode in those parties, and to the verie confines of Suffolke.

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uing of the  
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ring hir abode  
amongst them.

But before hir highnesse passed to Dorsette, there was in Suffolke such sumptuous feasting and banquettes, as seldome in anie part of the worlde haue bene seene before. The maister of the rolles sir William Cordall, was one of the first that began this great feasting, and did light such a candle to the rest of the shire, that manie were glad boundfullie and franke- lie to follow the same example, with such charges and costs, as the whole traine were in some sort pleased therewith. And nere Burie sir William Burie for his part at his house made the queenes highnesse a coslie and delicat dinner, and sir Robert Germaine of

Koesbyroke feasted the French ambassadoz two seuerall times, with which charges and courtisie they stood maruellouslie contented. The shiriffe sir William Spring, sir Thomas Kidson, sir Arthur Hig- ham, and diuerse others of worthip, kept great houses, and sundrie either at the queenes coming or re- turne, solemnelie feasted hir highnesse, yea and de- frated the whole charges for a daie or twaine, presen- ted gifts, made such triumphs and deuises, as in- deed was most noble to behold, and verie thankfullie accepted.

The Dorsette gentlemen hearing how dutiful- lie their neighbors had receiued the pzince, prepared in like sort to shew theiuelues dutifull: and so in most gallant maner they assembled and set forward with five and twentie hundred horsemen, wherof (as some affirme) were sir hundred gentlemen, so braue- lie attired and mounted, as in deed was worthie the noting, which goodly companie waited on their shiriffe a long season. But in god soth (as it was credi- ble spoken) the banquettes and feasts began here a- fresh, all kinds of triumphs that might be deuised were put in practise and pzoofe. The earle of Surreie did shew most sumptuous cheare, in whose parke were speaches well set out, and a speciall deuise much commended: and the rest, as a number of tollie gen- tlemen, were no whit behind to the uttermost of their abilitie, in all that might be done and de- uised.

But when the queenes highnesse came to Dor- sette, the substance of the whole triumph and feasting was in a maner there new to begin. For order was taken there, that euerie daie for six daies together, a shew of some strange deuise should be seene. And the maior and aldermen appointed among theiuelues and their brethren, that no one person reteining to the queene should be vnfesteid, or vnbidden to din- ner & supper, during the space of those six daies: which order was well & wiselie obserued, and gained their citie more fame and credit than they tooke of: for that courtisie of theirs shall remaine in perpetuall me- mozie whiles the walles of their citie standeth. Be- sides the monie they bestowed vpon diuerse of the traine, and those that toke paines for them, will be a witnesse of their well doing and god will, whiles the report of these things maie be called to remem- brance. Now, who can (considering their great charges and discreet gouernement in these causes) but giue them due laud and reputation, as farre as either pen or report maie do them good & stretch out their credit. For most assuredlie, they haue taught and learned all the towines and cities in England a lesson, how to behaue theiuelues in such like seruices and actions.

On saturday being the sixteenth of August 1578, and in the twentieth yeare of the reigne of our most gracions soueraigne ladie Elisabeth, by the grace of God queene of England, France & Ireland, defend- der of the faith, &c: the same our most dread and loue- reigne ladie (continuing hir progresse in Dorsette) immediatlie after dinner set forward from Bakers- ath, where she had dined with the ladie Skille, being five miles distant from Dorsette, towards the same hir most dutifull citie. Sir Robert Wode then esqui- er, now knight, maior of the same citie, at one of the clocke in the same happie daie, set forward to meet with hir maiestie in this order. First there rode be- fore him well and seemelie mounted, threescore of the most comelic yong men of the citie, as batchellers apparelled all in blacke satten doublets, blacke hose, blacke taffata hats, and yelloe bands, and their vni- uersall liuerte was a mandilion of purple taffata, laid about with siluer lace: & so apparelled they mar- ched forwards two and two in a ranke. Then one

Dorsette in-  
cited by the  
example of  
Suffolke to  
giue the queene  
tollie inter-  
tainment.

what order  
was taken in  
Dorsette for  
the receiuing  
and recreating  
of the queene.

The maior of  
Dorsette  
with his at-  
endants for  
to meet the  
queene.

The build-  
ing of Dorsette  
shall reppre-  
sented.

The found-  
ing of Blanche  
flower cha-  
pelle perfo-  
rmed the  
queene.

Persons pre-  
siding, frat-  
ernall

the founder  
of the  
city of  
Norwich

which represented king Gurgunt, sometime king of  
England, which builded the castell of Norwich, called  
Blanch fflowre, and laid the foundation of the citie.  
He was mounted vpon a braue courser, and was  
thus furnished: his bodie armed, his bales of grene  
and white filke: on his head a blacke velvet hat, with  
a plume of white feathers. There attended vpon him  
thre henchmen in white and grene: one of them did  
beare his helmet, the second his target, the third his  
staffe: after him a noble companie of gentlemen  
and wealthie citizens in velvet coats and other cost-  
lie furniture, brauelie mounted. Then followed the  
officers of the citie euerie one in his place. Then the  
sword-bearer, with the sword & hat of maintenance.  
Then the maior and foure and twentie aldermen,  
and the recorder all in scarlet gownes, whereof so  
manie as had bene maiors of the citie, and were iu-  
stices, did weare their scarlet clokes: then followed  
so manie as had bene shiriffs, and were no alder-  
men, in violet gownes and sattin tippets. Then follo-  
wed diuerse others, to keepe the people from distur-  
bing the arate aforesaid.

Thus euerie thing in due and comelie order, they  
all (except Gurgunt, which staied hir maiesties com-  
ming within a sight shot or two of the citie, where  
the castell of Blanch fflowre was in most beautifull  
prospect) marched forwards to a bidge, called Hart-  
ford bidge, the uttermost limit that waie, distant  
from the citie two miles or there abouts, to meet  
with hir maiestie; who within one houre or little  
more after their attendance, came in such gracious  
and princelie wise, as raniished the harts of all hir  
louing subiects, and might haue terrified the stoutest  
heart of ante enemie to behold. Whether the maie-  
stie of the prince, which is incomparable; or ioie of hir  
subiects, which exceeded measure, were the greater, I  
thinke would haue appalled the iudgement of Apollo  
to define. The acclamations and cries of the people  
to the almighty God for the preservation of hir ma-  
iestie rattled so lowd, as hardly for a great time could  
anie thing be heard. But at last, as euerie thing hath  
an end, the noise appeased: and the maior saluted hir  
highnesse with the oration following, and yelded to  
hir maiestie therewith the sword of the citie, and a  
faire standing cup of siluer and gylt, with a coner,  
and in the cup one hundred pounds in gold. The ora-  
tion was in these words.

Prætoris Nordouicensis ad se-  
renissimam Reginam, &c.

**S**I nobis ab Opt. Max. concederetur  
optio quid rerū humanarū nunc potissi-  
mum vellemus: nihil duceremus anti-  
quius (augustissima princeps) quam ut  
tuus ille, qui ita nos recreat, castissimi oculi radius  
posset in abditiſsimos cordium nostrorū angulos se  
conferre. Cerneret profecto quanta sint hilaritate  
perſuſa, quam in ipsis arterijs & venulis spiritus  
& sanguis gessant: dum intuemur te huius regni  
lumen (ut Dauid olim fuit Israelitici) in hys tan-  
dem finibus post longam spem, & ardentissima vo-  
ta exoriri. Equidem ut pro me, qui tua ex autori-  
tate & clementia (quod humillimis gratijs profite-  
or) celeberrima huic ciuitati præsum, & pro hys  
meis fratribus, atq; omni hoc populo quem tuis au-  
spicijs regimus, ex illorum sensu loquar, quod &  
ipse sentio: sic nos demum supplicibus votis expo-  
ſcimus, ut maiestatem tuam beneuolam nobis, &  
propitiam experiamur: ut nunquam cuiquam po-  
pulo aduenisti gratior quam nobis. In illius rei lucu-  
lentissimi indicium, insignia hæc honoris, & offi-

cij nostri, quæ nobis clementissimus princeps Hen-  
ricus quartus quinto sui regni anno cum prætoribus, se-  
natoribus, & vicecomitibus coëssit: (cum antea  
balliis (ut vocant) ultra annalium nostrorum  
memoriam regecerunt) perpetuis deinde regum  
priuilegijs, & corroborata nobis, & aucta magni-  
ficè, maiestati tuæ omnia exhibemus, quæ per tu-  
am vniuersæ clementiam (quam cum immortalibus  
gratijs prædicare nunquam cessabimus) viceſimo  
iam anno tenuimus: atq; una cum illis, hunc the-  
saurum, quasi pignus nostrarum & voluntatum  
& facultatum. Quas omnes, quantæ, quantulæc-  
sint, ad tuum arbitrium deuotimus: ut si quid om-  
ni hoc felicissimi tui temporis decursu admisimus,  
quod amantiſsimos, obſequentiſsimos, amplitudinis  
tuæ salutis, coronæ, emolumento deuotiſsimos non  
deceat: statuas de nobis, & nostris omnibus, pro  
tua clementissima voluntate. Sin ita clauum huius  
cinitatis (Deo duce) reximus: ut eam in portu  
saluam maiestati tuæ conseruauerimus, & popu-  
lum primum gloriæ Dei, & veræ religionis, dein-  
de salutis, honoris, & voluntatis tuæ studioſissi-  
mum, quantum in nobis est, effecerimus: tum non  
libet nobis id à te petere, quod insita tibi singularis  
clementia facillimè à te ipsa impetrabit. Tantum  
obsecramus, ut amplitudinem tuam Deus omni-  
bus & animi & corporis bonis cunctatiſſime bea-  
re velit, Amen.

The maiors oration to the  
queene Englished.



Four wish should be granted vnto vs by  
the almightie, what humane thing wee  
would chieflie desire: we would account  
nothing more pretious (most roial prince)  
than that the bright beame of your most chaste eie  
which doth so cheare vs, might pearse the secret and  
strait corners of our hearts. Then surely should you  
see how great ioies are disperſed there, and how the  
spirits and liuelie blood tickle in our arteries & small  
veines, in beholding you the light of this realme (as  
Dauid was of Israel) now at length, after long hope  
and earnest petitions, to appeare in these coats. True-  
lie on mine owne part, which by your highnesse au-  
thoritie and clemencie (with humble thanks bee it  
spoken) doo gouerne this famous citie, and on the  
part of these my brethren, and all these people which  
by your authoritie we rule (speaking as they meane,  
and as I my selfe doo thinke) this onelie with all our  
hearts and humble praier we desire, that we maie so  
find your maiestie gracious and fauourable vnto vs,  
as you for your part neuer came to anie subiects bet-  
ter welcome than to vs your poore subiects here. For  
most manifest token whereof, we present vnto your  
maiestie here, these signes of honor and office, which  
we receiued of the most mightie prince Henric the  
fourth, in the fift yere of his reigne, then to vs granted  
in the name of maior, aldermen and shiriffs; whereas  
before time out of mind or mention, we were gouer-  
ned by bailiffs (as they tearme them) which euer since  
haue bene both established and increased with con-  
tinuall priuileges of kings: and which by your onelie  
clemencie (which with immortall thanks we shall  
neuer cease to declare) we haue now these twentie  
yeares iniolied: and together with those signes, this  
treasure is a pledge of our good willes and abilitie:  
which all how great or little so euer they be, wee  
powre downe at your pleasure, that if we haue neg-  
lected anie thing in all this course of your most hap-  
pie reigne, which becommeth most louing, obedient  
and well willing subiects to performe, for the prefer-  
uation of your crowne, and aduancement of your  
highnesse,

Henricus quartus  
cinitati  
Nordouicensi  
princeps mu-  
nificentiſſimus

Prætoris pro-  
fatusq; traui-  
bus quādam ſig-  
nificanter  
facta oratio.

The maior  
ſpeaketh in  
his owne and  
his brethren  
the aldermen  
behalf.

Henric the  
fourth a most  
bountifull  
prince to the  
citie of Nor-  
wich.

A most boun-  
tiful submis-  
ſion.

folke that  
by the  
ple of  
folke, &  
queene  
inter-  
ment.

the founder  
of the  
city of  
Norwich

at order  
taken in  
Norwich  
receiving  
recreating  
the queene.

The maior of  
Norwich  
with his at-  
tendants set  
forth to receive  
the queene.

the maior  
of the  
city of  
Norwich



wherein the  
dutie of sub-  
jects chiefie  
consisteth.

highnesse, you maie then determine of vs and all ours at your most gracious pleasure. But if we haue (God being our guide) so ordered the gouernance of this citie, that we haue kept the same in safetie to your maiesties vse, and made the people therein (as much as in vs lieth) first most studious of Gods glorie and true religion, and next of your maiesties health, honour, and pleasure; then aske we nothing of you: for that the singular clemencie ingrafted in your highnesse, will easilie of it selfe grant that which is requisite for vs to obtaine. We onelie therefore desire, that God would abundantly blesse your highnesse with all good gifts of mind and bodie.

The queens  
maiesties ac-  
ceptable an-  
swer uttered  
by hir owne  
mouth in per-  
son.

Which oration ended, hir maiestie accepting in good part euerie thing deliuered by the maior, did thankfullie answer him in these words, or verie like in effect: We hartlie thanke you maister maior, and all the rest, for these tokens of goodwill; neuertheless, princes haue no need of monie: God hath indued vs abundantlie, we come not therefore, but for that which in right is our owne, the hearts and true allegiance of our subiects, which are the greatest riches of a kingdom; whereof as we assure our felues in you, so do you assure your selues in vs of a louing and gracious soueraine. Wherewith was deliuered to the maior, a mace or scepter, which he carried before hir to hir lodging, which was in the bishop of Norwich his palace, two miles distant from that place. The cup and monie was deliuered to a gentleman, one of hir maiesties footmen to car-  
rie. The maior said to hir, *Sunt hic centum libra pauri*. The couer of the cup lifted vp, hir maiestie said to the footmen; *Loke to it, there is 100 pounds.* With that hir highnesse, with the whole companie, marched toward Norwich, till they came to a place called the Towne close, distant from the citie a good flightshot, where the partie which represented Cur-  
gunt came forth, as in due maner is exprest, and was readie to haue declared to hir maiestie this speech following; but by reason of a shower of raine which came, hir maiestie hastened awaie, the speech not uttered. But thus it was as here followeth.

Curguntius  
his speech cut  
off by a shower  
of raine.

Curguntius  
the eldest son  
of Belinus.

The ancient-  
nesse of Nor-  
wich citie by  
the founders  
age may be  
gathered.

King Henrie  
the seventh,  
a king Henrie  
the eighth.

Curguntius  
yeeldeth his  
estate to the  
queene.

Leane off to muse most gracious prince of English soile,  
What sudden wight in martiall wise approacheth neere:  
King Curgunt I am hight, king Belins eldest sonne,  
Whose fire Dunwallo first, the British crowne did weare.  
Whom truthfulllest Outlacke first to passe the surging seas,  
His fallshod to reuenge, and Denmarke land to spoile.  
And finding in returne, this place a gallant vent,  
This castle faire I built, a fort from barren soile:  
To win a conquest, get renoume and glorious name,  
So keepe and vse it well, deserues eternall fame.  
When hute through cities, townes, the woods & dales did sound:  
Elizabeth this countie peerelesse queene drew neere:  
I was found out, my selfe in person noble queene  
Did halt, before thy face in presence to appeare.  
Two thousand yeares belme in silence lurking still:  
Heare, why to thee alone this seruice I doo peell.  
Besides that, at my citie sure their founder first  
Should gratular most this iustall sight in open field,  
Foure speciall points and rare concurring in vs both  
This speciall seruice haue referud to thee alone:  
The glorie though of each in their dooth far surmount,  
Yet great with small compar'd, will like appeare anon.  
When doubtfull waies the British princes long had wayong,  
My grandfide first uniting all did weare the crowne.  
Of Porke and Lancaster, who did conclude those broiles:  
Thy grandfide Henrie seventh, a king of great renoume.  
Whose uncle Brennus eke, my father joining hands,  
Did Rome did rule and sake, and halfe consume with fire:  
Thy puissant father so, new Rome that purple wore  
Did sake and spoile hir neere, of all his glittering fire.  
Lo Cambridge schooles by mine assignement founded first,  
By thee my Cambridge schooles are famous through the world,  
Thy thirtie wandring ships of banthe men relieved.  
The thongs of banthe soules that in this citie dwell,  
Do weepe for toy: and praye for thee with teares untold:  
In all these things thou noble queene doost far excell.  
But lo to thee I yeeld as dutie dooth me bind  
In open field my selfe, my citie, castle, keie,  
Doost happy fathers kings in such a daughter queene,  
Doost happy England were, if thou shouldst neuer die.  
So on most noble prince, for I must halt awaie  
My citie gates doo long, their soueraine to reueane:  
Dooe true thou neuer couldest, no loiall subiects find,  
Whose hearts full fast with perfect loue to thee doo cleane.

Then hir maiestie drew neere the gates of the citie

called saint Stephens gates, which with the walls there were both gallantlie and stronglie repaired. The gate it selfe was thus enriched and beautified. First the portcullis was new made both timber & iron. Then the outward side of the gate was thus beautified. The queenes armes were most richlie and beautifullie set forth in the chiefe front of the gate. On the one side thereof, but somewhat lower, was placed the scutcheon of saint George his crosse: on the other side, the armes of the citie: and directlie vnder the queenes maiesties armes, was placed the falcon, hir highnesse badge, in due forme, and vnder the same were written these words, God and the queene we serue. The inner side of the gate was thus beautified. On the right side was gorgeously set forth the red rose, signifieng the house of Porke; on the left side the white rose, representing the house of Lancaster; in the midst was the white and red rose vnited, expresting the vnion, vnder the which was placed by descent the armes of the queene, and vnder that were written these verses following.

Diuision kindled strife,  
Bliss vnion quendit the flame:  
Thence sprang our noble Phenix deare,  
The pearelesse prince of fame.

And besides that, at this gate, the walls of the citie were placed with lowd musicke, who cherefullie & melodiouslie welcomed hir maiestie into the citie, this song being song by the best voices in the same.

The dew of heauen drops this dew  
on drie and barren ground,  
Wherefore let fruitfull heares I saie  
as drum and trumpets found  
Tells that is due, shew that is meet,  
to make our ioy the more,  
In our good hope, and hir great praise,  
we neuer saw before.  
The sun dooth shine where shade hath bene,  
long darkenesse brought vs daie,  
The star of comfort now comes in,  
and here a while will staie.  
Ring out the bells, plucke by your speets,  
and dyesse your houles gate,  
Run in for floures to strew the streets,  
and make what ioy you maie.

The dew of heauen, &c.  
Full manie a winter haue we scene,  
and manie stormes withall,  
Since here we saw a king or queene  
in pompe and princelie pall.  
Wherefore make feast and banquet still,  
and now to triumph fall,  
With dutie let vs shew good will,  
to glad both great and small.  
The dew of heauen, &c.  
The realme throughout will ring of this,  
and sundrie regions mo  
Will say, full great our fortune is,  
when our good hap they knoe.  
O Norwich, heere the wellying runs,  
whole vertue still dooth flow,  
And to this day dooth shine two suns  
within thy walls also.

The dew of heauen, &c.

This song ended, hir highnesse passed towards hir lodging, & by the waie in a church-yard, over against maister Decks doze (a worthy alderman) was a scaffold set vp & by auelie trimmed. On this scaffold was placed an excellent boy, well and gallantlie decked, in a long white robe of tassata, a crimson scarfe wrought with gold, folded on the Turkish fashion about his browes, and a gate garland of white flowers on his head, which boie was not sene, till the queene had a good season marked the musicke, which was marvellous sweet and good, albeit the rudenesse of some ringers of bells did somewhat hinder the noise and harmonie: and as some as the musike ended, the boy stepped reuerendlie before the queene, and spake these words that follow in comelie order.

Great things were meant to welcome thee (O queene)  
If want of time had not cut off the same:  
Great was our wish, but small is that was seene,  
For vs to shew before to great a dame.  
Great hope we haue it pleads our princes eie,  
Great were the harmes that else our paines should reape:  
Our grace or soile dooth in your iudgement lie,  
If you mislike, our griefs doo grow on heape:  
If for small things we doo great fauour find,

Great

S. Stephens  
gates in Nor-  
wich richlie  
beautified.

The queene  
used this  
device.

The first pa-  
gent was in  
S. Stephens  
parish in this  
maner.

The vnion of  
the white rose  
and the red.

How the pa-  
gent was  
beautified  
with repre-  
sentation of  
the imperies  
of the citie.

1. Pointing to  
the splennor.  
2. Pointing to  
the loomes.  
3. Pointing to  
the workes.

The second  
pageant with  
the denation  
of the same,  
and what re-  
presentation  
it bore.

The boyes  
speech at ma-  
ster Decks  
doze.

ephana  
in Ro-  
chlie  
ied.

The queene  
used this  
maile.

The first pa-  
geant was in  
St. Stephens  
parish in this  
maile.

tion of  
the role  
red.

How the pa-  
geant was in-  
terpreted  
with repre-  
sentation of  
the simplicity  
of the citie.

Pointing to  
the spinners.  
Pointing to  
the loomes.  
Pointing to  
the woikes.

boles  
by at ma-  
Decks

The second  
pageant with  
the imitation  
of the same,  
and what re-  
presentations  
were.

Great is the joy that Norwich sees this date:  
If well we maid the greatnesse of your maie,  
Ten thousand would serve, we had but small to saie.  
But knowing that your goodnesse takes things well  
That well are meant, we boldie did proceed:  
And so good queene, both welcome and farewel,  
Thine owne we are in heart, in word, and deed.

The boy thereupon sang up his garland, and the  
queenes highnes said, This deuise is fine. Then the  
noise of musike began againe, to heare the which the  
queene said a god while, and after departed to the ca-  
thedrall church, which was not far from thence. Then  
passed the forwarde through saint Stephens street,  
where the first pageant was placed in forme follow-  
ing. It was builded somewhat in maner like a stage  
of 40 foot long, & in breadth eight foot. From the stan-  
ding place upward was a bank framed in maner of  
a free stone wall, & in the height therof were written  
sentences, that is to saie: The causes of this common  
wealth are, God trulie preached, Justice done execu-  
ted, The people obedient, Idleness expelled, Labour  
cherished, Winterfall concord preferred.

From the standing place downewards it was  
beautified with painters worke, artificiallie expre-  
sing to sight the portraiture of these severall loomes,  
and the weavers in them (as it were working) and  
ouer euerie loome the name thereof, that is to saie.  
ouer the first loome was written, the weaving of  
woolled: ouer the second, the weaving of ruffels: o-  
uer the third, the weaving of darning: ouer the fourth,  
the weaving of tuff mockado: the fifth, the weaving  
of lace: the sixth, the weaving of calke: the seventh,  
the weaving of fringe. And then was there the portra-  
ture of a matrone, and two of thre children, and ouer  
hir head was written these words: God nurture  
changeth qualities. Upon the stage there stood at the  
one end eight small women children spinning woofed  
parne, and at the other end as manie knitting of  
woofed parne hole: and in the midst of the said  
stage stood a pretie boy richlie apparelled, which repre-  
sented the common wealth of the citie. And all the  
rest of the stage was furnished with men, which  
made the said severall woikes, and before euerie man  
the worke in deed. Euerie thing thus readie, and hir  
maiestie come, the child representing the common  
wealth, spake to hir highnesse these words following.

Most gracious prince, vndoubted soueraigne queene,  
Our onlie toy next God, and chiefe defense:  
In this small towne, our whole estate is scene,  
The wealth we haue, we find proceed from thence,  
The idle hand hath here no place to feed,  
The painfull toyle hath still to serue his need.  
Againe, our seat denies our traffike here,  
The lea too neare decies vs from the rest,  
So weake we were within this dozen yeare,  
As care did quench the courage of the best:  
But good aduise hath taught these little hands,  
To send in twaine the force of pining bands.  
From combed wooll we draw this slender threed,  
From thence the loomes haue dealing with the same,  
And then lea againe in order doo proceed,  
These severall woikes which skilfull art dooth frame:  
And all to diuine dame need into hir cause,  
Our heads and hands together labour haue.  
We bought before the things that now we sell,  
These slender unpes, their woikes doo passe the wailes,  
Goes peace and thine, we hold and prosper well,  
Euerie mouth the hands the charges sailes.  
Thus through thy helpe and aid of power diuine,  
Dooth Norwich live, whose hearts and goods are thine.

This shew pleased hir maiestie so greatlie, as the  
particularlie viewed the knitting & spinning of the  
children, perused the loomes, and noted the severall  
woikes and commodities which were made by these  
means: and then after great thanks by hir given to  
the people, marched towards the market place, where  
was the second pageant shewing the street at the  
entrance of the market, betwene master Skinner  
& master Quash, being in breadth two and fiftie foot  
of assise, and was diuided into three gates, in the midst  
a maine gate, & on either side a posterne: the maine  
gate in breadth fourtene foot, each posterne eight foot,  
their heights equall to their proportion: ouer each po-

sterne was as it were a chamber, which chambers  
were replenished with musike. Over all the gates  
passed a stage of eight foot brode, in maner of a page-  
ant, curious, rich, & delitefull. The whole worke, from  
the pageant downewards, seemed to be iasper & mar-  
ble. In the forefront towards hir maiestie was the  
armes of England on the one side the gate, & on the  
other side the falcon with crowne and scepter. The  
other side was beautified with the arms of England  
on the one side of the gate, & the cross of England on  
the other. The pageant was furnished with six persons  
nages apparelled like women. The first was the citie  
of Norwich; the second Deboia; the third Judith; the  
fourth Hester; the fifth Spartia, sometime queene of  
England. At the first sight of the prince, & till hir ma-  
iesties comming to the pageant, the musicians used  
their lowd musike, and then ceased: where with hir  
highnesse staied, to whom the personage represen-  
ting the citie of Norwich, did speake in these words.

Whom fame reounds with thundring trump, that rends the  
And perleth to the haute heauens, and thence descending flies  
Through flickering aire: and so conioines the sea & shore together,  
In admiration of thy grace, good queene that welcome hither:  
More welcome than Terpsichore was to the towne of Crote.  
Sea-faring men by Gemini conceit not halfe my tole.  
Strong Hercules to Chelous was neuer such delight,  
Nor Julius to Curialus as I haue in this fight.  
Penelope did neuer thirst Ulysses moie to see,  
Than I poore Norwich hungered haue to gaue the sight of thee.  
And now that these my happie eyes behold thy heauenlie face,  
The Lord of Iudas I humbly praye, to blisse thy noble grace  
With Iudas life, with Sibils belch, with Crelius stocke & store,  
With all good gifts of Salomon, and twice as manie moie.  
What shuld I saie? Thou art my toy next God, I haue none other,  
My princesse & my peerlesse queene, my louing nurse and mother.  
My goods & lands, my hands and hart, my lims and life are thine,  
What is mine owne in right of thought, to thee I doo resigne.  
Grant then (oh gracious loueigne queene) this onlie my request,  
That that which shall be doone in me, be contriued to the best.  
And take in part my slender thewes, wherein my whole pretense  
Is for to please your maiestie, and end without offense.  
So shall I clap my hands for toy, and hold my selfe as rich  
As if I had the gold of Indre, and double twice as much.

Where princes sitting in their thrones set God before their sight  
And liue according to his law, and guide their people right,  
There doth his blessed gifts abound, there kingdoms firme stand  
Where force of foes cannot preuaile, nor furie fret the land.  
My selfe (oh peerlesse prince) doo speake by prooffe of matter past,  
Which prooffe by practice I performe, and foill his foes at last.  
For Iabin king of Canaan, poore Israel did spire,  
And meant by force of furious rage to ouerrun vs quite.  
Nine hundred iron chariots, he brought into the field,  
With cruell captaine Siserah by force to make vs peell.  
His force was great, his fraud was moie, he fought, we did defend,  
And twentie winters long did last this warre without an end.  
But he that neither sleeps nor slackes such furies to correct,  
Appointed me Deboia for the iudge of his elect:  
And did deliuer Siserah into a womans hand,  
I thus them all, and so in rest his people held the land.  
O mightie prince, that pulsat Lord, hath plait thee here to be,  
The rule of this triumphant realme alone belongs to thee.  
Continue as thou hast begun, weed out the wicked rout,  
Uphold the simple, meeke and good, pull downe the proud & stout.  
Thus shalt thou liue and reigne in rest, & mightie God shalt please,  
That state be sure, thy subjects safe, thy commonwealth at ease.  
Thy God shall grant thee length of life, to glorifie his name,  
Thy deeds shall be recorded in the booke of lasting fame.

Oh floure of grace, oh prime of Gods elect,  
Oh mightie queene and finger of the Lord,  
Did God sometime by me poore toyle correct  
The champion stout, that him and his abhorred?  
Then be thou sure thou art his mightie hand,  
To conquer those which him and thee withstand.  
The rage of foes Bethulia did oppresse,  
The people faint were readie to yeeld:  
God aided me poore widow nerthelesse,  
To enter into holofernes field,  
And with this sword by his directing hand,  
To slay his fo, and quiet so the land.  
If this his grace were given to me poore toyle wight,  
If widowes hand could vanquish such a fo:  
Then to a prince of thy surpassing might,  
What tyrant flues but thou maist ouerthor?  
Perseuer then his seruant as thou art,  
And hold for aie a noble victors part.

The fretting heads of furious foes haue skill,  
As well by fraud as force to find their preie.  
In smiling looks dooth lurke a lot as ill,  
As where both sterne and sturdie streams doo swaile,  
Thy selfe oh queene, a prooffe hast seene of this,  
So well as I poore Hester haue I wis.  
As Iabins force did Israel perplee,  
And holofernes fierce Bethulia beleage,  
So Damans flights sought me and mine to ber,  
Per thowd a face of subject to his liege.  
But force no fraud, nor tyrant strong can trap,  
Whom whom the Lord in his defense dooth wrap.  
Amen.

which is his  
owne badge.

The mus-  
icians  
were inclosed  
in the cham-  
bers of the  
said pageant.

How Nor-  
wich is affec-  
ted to the  
queenes high-  
nesse.

Then spake  
Deboia the  
second person.

The applica-  
tion of the  
former exam-  
ples.

Then spake  
Judith the  
third person.

The applica-  
tion of the for-  
mer examples

Then Hester  
spake the  
fourth person.

The





Chast life is pure as babe new borne,  
 that hugs in mothers breast.  
 Lewd life cuts off his daies,  
 and loone it out his date,  
 Confounds good wit, breeds naughtie bloud,  
 and weakens mans estate.  
 Lewd life the Lord doth loath,  
 the law and land multites,  
 The wile will him, fond fooles doo secke,  
 and God soe plagies and strikes.  
 Chast life may dwell alone,  
 and find few fellows now,  
 And sit in regal throne,  
 and searh lewd manners throw.  
 Chast life feares no mishap,  
 the whole account is made,  
 When soule from worldlie cares is crept,  
 and sits in sacred shade.  
 Lewd life is laught to scorne,  
 and put to great disgrace,  
 In hollow canes it hides the head,  
 and walks with muffled face,  
 found out and pointed at,  
 a monster of the mind,  
 A rankred worme that conscience eates,  
 and strikes cleere senses blind.  
 Chast life a pretious pearle,  
 dooth shine as bright as sun,  
 The faire houre glasse of daies and yeeres,  
 that neuer out will run.  
 The beantie of the soule,  
 the bodies blisse and ease,  
 A thing that least is looth vnto,  
 yet most the mind shall please.

And then the song was ended, modestie sent (as she said she was) from hir maiestie, spake to the queene a good season, and so the matter ended. For this shew the deuiler had gracious words of the queene openlie and often pronounced by hir highnesse. On the same daie the minister of the Dutch church, pronouncing to hir maiestie at hir being abroad the oration following, presented the cup there in mentioned, which was esteemed to be worth fiftie pounds, vertie curtonlie and artificiallie wrought.

Oratio ad serenissimam Angliæ reginam habita 19. Augusti 1578 à ministro ecclesiæ Belgogermanicæ Nordouici in loco publico.

Quinam oratores antiqua pietate preclarissima laudatissimi existerunt.

Bene sciorum à regia maiestate collatum agnitionem cum obsequio &c.

Monumentum antiquum regie maiestati exhibitum.

**M**agna oratoribus, qui percelebratorum atate vixerunt fuit laus, serenissima regina, quod indicum animos partim suauiloquentia, partim posita rei personæque ante ipsorum oculos calamitate, in quemcunque vellent animi habitum transformarent. Primum membrum non vulgare nobis ob oculos ponit hominum facilitatem, quod adeo sequaces dictoque audientes fuerint, ut si linguis duci paterentur. Posterius magnum ubique apud gentes, quarum res publica optabili ordine fuit constituta, obtinuit gratiam: longè autem maiorem apud eos, qui Christo nomen dederunt: omnium verò maximam apud te (ô serenissima regina) ecclesiæ Christi matris, cuius animum verbo Dei obsequerem instruxit, non fucatus hic sermo, sed Christi spiritus, pietatisque zelus. Ipsissima piorum calamitas afflictionumque lachryme, lachryma inquam Christi fidelium te commouerunt, misera differasque Christi membra quibus in iniurijs obiecta, mille iam moribus territa, in tutelam salutemque animi iuxta ac corporis recipere ac protegere. Ob hac singularia tua in nos pietatis beneficia, & quod sub tutore optimo magistratu in hac tua Nordouiciensi urbe (quam maiestas tua nobis ob Christi religionem exultantibus domicilij loco clementer concessit) vivimus, adde quod populi in nos animum favorabilem experimus, imprimis Deo patri, & Domino unico servatori nostro Iesu Christo, deinde & tibi serenissima regina immortales non quas debemus sed quas possumus agimus gratias. Porro humile quidem & vnicum tamen nostrum est votum, animi nostri gratitudinem maiestati tue ostendere. Ecce igitur nullum munus sed animum nostrum: nullum regium splendorem, sed pietatis posteritatisque monumentum serenissime tue maiestati consecratum. Hoc autem eo gratius maiestati tue fore confidimus, quod ex inculpati pssimig. Iosephi historia, Dei erga maiestatem tuam bonitas, ad vivum sit delineata, quem nulla astutia, nullum robur, nulla denique regnandi libido, sed fides constans, christiani pectoris pietas, celestisque virtus singulari

Dei favore ex sanguinaria fratrum consirratione, mortificemetur, ad summam dignitatem, regnique decus eueherent. In huius fratres non aliena videtur promeritis illa apud Hebræos sententia, Invidia malarum rerum appetitus, & studium vana gloria hominibus sepius occasu sunt sui interitus. Tamen quod Iosephi animum attingit, ea fuit præditus Iosephus infans, & temperantia & fortitudine, ut nimis iniquis simul & prauis censori posset, qui eum vel minimo vindicandi affectu accusare vellet; adeo Dei providentia & se & omne vitæ suæ studium, vitæ inquam in alieno regno periclitantis, commisit, ut non aliunde quam à solo Dei nutu pendere visus sit. Sed quorsum ista? In te ne hæc ipsa aliæque consimilia (ô serenissima regina) & regni tui ratione omnium oculis conspiciunt? Hæc inquam esse ecclesiæ Christi felicissimum gaudium, spirituale diadema, & summum decus, huius vero regni verè regium splendorem, atque perennem gloriam, quis nisi mente captus inficias ire potest? Pssimè tu quidem singulari Dei bonitate animum Iosephi tum in regni tui conseruatione, tum in regno Christi amplificando imitata es (ô nutritrix ecclesiæ Dei fidelissima) solius enim Dei est hunc per res (prout hominum oculis sunt subiectæ) secundas disperdere illum autem per quas tetationum genera rerumque discrimina extollere. Quos vs vasa sua misericordia agnoscit ita etiam & bonitate & spiritus sui tum consolatione, tum fortitudine ad aternæ vitæ felicitatem prosequitur. Quod nostrum votum ratum esse maiestatem tuam regnique ordinem spirituali prudentia ac sapientia stabilire, eamque in longam atatem seruare, tua item maiestatis subditos vera sui cognitione magis ac magis imbueri, dignetur bonus ille & clemens Deus, per merita filij sui Domini nostri Iesu Christi, Amen.

Regia maiestati post orationem oblatum est monumentum aliquod, in cuius superficie artificiosè sculpta erat historia Iosephi: ex lib. Genesis.

In circumferentia verò hoc carmen.

Innocentium pietas ad regia sceptrâ Iosephum,  
 Ex manibus fratrum, carnisque rapis:  
 Carcere & insidijs sic te regina tuorum  
 Ereptam duxit culmina ad ista Deus.

Inscriptio erat in ipsius capacitate scripta in orbem, hoc modo.

Serenissimæ Angliæ reginæ Elisabethæ, ecclesiæ Belgicæ Nordouici ob religionem exultantes, hoc monumentum & pietatis & posteritatis ergo consecrabant, Anno salutis humanæ, 1578.

In interiore ipsius parte erat insigne serpentis in gryum conuoluti, cui media infidebat columba, cum hoc Christi elogio: Prudens vt serpens, simplex vt columba.

The minister of the Dutch church his oration in English.

**T**He oratours (most grations queene) which liued in the age of them that woone greatest renowne, were highlie commended for that they could transforme the iudges minds, partlie by eloquence, and partlie by setting downe before their eies the calamitie of the thing and person they spake of, into what disposition them lifted. The first part declareth vnto vs no common felicitie of men, in that they were so willing in following, and attentue in hearing, as they would suffer themselves to be lead by eloquence. The last obtained great fauour amongst all nations, whose common weale was gouerned in good order, and farre greater amongst the christians: but greatest of all with thee (ô most excellent queene) the nurse of Christ his church, whose mind obedient to Gods word, the spirit of Christ, and zeale of godlinesse, and not this prophane kind of speech hath instructed. The verie calamitie of godlie men and teares of the afflicted, the teares I saie of faithfull christians haue thoroughlie moued thee to defend and protect the miserable

Amont of antiqui presentis hic mai

Ioseph singulari contentum a not soci out caus

The quee maiestie e pared to kph, &c.



terable and deperished members of Christ obiect to euerie kind of iniurie, before beaten in peeces by a thousand deaths, with the sfectie and perseruation as well of mind as bodie. For these thy singular benefits of godlinesse towards vs, and that we lue vnder so good a tutor, being magistrate in this thy citie of Norwich, which thy maiestie hath of clemencie granted vnto vs for a mansion place, which were banished for Christ his religion; and moreouer that we find the minds of the people fauourable towards vs, first wee giue immortall thanks, not such as wee ought, but such as we are able vnto God the father, and the Lord our onelie sauiour Iesus Christ; and then vnto thee most mercifull queene. Moreouer, it is our humble and yet our onelie petition, to shew vnto your maiestie the thankfulness of our mind. Behold therefore dedicated to your most excellent maiestie, not anie gift but our mind, no princelie iewel but a monument of godlinesse and posteritie. The which we hope will be so much the more acceptable to your maiestie; for bicause the goodness of God towards your maiestie is liuelie drawne out of the historie of the innocent and most godlie Ioseph, whom neither policie, strength nor desire of bearing rule, but constant faith, godlinesse of a christian heat, and heauenlie vertue by Gods singular mercie deliuered from the bloudie conspiracie of his brethren and feare of death, and brought vnto high dignitie & roiall kingdome. To whose brethren that prouerbiall sentence of the Hebrewes is verie ficke alluded: Enue being the desire of euill things, and couetousnesse of transitorie renowne, is oftentimes the occasion of mans destruction. But touching the mind of Ioseph, the same was indued with such temperance and fortitude, that he might be thought no lesse vnist than wicked, that would accuse him so much as with the least affection of reuengement: so wholie did he commit himselfe and all the gouernement of his life, his life I say put in hazard in a strange kingdome vnto the prouidence of God, that he seemed to hang of no other thing than the onelie will of God. But to what end speake I this? Are not these selfe same things, and others their like (o most excellent queene) by the eies of all men clearlie beheld in thee and the order of thy kingdome? What man (I saie) hauing his wits, can denie these things to be the most happie ioy, spirituall crowne, & chiefe ornament of Christes church, & trulie of this kingdome the princelie beautie and perpetuall renowne? Thou surelie dost folow most holilie the mind of Ioseph, by the singular goodnesse of God, as well in preferring thy kingdome, as in amplifying the kingdome of Christ (o thou most faithfull nurse of the church of God.) For it is in God onelie to destroe this man by prosperitie (as the world seeth) and aduance another by all kinds of aduersities, tentations, & dangers. Whom as he acknowledged the vessels of his mercie, so by his goodnesse together with the consolation and strength of his spirit, he doth bring them to the happinesse of eternall life. Which our petition that good and mercifull God grant may be ratified, in establishing your maiestie and gouernance of your kingdome with spirituall wisdom and vnderstanding, in preferring the same full manie years, and in diuing your maiesties subiects more and more with true knowledge of him, for his sonnes sake our Lord Iesus Christ, Amen.

The oration ended, there was a certeine monument presented to hir maiestie, in the upper part thereof was artificiallie grauen the histoie of Ioseph out of Genesis. In the inner part of the same there was the figure of a serpent, interfolding it selfe: in the middle thereof did sit a doue with this

sentence of Christ, *Math. 10, 16.* Wise as the serpent, and meeke as the doue. In the circumference of compass thereof was these verses to be read.

To roiall scepter, godlinesse,  
Ioseph the innocent,  
Doth take from brothers bloudie hands,  
and murderers intent.  
So thee, O queene, the Lord hath led  
from pylon and deceit  
Of thine, vnto these highest tops  
of your princelie estate.

On wednesdaye hir highnesse dined at my lord of Surreis, where were the French ambassadois also, at a most rare and delicate dinner and banquet. At which season the deuiler did watch with his shew (called Panhob & Desert) at my lord of Surreis backe doze, going to the quenes barge: but the rowe was so little, that neither the shot, the armed men, nor the plaiers could haue place conuenient. Whereupon he and his assistants toke boats, and conueied their people downe the water, towards a landing place that they hoped the queene would come vnto. And there hauing althings in readinesse, they howered on the water three long houres, by which means the night came on, and so they were faine to withraw themselves and go homeward, trusting for a better time and occasion, which in deed was offered the next daie after by the quenes maiesties olue god motion, who told the deuiler she would see what parties were prepared, as hercafter you shall perceiue by the discourse of these matters, and by this shew of Panhob, and the shew of the Pymphes. Neuertheless, as hir maiestie returned homeward; within Bishops gate at the hospitall doze, master Stephan Lambert, master of the grammar schole in Norwich stood readie to render hir an oration. Hir maiestie drew neare vnto him, & thinking him fearefull, said grationlie vnto him: Be not afraid. He answered hir againe in English: I thanke your maiestie for your good incouragement: & then with god courage entered into this oration following.

The quenes maiestie is banketed at the carle of Surreis.

A singular affabilitie of a pounce to put awaie a subiects bashfulness.

Ad illustrissimam principem Elisabetham, Angliae, Franciae, & Hiberniae reginam &c: ante fores *ἱεροπόλεως* Norwicenses, oratio Stephani Lamberti ludimagistri publici.



*Aegyptum fama est inundante Nilo (serenissima regina) & aureo Pactoli flumine quotannis Lidiā irrigari, quae res in ijs agris maxima fecunditas causa putatur. In nos autem atq; adeo vniuersam Angliam, quae late patet, non ē Imolo aut alijs nescio quibus montibus, sed ex illo perenni & uberrimo fonte bonitatis tuae, multi maximeq; pietatis, iusticiae, mansuetudinis, aliorumq; innumerabilium bonorum, prae quibus iam viluit aurum & obsoleuit, copiosissimi riuus profluxerunt. Atq; ut ex infinitis vel vnum leuiter attingam, propterea quod de pluribus dicere nec est huius loci & temporis nec facultatis meae. Insignem illam misericordiam celsitudinis tuae, nobilissima regina, & ad leuandum pauperum hominum inopiam incredibilem propensionem, quae de plurimis virtutibus nulla Deo gratior (πεὸς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπον ὡς καὶ ὁμοῦς) in summa principe nulla mortalibus admirabilior esse potest, quibus tandem laudibus efferemus? Quam honorificis verbis prosequemur? ἱεροπόλεως, hoc est, hospitium pauperum celeberrimum est apud omnes posteros regiae virtutis atq; beneficentiae monumentum futurum, institutum quidem ab illustrissimo Henrico patre celsitudinis tuae, a nobilissimo Edouardo fra-*

Egredie necnon impares Angliae doctes.

Henricus & Edouardus reges, necnon Elisabetha regina praecipui benefactores agnoscuntur.

tre maximis tabulis consignatum, a tua verò maiestate, quod non minorem laudem meretur, Crinlefordiensibus fundis & possessionibus egregie nuper auctum atq; amplificatum, ut non tam alienis iam ornamentis, quam proprijs virtutibus merito letari possis. Recordata quippe es pro tua singulari prudentia atq; eruditione, diuinam illam sapientissimam Platonis legem, quam undecimo de legibus libro scriptam reliquit, πλάττω μιν δεισιματὴν τὴν πόλιν γινώσκον. Tamen agitur benignitatem, tam eximiam & incredibilem misericordiam tuam (illustriissima princeps) quibus complectemur studijs? Quibus officijs, aut qua voce grati animi voluntatem testificabimur? Cum enim omnes referenda gratiae studio & labore, vel accuratissimas rationes exquisierimus, ne unius quidem huius beneficij, quo nos augustissima maiestati tua obstrictos esse & deuinctos agnoscimus, magnitudinem assequi poterimus. Superabimur vel ab hoc uno & singulari merito, nedum sperandum est, ut immenso reliquorum meritorum pelago, quod tum in omnes tibi subditos publice & generatim, tum in hanc ciuitatem proprie ac particularim exundauit, pares esse queamus. Verè nos iam ὁδὸν incolimus, & in beatis illis insulis de quibus meminit Hesiodus ὁ ἀρετῶν σοφὸν ἀνὴρ ἀτάκην ἀγίμω, qui non modo frugibus, lana, pecore, alijsq; subsidijs humana uita sed multo magis verae religionis verbig, diuini, in quibus animi solum acquiescunt, pretiosissimis opibus abundamus. Sunt qui Britanniam alterum orbem appellarunt, quod hac atate nostra dici rectissime posse arbitror. Cum enim omnes undique terrae grauissimis bellis affligantur, & discordiarum iactentur fluctibus, soli nos, celsitudine tua clauum moderante, in pacatissimo portu nauigamus, & ab orbe malorum disiecti, in caelum quodammodo felicitatis sublati videmur. Quod est ergo officij nostri, primum deo Opt. Max. gratias agimus, cuius unius bonitati omnem hanc, quantūq; est, beatitudinem acceptam referimus, precamurq; ut eam nobis propriam & perpetuam esse velit: deinde celsitudini tuae serenissima regina, cuius opera, cura, sollicitudine, & partem hanc nobis felicitatem, & tot annos conseruatam agnoscimus. Latamur hoc aspectu tuo, & gratulamur incredibili studio, quod tum ex meo ipsius sensu loquor, tum omnes qui iam undiq; confluxerunt Nordouicenses tui a me dici postulant. Atq; utinam in hac pectora posses oculos inferere, & osculatos animorum nostrorum sinus perlustrare, videres profecto inclusam intus, quae tantis angustijs erumpere non potest, infinitam molem voluminis. Fidem omnem, studium, obseruantiam, quae tanta principi debentur, ut haecenus promptissime detulimus, ita studiosissime semper deferemus: & si quando casus aliquis inciderit (quod Deus omen avertat) sacrosanctae maiestatis tuae, aut istius florentissimi regni, vel salus in discrimen veniat, vel dignitas periclitetur, non solum bonorum omnium ac facultatum effusionem, sed laterum nostrorum oppositus & corporum pollicemur. Rogamus deinde & obsecramus excellentiam tuam, illustriissimam regina, ut & hoc nostrum quaecumq; officium a summa beneuolentia animoq; quam gratissimo profectum boni consulas, & de nobis Nordouicensibus sic existimes, ad lautiores te fortasse subditos venisse saepe, ad lautiores nunquam.

Pares gratias pro  
imparibus bene-  
ficijs agi non  
posse.

Angliam merito  
alterum orbem  
nuncupari,

Nordouicensium  
veritates ex inti-  
pria medullas  
protenicus leti-  
tia quam regiam  
maiestatem  
videamus.

The oration of Stephan Limbert, publike schoolemaister, to the most magnificent prince, Elisabeth of England, France, and Ireland queene, &c: before the gates of the hospitall of Norwich.



It is reported (most gracious queene) that Aegypt is watered with the yercleie ouerflowing of Nilus, and Lidia with the golden streame of Pactolus, which thing is thought to be the cause of the great fruitfulness of these countries: but vpon vs, and further, ouer all England, euen into the vttermost borders, manie and maine riuers of godlinesse, iustice, humilitie, and other innumerable good things, in comparison of the which, gold is vile and naught worth, doo most plentifully gush out, and those not from Tmolus, or other hilles I know not which, but from that continuall and most abundant wellspring of your goodnesse. And that of those infinit goodnesse I maie lightlie touch one, for that neither place, time, nor my abilitie dooth permit to speake of manie: with what praises shall we extoll; with what magnificent words shall we expresse that notable mercie of your highnesse (most renowned queene) and vncredible readinesse to relieue the need of poore men, than the which of manie vertues none can be more acceptable vnto God, as Homer writeth, neither anie vertue in a mightie prince more woondered at amongst men. This hospitall of poore men is most famous, which will be a monument of princelie vertue and beneficence amongst all posteritie, instituted by the most mightie king Henrie your highnesse father, confirmed with the great scale by the most noble king Edward your brother, but by your maiestie, which deserueth no lesse praise, of late notable increased and amplified by the lands and possessions of Cringleford, that you maie not now worthilie reioice so much in others ornaments, as your owne vertues. For you are said for your singular wisdom and learning, to haue studied that diuine law of the most wise Plato, which he left written in the eleuenth booke of lawes. Such your great bountie therefore, so exceeding and incredible mercie (o most vertuous prince) in what bookes shall we comprehend? With what duties, or with what voice shall we testifie the good will of a thankfull mind? For when we diligentlie seeke all the most exquisite and curious means of thanksgiuing: we cannot so much as attaine vnto the greatnesse of this one benefit, by the which we acknowledge our selues bound and freitlie holden to your most roiall maiestie. We shall be ouercome, euen with this one and singular benefit, so much the lesse hope haue we then in anie point to counteruaile the huge sea of the rest of your benefites, which ouerfloweth on euerie side as well publikelie & generallie ouer all your subiects, as properlie and particularlie vpon this citie. We certeinlie now inhabit, and lead our liues in those most happie Ilands, of the which Hesiodus maketh mention, which not onelie abound with all maner of graine, wooll, cattell, and other aids of mans life; but much more with the most pretious treasure of true religion and the word of God, in the which onlie the minds of men haue rest and peace. There be that call England another world, which I thinke maie be most true in this our age. For whereas all lands on euerie side of vs are afflicted with most grievous warres, and tossed with the fouds of dissention, we onelie (your highnesse gouerning our sterne) doo saile in a most peaceable haven, and seuered from a world of mischiefes, doo seeme after a sort to be taken vp into a heauen of happinesse. We therefore (according to our bounden dutie) first giue thanks vnto God almightie, vnto whose goodnesse onlie with thanks we refferre all this our happinesse, how great focuer it be, & praie that he would vouchsafe to make the same proper and perpetuall vnto vs. And afterwards vnto your highnesse (o most gracious queene) by whose studie, care and diligence we confesse this blessednesse to be gotten, and so manie years preferued vnto vs. We are glad in this beholding you, and we reioice of to be more than maie be beleued, which as I speake of to be mine owne thought, so also all the subiects of Northwich desire me to saie the same in their behalte. And I would

The excellent  
and incompre-  
hensible blessing  
of England.

King Henrie  
king Edward  
and queene  
Elisabeth ac-  
knowledge  
the great ben-  
efits.

Comigne  
thanks vn-  
fable to be  
giuen.

England be-  
lieued cele-  
sted another  
world.

Their being  
desire  
of to be  
more than  
maie be  
beleued.

I would to God you could pearse these our breasts with your eyes, and throughlie view the hidden and couered creeks of our minds! Then vndoubtedlie should you behold an infinit heape of good will close-lie shut vp within, which cannot breake out of so narrow straits. All the faith, studie, and obedience, which are due to so great a prince, as hitherto we haue most willinglie imployed, so will we alwaies most diligentlie performe the same: and if at anie time anie chance shall happen (which fortune God turne from vs) that the state of thy blessed maiestie, or of this flourishing realme should come in danger, or the worthinesse thereof be in hazard, we do not onlie protect the effusion of all our goods and substance, but also the putting forth and brunt of our strengths and bodies therein. Finallie, we desire and beseech thy excellencie (most renowned queene) well to accept of this our dutie, howsoeuer it be, proceeding from a singular good will, and a most thankfull mind, and so to thinke of vs citizens of Norwich, that perhaps you haue manie times come to people more wealthie, but to more iofull neuer.

Immediatlie after the beginning of the oration hir maiestie called to hir the French ambassadoys, wherof there were thre, and diuerse English lords, and willed them to harken, and he hirselfe was verie attentue, euen untill the end thereof. And the oration ended, after he had giuen great thanks therefore to maister Lambert, he said to him; It is the best that euer I heard; you shall haue my hand: and pulled off hir glove, and gaue him hir hand to kisse, which before kneeling on his knees, he arose and kissed; and then he departed to the court without a nie other shew that night, but that she sent backe to know his name. The next night being thursdaie there was an excellent princelie maske brought before hir after supper by maister Colbingham in the priuie chamber, it was of gods and goddesses both strangelie and richlie apparellled. The first that entered was Mercurie, then entered two torchbearers in purple tassata mandillions laced with silver lace, as all other the torchbearers were; then entered a consort of musike, to wit, six musicians, all in long vestures of white farsenet girded about them, and garlands on their heads, plaieng verie cunninglie; then two torchbearers more; then Jupiter and Juno, then two torchbearers more; then Mars and Venus, then two torchbearers more; then Apollo and Pallas, then two torchbearers more; then Neptune and Diana; and lastly Cupid concluding the matter.

Thus when they had once marched about the chamber, Mercurie discharged his message in these words to the queene: The good meaning maior and all his brethren, with the rest, haue not rested from praiering vnto the gods to prosper thy comming hither; and the gods themselves moued by their vnfaired praers, are readie in person to bid thee worthilie welcome; and I Mercurie the god of merchants and merchandise, and therefore a fauourer of the citizens, being thought meetest am chosen fittest to signifie the same. Gods there be also which cannot come, being tied by the time of the yeare, as Ceres in hartuelt, Bacchus in wines, Pomona in orchards. Onelie Hymincus denieth his good will, either in presence or in person: notwithstanding Diana hath so counterchecked him therfore, as he shall hereafter be at your comming. For my part, as I am a reioicer at your comming, so am I a furtherer of your welcome hither; and for this time I bid you farewell.

Fear not oh queene, thou art beloued so,  
As ladies true will trulie thee defend:  
Fear not my power to ouerthrow thy wo,  
I am the God that can euen misse amend.  
I am the God that can euen misse amend.  
Thou dost know great Jupiter am I,  
That gaue thee first thy happie ouermentie.  
I giue thee still as euer thou hast had,  
A peerlesse power vnto thy diene daie:  
I giue thee rule to ouercome the bad,  
And loue to loue thy louing ladies aie.

I giue thee: heere this small and slender wand,  
To shew thou wast in quiet rule the land.

Is Iuno rich? No sure he is not so,  
She wants that wealth that is not wanting heere,  
Thy goods get friends, my wealth wins manie a fo,  
My riches rust, but thine shine passing cleere.  
Thou art beloued of ladies faire and nie,  
Which is such wealth as monie cannot buye.  
Farewell faire queene, I cannot giue thee ought,  
Nor take awaie thy good that is so bound:  
Thou canst not giue that I so long haue sought,  
He can I hold the riches thou hast found.  
Yet take this gift, though poore I seeme to be,  
That thou thy selfe shalt neuer poorer be.

Where force dooth fiercelie seeke to foster wrong,  
Where Mars dooth make him make a quickie recolle,  
Nor can indure that he should harbor long,  
Where naughtie wights manure in goodlie soile.  
This is the vie that aids the force of warre,  
That Mars dooth mend, that force dooth seeke to marre.  
And though oh queene thou best a prince of peace,  
Yet shalt thou haue me fastlie sure at need:  
The stormes of strife and blustering broiles to cease,  
Which foren foes or faithlesse friends may breed.  
To conquer, kill, to vanquish and subdue,  
Such fauied folke, as loies to liue untrue.

These words were ingratien vpon the kniues:

To hurt your fo and helpe your friend,  
These kniues are made vnto that end:  
Both blunt and sharpe you shall vs find,  
As pleasest best your princelie mind.

In vaine (faire queene) from heauen my comming was,  
To seeke to mend that is no waite amis:  
For now I see thy fauour so dooth passe,  
That none but thou, thou onelie thy is,  
Whose beantie bids ech wight to looke on thee,  
By view they may another Venus see.  
Where beantie boasts, and fauour dooth not faile,  
That may I giue to thee I wot this wight:  
This is my gift, there shall no wo peneale,  
That seekes thy will against thy willes delight,  
Not where they will, but where it likes thy mind,  
Accept that friend if loiall thou him find.

The done being cast off, ran directlie to the queene, and being taken vp and set vpon the table before hir maiestie, sate so quietlie as if it had bene tied. Then after they had marched againe about, Apollo presented his gift, which was an instrument called a bandonet, and did sing to the said instrument this short and pithie dittie, as he was plaieng there vpon:

It seemeth strange to see such strangers heere,  
Yet not so strange but strangers knowes you well:  
Your vertuous thoughts to gods doo plaine appeere,  
Your acts on earth betwixes how you excell:  
You cannot die, loue here hath made your lease,  
Which gods haue sent, and God faith shall not cease.  
Vertuous desire desired me to sing,  
No ladies sure, though ladies they were all,  
Appolos gifts are subject to no king,  
Rare are thy gifts that did Apollo call,  
Then still reioice, for God and man saie so,  
This is my gift, thou neuer shalt haue wo.

Oh wot this wight, what wotst thou haue of me?  
Thou hast so much, thou canst not want no more:  
I cannot giue that once I gaue to thee,  
Nor take awaie the good I gaue before:  
I robbed was by natures good content,  
Against my will, and yet I was content.  
Pallas thou, a princelie I will be:  
I queene of iollie, thou goddesse which hast got:  
I sometime was, thou onelie now art the:  
I take, thou gauest that iucke that was my lot.  
I giue not thee this booke to leane thee aught,  
For that I know already thou art taught.

What art thou (queene) that gods do loue thee so?  
Who wooen their wils to bel o at thy will?  
How can the world become thy cruell fo?  
How can Diuaine or Dallice seeke to kill?  
Can sea or earth deuile to hurt thy hap?  
Sith thou by gods doost sit in fortunes lap.  
As heauen and earth haue vowed to be thine,  
So Neptunes seas haue sworn to drench thy foes,  
As I am god, and all the waters mine,  
Still shalt thou get, but neuer shalt thou lose:  
And sith on earth my wealth is nought at all,  
Accept good will, the gift is verie small.

Who euer found on earth a constant friend,  
That may compare with this my virgin queene?  
Who euer found a bodie and a mind  
So free from staine, so perfect to be seene?  
Oh heauenlie bew, that aptest is to soile,  
And yet doost liue from blot of anie soile.  
Rare is thy gift, and giuen to few or none,  
Wast therefore of some that dare not lay,  
More shines thy light, for that I know but one,  
That anie such shew, to follow on their waie.  
Thou thou art free, take thou the onelie praise,  
For chastest dame in these our happie daies.

Then Juno  
spake, whose  
gift was a  
purse curious  
the wrought.

Then after  
they had mar-  
ched againe  
about, Mars  
gaue his gift,  
which was a  
faire paire of  
knives, and  
said:

Then spake  
Venus whose  
gift was a  
white dove.

The song of  
Apollo to the  
queene.

Pallas then  
spake and  
presented his  
gift, which  
was a booke  
of wisdom.

Then Nept-  
une spake:  
his gift was  
a great artifi-  
ciall fish, and  
in the bellie  
of it a pike,  
which he  
threw out be-  
fore hir ma-  
iestie.

Diana pre-  
sented a bow  
and arrowes  
nooked and  
headed with  
silver; hir  
speech was  
this.

Accept

The queene  
high commen-  
dation of ma-  
ster Lamberts  
oration.

The descryp-  
tion of an ex-  
cellent and  
princelie  
maske.

Mercuries  
message to the  
queene.

Then march-  
ed they about  
againe, and  
the done Ju-  
per spake to  
the queene in  
this sort, and  
then gaue her  
a booke and  
spoke thus:

frig-  
ing

Cupido his  
speech, his  
gife an arrow  
of gold.

Accept my bowe, fith best thou dost deserue,  
Though well I know thy mind can thee preferue.

Oh ha, I see my mother out of sight,  
Then let the boy now plaie the was a while,  
I seeme but wake, yet wake is not my might,  
My boies wit can outdoe folk beguile.  
Who so dooth thinke, I speake this but in iest,  
Let me but shoot, and I shall quench his rest,  
Marke here my shafts: this all is made of wood,  
Which is but soft, and breeds but soft good will,  
Now this is gilt, yet seemes it gold full good,  
And dooth deceive blind louing people still.  
But here is one is feldome felt or seene:  
This is of gold, meet for the noblest queene.  
Therefore dame faire, take thou this gift of me,  
Though some deserue, yet none deserue like you,  
Shoot but this shaft at king or Cesar: he,  
And he is thine, and if thou wilt allow,  
It is a gift that manie here doo craue.  
Yet none but thou this golden shaft maie haue.

There was written vpon the shaft:

By colour, loy, my substance pure,  
By vertue such as shall indure.

The queenes  
behaviour af-  
ter all this  
welcoming.

Her maiestie receiued these gifts verie thankes-  
lie, the gods and goddesses with the rest of the make  
marched about the chamber againe, and then depar-  
ted in like maner as they came in. Then the queene  
called vnto hir master Robert Wood, the maior of  
Norwich, whom first she heartlie thanked, and toke  
by the hand, and bled secret conference: but what I  
know not. And thus this delightfull night passed,  
to the ioy of all that saw hir grace in so pleasant plight.

The deuifoy  
is commanded  
to be readie  
with his  
shewes to de-  
light the  
queene.

On thursdaie in the morning, my lord chamber-  
laine gaue the deuifoy warning the queene would  
ride abrode in the after none, and he commanded  
him to be readie, buttsallie to present hir with some  
shew. When knowing which waie the queene would  
ride (by coniecture and instructions giuen) the deu-  
foy caused a place to be made and digged for the  
nymphes of the water, the maner and proportion  
whereof was in this forme and fashon. First there  
was measure taken for the scope fot of ground eue-  
rie waie, the hole to be made depe and foure square,  
which ground was all couered with canuas painted  
greene like the grasse, and at euerie side on the can-  
uas ran a string through curteine rings, which string  
might easilie be drawne anie kind of waie, by reason  
of two great poles that lay along in the ground,  
and answered the curteine or canuas on each side, so  
that drawing a small cord in the middle of the can-  
uas, the earth would seeme to open, & so shut againe  
as the other end of the cord was drawne backward.  
And in the same caue was a noble noise of musike  
of all kind of instruments, scuerallie to be sounded  
and plaied vpon, and at one time they should be sou-  
ded all together, that might serue for a comfort of bo-  
ken musike. And in the same caue also was placed  
twelue water nymphes, disguised or dyessed most  
strangelie, each of them had either vpon white silke, or  
fine linnen, greene sedgees stitched cunninglie on a  
long garment, so well wrought and also set on, as  
scarce anie whit might be perceiued. And euerie  
nymph had in hir hand a great bundle of bulrushes,  
and had on hir head a garland of lute, vnder the which  
lute was a colle of mosse, and vnder the mosse was  
there long goodlie heare like golden tresses that coue-  
red hir shoulders, and in a maner caught downe vnto  
hir middle.

A proper de-  
uise and verie  
delectable of a  
caue & twelue  
water nym-  
phes, &c.

What was de-  
uised to be  
done by the  
nymphes at the

Now touching the beautie of the nymphes, they se-  
med to be the chosen children of the world, and be-  
came their attire so well, that their beautie might  
haue abused a right god iudgement. For diuerse of  
those that knew them before (albeit they were bare  
faced) could scarce know them in their garments,  
and sundrie toke them to be yong girles and wen-  
ches, prepared for the nonce, to procure a laughter.  
These nymphs thus apparelled, and all things in good  
plight and readinesse, there was deuised, that at the  
queenes comming nere the water side (as this caue  
stood at the bym of the river) one nymph should pop

up out of the caue first, and salute the queene with a  
speech, and then another: and so till foure of them  
had finished their speeches, there they should re-  
maine; and when they retired into their caue, the mu-  
sike should begin: which sure had bene a noble hea-  
ring, and the more melodious for the varietie there-  
of, and because it should come secretlie and strange-  
lie out of the earth. And when the musike was done,  
then should all the twelue nymphs haue issued toge-  
ther, & danced a danse with timbrels that were trim-  
med with belles, and other tangling things, which  
timbrels were as bryde as a lute, hauing bottoms  
of fine parchment, and being sounded, made such a  
confused noise and pastime, that it was to be won-  
dered at: besides the strangenesse of the timbrels  
(yet knowne to our forefathers) was a matter of ad-  
miration vnto such as were ignorant of that new  
found toy, gathered and borrowed from our elders.  
So in order and readinesse stood that shew for the  
time.

And to keepe that shew companie (but yet farre  
off stood the shew of Spanhob and Desert, as first to  
be presented, and that shew was as well furnished  
as the other; men all, saue one boy called Beautie;  
for the which, Spanhob, Faour, and Desert, did  
strive (or should haue contended) but god fortune  
(as victor of all conquests) was to come in, and ouer-  
throw Spanhob, Faour, Desert, & all their powers,  
and onelie by fine force (vpon a watchword spoken)  
should late hand on Beautie, and carrie or lead hir a-  
way. The other lutoz troubled with this kind of dea-  
ling, should talke together, and sweare to be in one  
mind for an open reuenge: and vpon that fortune  
should crie Arme, arme. The other side called for their  
friends, at the which strife should appeare both their  
strengthes: but god fortune should farre in power  
exceed his enemies. And yet to shew that Deslinie  
(and who best can conquer) shall gouerne all, for-  
tune should make an offer, that fir to fir with sword  
and target should end the byall and business. Then fir  
gentlemen on either side with rebated swords and  
targets (onelie in dublet and hose, and murrion on  
head) approached and would claime the combat, and  
deale together twelue blowes apiece, and in the end  
fortune should be victor: and then the shot and ar-  
med men should fall at variance so sharpelie (vpon  
mistaking of the matter) that fortunes side should  
triumph and march ouer the bellies of their enemies:  
in which time were legs and armes of men (well and  
liuelie wrought) to be let fall in numbers on the  
ground, as bloude as might be. Fortune, regarding  
nothing but victorie, marcheth so awaite in great tri-  
umph: and then should haue come into the place a  
song for the death of Spanhob, Faour, and Desert,  
and so the shew should haue ended.

But now note that befell after this great busi-  
nesse and preparation. For as the queenes highnesse  
was appointed to come vnto hir coach, and the lords  
and courtiers were readie to mount on horsebacke  
there fell such a holwe of raine (& in the necke there-  
of came such a terrible thunder) that euerie one of  
vs were dyuen to seke for couert and most comfort,  
inso much that some of vs in bote stood vnder a bydge  
and were all so dished & washed, that it was a grea-  
ter pastime to see vs loke like drowned rats, than to  
haue beheld the vttermost of the shewes rehearsed.  
Thus you see, a shew in the open field is alwaies sub-  
iect to the sudden change of weather, and a number  
of more inconueniences. But what should be said of  
that which the citie lost by this cause; beluets, silkes,  
finsels, and some cloth of gold being cut out for these  
purposes, that could not serue to anie great effect af-  
ter: Well, there was no more to saie, but an old ad-  
age, that Span doth purpose, but God doth dispose,  
so

A bloude fight  
and yet harme  
lesse done  
by art.

All the people  
ration dilape  
pointed by  
chamber and  
raine.

The citie  
losse by occa-  
sion of this  
tempest.

A pleasant de-  
uise to make  
the queene  
laugh.

The que-  
n's departur  
from the  
water side

Howe the  
hearts of  
citizens at  
people.

A little co-  
in a verie  
lowe voice.

It shalbe de-  
uise vpon the  
remouing of  
the court.

to whole disposition and pleasure the grabe of greater matters is committed. So this thursdaie took his leave from the actors, and left them looking one upon another, & he that thought he had received most instruction, kept greatest silence, and laying up (among a bundle of other misfortunes) this cruel chance, ever person quietlie passed to his lodging.

The next daie being fridaie, in which daie the court removed, the streets towards saint Benets gates were hanged, from the one side to the other, with cords made of beards and flowers, with garlands, coronets, pictures, rich cloths, and a thousand devices. At the gates themselves there was a stage made verie rightie apparellled with cloth of gold and crimson velvet, whereupon in a close place made there for the purpose, was placed verie sweet musick: & one ready to render him this speech following. The dolefull house of his departure came, he passed from the court, to those gates, with such countenances, both of his maiesties part, and his subjects now dolorous, now cheerfull, as plainlie showed the loving hearts of both sides. When he came there the speech was thus uttered unto him in verie pleasant sort:

Terrestriall ioyes are tide with slender file,  
Each happy day full habilitie dooth hide,  
As summer season lasteth but a while.  
See winter stormes doe longer time abide:  
Howe much blisse can aunc time endure?  
Our sunshine daie is dasht with sudden shewre.  
Couldst thoung expresse our fever: ioyes of hart,  
O in aunc prince, when thou didst come in place?  
Deur God, howe can expresse the smart  
The subjects feele in this departing case.  
Our gracious queene, let here thy grace remaine  
In generous wife, till thy returne againe.  
In then whereof, receive thy subjects hartes,  
The fixed faith continually thine owne:  
Which ready rest to loose their vitall partes  
In thy defense, when ante blast is blowne.  
Thou art our queene, our rocke and our true state,  
We are thine owne to serue by night and daie.  
Farewell, oh queene, farewell, oh mother deare,  
Let Jacobs God thy sacred bodie keepe:  
All is thine owne that is possided here,  
And all in all is but a small reward  
For thy great grace, God length thy life like Ioy,  
To gouerne us, and the thy realme in Ioy. Amen.

Their wordes were decanted by B. Goldingham, and spoken by himselfe, to whom his maiestie said: Wee thanke you hartlie. Then with the musick in the same place was song this short dittie following, in a verie sweet voice, to the great delight of the hearers;

What wailst thou, where sorrow takes the hart?  
What fearest death that is in deepe distress?  
Kinsle of life dooth best abate the smart  
O him, whose woes are quite without redress.  
Lend me your teares, resigne your sighes to me,  
Helpe all to wail the dolor, which you see.  
What haue we done, for will no longer staie?  
What may we doe to hold him with vs still?  
Shere is our queene, we subjects must obey,  
Grant, though with griefe, to his departing will.  
Conclude we then, and sing with sobbing breath,  
God length thy life (oh queene Elisabeth.)

On fridaie, the court upon removal, the citie from bid with manie causes, and some seeking to do service like the deuiser, moued him to do somewhat of himselfe, because his aids (as manie times they were before) were draue from him, each one about his owne businesse, and he left to his owne inuentions and policie, at which erigent or casual things of fortune, he drew his boies unto him, that were the symphies on the water, and so departed the citie, with such garments and stuffe necessarie as fitted his purpose and the matter he went about. Then he chose a ground, by the which the queene must passe, including his companie in the corner of a field, being defended with high and thicke bushes, and there some partes he made, which the boies might misse, because the time was short for the learning of those parts. But he being resolued to do somewhat might make the queene laugh, appointed that seauen boies of twelue should passe through a hedge from the place of abode which was gallantlie trimmed, and beluer seauen speeches. And these boies (you must vnder-

stand) were dressed like symphies of the water, and were to plaine by a deale and degress the seeries, and to dance (as nere as could be imagined like the seeries). Their attire and coming so stranglie out, made the queenes highnesse smile and laugh withall. And the deuiser hearing this good hope, being apparelled like a water sprite, began to sound a timbrell, & the rest with him, all the twelue symphies together (when the seauen had repaired in) sounded timbrells likewise. And although the deuiser had no great harting, yet as he durst, he led the young folish seeries a dance, which boldnesse of his bred no disgrace, but as he heard, was well taken. The queene upon their retire in, hastied to his highnes lodging, which was seuen miles off, and at that present, when the shew ended, it was past five of the clocke.

All these shewes finished, his maiestie in princelie maner marched toward the confines of the liberties of the citie of Dorwich, which was supposed almost two miles. Before she came there, maister maior brake to my lord chamberlaine, that he was to utter to his maiestie another oration, whereof my lord seemed to haue good liking: but before they came to the said confines, maister maior was willing to forebore the utterance of the same his oration, because it was about seauen of the clocke, and his maiestie had then five miles to ride. Nevertheless he gave to his maiestie both his orations in writing, which she thanked him for. She also thanked the maier, cuert alderman, and the commons, not onely for the great chare they had made her, but also for the open houolders they kept to his highnesse servants, and all others. Then he called maister maior, and made him knight: and so departing, said: I haue left up in my breast such good will, as I shall neuer forget Dorwich: and proceeding onward did shake her riding rod and said: Farewell Dorwich, with the water standing in his eyes. In which great god with towards vs all, I beseech God to continue his maiestie with long and triumphant reigne over vs, Amen.

Now to come to the returne of the queenes maiestie from Dorfolke and Suffolke, in which two countie his highnesse knighted certaine gentlemen, as namelie in Suffolke George Colt, Philip Parker, Robert Jermin, William Spring, Thomas Barnardiston, Thomas Kidson, Arthur Goldingham: In Dorfolke, Thomas Inceart, Nicholas Bacon, William Pastons, Edward Clare, Rafe Shelton, Henrie Woodhouse, Thomas Gaudie, Robert Wood maior, Roger Woodhouse. These gentlemen his maiestie knighted, for that they should all their life time after haue the greater regard to God and their prince. Now the queenes maiestie passing from Dorwich, she came to sir Roger Woodhouses that night, where she was well received, and noble entertained. From thence to Wood rising at sir Edward Clares. From thence to sir Thomas Kidsons, where in verie deed the face and bankets did exceed a number of other places, that it is worthe the mention. A shew representing the seeries (as well as might be) was there scene, in the which shew a rich ietwell was presented to the queenes highnes. From thence to maister Keuets, where all things were well and in verie good order, and meat liberallie spent.

But now to speake a little by the waie of Gods mightie hand and power, that framed mens hearts so well in manie parts, before the queenes highnesse came to Cambridgeshire, and to tell how blessedlie our great and good God did deale with our deere soveraigne ladie, in causing everie person to shew their dutie, is a matter of great discourse, and of no little weight and comfort to all good minds that shall consider of the same, Such a Lord is our great God,

The deuiser  
housings well  
taken of the  
queene, &c.

Maister maior  
uttering  
to his maiestie  
his oration,  
is which he  
forebore to  
utter, &c.

The maier of  
Dorwich  
knighted.

The queenes  
words at her  
departing.

Gentlemen  
of Suffolke  
& Dorfolke  
knighted.

The queenes  
maiestie de-  
parteth from  
Dorwich and  
is now inter-  
tained at the  
waite.

On the  
seuerall  
places  
where  
the  
queene  
was  
taken

On the  
seuerall  
places  
where  
the  
queene  
was  
taken

On the  
seuerall  
places  
where  
the  
queene  
was  
taken

On the  
seuerall  
places  
where  
the  
queene  
was  
taken

On the  
seuerall  
places  
where  
the  
queene  
was  
taken



The brui-  
er of Cam-  
bridge present  
a faire and  
statelie cup to  
the queene.

T.C.

The lord of  
Leicesters  
bountifull in-  
tertainment.

Ad solem nubi-  
bus obduftum  
die lune 18.  
Augusti, 1578.

Eiusdem in  
eandem.

that can frame all things to the best, and such a so-  
uerigne ladie we haue, that can make the crooked  
paths freight where she commeth, & draw the harts  
of the people after hir wherfoeuer she traueleth. So  
from master Keuets hir highnesse came to my lord  
Dorset, who was no whit behind anie of the best for  
a franke house, a noble heart, and well ordered inter-  
tainment. And there was an oration made by a  
gentleman of Cambridge, with a statelie and a faire  
cup presented from the vniuersitie, all the ambassa-  
dors of France beholding the same. And the gentle-  
men of the shire (as in manie other places) did beare  
the queenes meat to the table, which was a great li-  
king & gladnesse to the gentlemen, & a solemne sight  
for strangers & subiects to looke vpon. From my lord  
Dorset to sir Giles Allingtons, where things were  
well, and well liked. From thence to sir John Cuts.  
From thence to M. Kapels, where was excellent  
good chere & intertainment. From thence to Wyde  
hall, where I heard of no great chere nor banquet-  
ting. From thence to Rockwood hall, but how the  
traine was there intertained, I am ignorant of.  
From thence to master Stonars, and from thence  
to my lord of Leicesters house, where the progresse  
ended, & (to knit vp all) the god chere was reuiued,  
not onelie with making a great feast to the queene  
and the french ambassadoz, but also in feasting so-  
lemnelie (at seuerall times) the whole garr, on sun-  
daye and mondaie before the queene came, at his  
dining table, vsing such courtesie vnto them for the  
space of two daies, as was and is woorthie of perpe-  
tuall memorie. Thus much of the queenes highnesse  
returne, whom God hath so well preferred, that she  
like a woorthie prince to our great comfort prospe-  
reth in peace, to the great disgrace of the enemies of  
God, and aduersaries of our common weale and  
countrie, wherein God continue hir maiestie. Amen.

The queenes maiestie, now gone from Dorset,  
carried alwaie with hir all the gladnesse of the citie,  
which sprang from hir presence; in place whereof suc-  
ceeded melancholie sadness: in somuch that the verie  
aier altered with the change of the countrie chere  
proceeding from the departure of hir highnesse of  
all person: which he meant that made these verses,  
wherewith the description of this progresse shall end.

Splendide Phæbe redi, cur te sub nube recondis?  
Innuba Pallas adest, splendide Phæbe redi.  
Hæstæ minax procul est, non Gorgonis ora videbis,  
Pallas inermis adest, splendide Phæbe redi.  
Scilicet à tanto metui tibi lumine forsan:  
Ne superet radios fœmina Phæbe tuos.  
Pulcher Apollo tibi ne sis regina rubori:  
Ipse decore tuo vincis, & illa suo.  
Euge redux reducem qui a pulsa nocte reducis  
Phæbe diem: toto est gratius orbe nihil.  
Hæc pepulit tetri tenebras noctemque papismi,  
Et liquidum retulit religionem diem.  
Euge nigras nebulas radijs quas æpe repellis  
Phæbe tuus: pene est gratius orbe nihil.  
Texuerant remoras discrimina mille papiste:  
Ne ceptum princeps continuaret iter:  
Nec tamen hunc nebula potuerunt condere solem:  
Quamuis tu nebulis cedis Apollo tuus.  
Ergo in bar nostrum repulisse obstaculo cernis:  
Sic age, sol nebulas lumine pelle tuo.  
Splendide Phæbe redi, cur te sub nube recondis?  
Innuba Pallas adest, splendide Phæbe redi.

susinet, ornat, habet, regnum, literaria, formam,  
Prouida, docta, decens, Iuno, Minerva, Penus.  
Singula dona trium simul Elizabetha deorum  
Prouida, docta, decens, susinet, ornat, habet.  
Esse deas lusi: diuinam dicimus istam:  
Quamuis nec licet nec libet esse deam.

In shadowing clouds why art thou close? Phæbeus bright retire:  
Unpossest Pallas present is, Phæbeus bright retire.  
The thyming speare is fong far off, doubt not grim Gorgons ire:  
Unarmed Pallas present is, Phæbeus bright retire.  
Perhaps thou art afraid: And why? at this to large a light:  
Least that a woman should excell, thy beams Phæbeus bright retire:  
Let not a queene, a virgin pure, which is, and euer was,  
O faire Apollo, make thee blush: you both in beautes pale.  
Phæbeus safe and sound returne, which, banishing the night,  
Bringst backe the daie: in all the world nothing of like delight:  
She, onelie she, the darkenesse daue of poperie quite auaie:  
And by religion hath restored the bright and lightsome daie.  
Phæbeus with thy beams, which soill the clouds both blind &  
The world, in manner all, a thing of like delight doth lacke. (Blacke,  
A thousand dangers and delays the papists had denie,  
To shend our princesse should abridge hir progresse enterprize:  
Yet this our bright & shining sun, cast light through euery cloud:  
Although in clouds thou art content, Apollo oft to shroud,  
Thou seest our sunne in comelie court, cutt off each stop and staie:  
Do thou the like, and by thy light diue euery cloud auaie.  
In shadowing clouds why art thou close? Phæbeus bright retire:  
Unpossest Pallas present is: Phæbeus bright retire.

Hir kingdom all by providence, queene Iuno doth uphold:  
And of Minerva ladie leard, is learned lore extold:  
And Ceres faire of countenance, hath beautes uncontold.  
These sundrie gifts of goddesses thre, Elizabeth possideth:  
By providence hir peoples peace, and comfort the increaseth:  
Hir learning, learning amplifies: hir beautes neuer ceaseth.  
I did but least, of goddesses to giue them thre the name:  
This ladie maist thou goddess call, for she deserves the same:  
Although she will not undertake, a title of such fame.

At the w Hamont, by his trade a ploughwaite of  
Hetherfet thre miles from Dorset, was conuer-  
ted before the bishop of Dorset, for that he denied  
Christ our sauour. At the time of his appearance it  
was objected that he had published these heresies  
following. That the new testament and gospel of  
Christ are but mere foolishnesse, a storie of man, or  
rather a mere fable. Item, that man is restored to  
grace by Gods mere mercie, without the meane  
of Christs blood, death and passion. Item, that Christ  
is not God nor the sauour of the world, but a mere  
man, a sinfull man, and an abhominable idoll. Item,  
that all they that worship him are abhominable ido-  
laters, & that Christ did not rise againe from death  
to life by the power of his godhead, neither that he  
ascended into heauen. Item, that the Holie ghost is  
not God, neither that there is anie such Holie ghost.  
Item, that baptisme is not necessarie in the church  
of God, neither the vse of the sacrament of the bo-  
die and blood of Christ. For the which heresies he  
was condemned in the confisatorie, and sentence was  
pronounced against him by the bishop of Dorset  
on the thirteenth daie of Aprill, and therupon deliue-  
red to the shiriffes of Dorset. And because he spake  
wordes of blasphemie (not to be recited) against the  
queenes maiestie and others of hir counsell, he was  
by the recorder, master sergeant Wintham, and  
the maiors sir Robert Wood of Dorset condemned  
to lose both his eares, which were cut off on the thir-  
teenth of Maie in the market place of Dorset, and  
afterwards, to wit on the twentieth of Maie, he was  
burned in the castell ditch of Dorset.

This yeare in the moneth of Maie, Marke Scar-  
lot blacke smith citizen of London, borne in the pa-  
rish of saint Clements Dane without Temple bar,  
and now dwelling in Cornhill nere vnto Leaden  
hall, for fall of workmanship, made one hanging  
locke of iron, steels and brasse, of eleuen seuerall pec-  
ces, a pipe keie filed thre square with a pot vpon the  
shaft, & the bow with two elles, all cleane wrought,  
which weighed but one graine of gold or wheat corne.  
He also at the same time made a chaine of gold of  
thre and forty linkes, to the which chaine the locke  
and keie being fastened, and put about a fleas necke,  
he drew the same with ease. All which, locke, keie,  
chaine, and flea, weighed but one graine and a halfe.  
A thing almost incredible, but that my selfe (amongst  
manie others) haue seene it, & therefore must affirme  
it to be true.

The first of June deceased Robert Horne doctor  
of diuinitie, bishop of Winchester, and prelat of the  
garter, at Winchester place in Southwoke, was

By the same  
concerning  
the queene.

Matthew Ha-  
mont burnt at  
Dorset.

The heresies  
that he held.

John Wo-  
dolph of 4  
garter.

Wintham;

Butta.

Cadulph;

Chigera;

Wigorn;

Widowes;

An English  
man made a  
locke and a  
keie, weighing  
but one halfe  
corne.

The bishop  
of Winchester  
was

1579.

the same  
red south  
day upon  
aure, be-  
the 15 of  
july 1579.

was buried at Winchester. ¶ This man was learned and eloquent, of a round and ready utterance, sound in religion and zealous in the truth; in testimony whereof he chose rather to forsake his native soile, and to live a stranger in a forren land, than with offense of conscience to tarrie at home within the sight and hearing of the manifold abominations which supported poperie: so that although death haue deuoured his mortall bodie, yet in respect of his vertue and godlinesse, his name shall be immortal; according to the truth of this sentence:

*Corpore deposito vixit virtute superstes,  
De virtute nihil mors violenta rapit.*

John Wolton  
b. p. of Ex-  
gilt.

John Wolton now living, was called to be bishop of Excester, & consecrated at Lambeth by Edmund Grindall archbishop of Canturburie, in August 1579. He is a professor of diuinitie, and a preacher of the gospel, and vniuersallie scene in all good letters. This William Wolton, being in successive order the eight and fortieth that occupied the said see, from the first that intioied the same episcopall aduancement, vniuersally iust occasion to insert a catalog of all the bishops of Excester as they followed one after another in that see, being an apt collection, and verie answerable to the description of Excester, and the ancient foundation of saint Peters church there; mentioned in the third yeare of the reigne of king Edward the first, page 1007, and continued to page 1028.

A catalog of the bishops of Excester  
collected by Iohn Vowell alias  
Hooker, gentleman.

Wulfstan.

1 Wulfstan, at a prouinciall synod holden in Winchester, in the yeare 905, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, and had his see at bishops Taunton: and in the yeare following 906 he died, and was buried in his owne church.

Betta.

2 Betta, after the death of Wulfstan, was elected and consecrated bishop, and had his see at Taunton: and taking his tourneie towards Crediton, to see and visit the king (as some saie, as the kings lieutenant) was by the said Alfstan men slaine, and then vpon his death the see was removed to Crediton.

Cadulphus.

3 Cadulphus, brother to Alphys duke of Deuon and Cornewall, and founder of Lancesston, was consecrated bishop of Deuon, but installed at Crediton, where he had his see, and continued bishop two and twentie yeares, and then dieng about the yeare 932, he was buried in his owne church.

Ethelgarus.

4 Ethelgarus, in the yeare 932, succeeded Cadulphus, and in his time king Athelstane subdued the Cornish people, reedified this citie, and compassed the same with a stone wall: he founded the monasterie of saint Peters for monks of saint Benets order. This Ethelgarus, after he had bene bishop ten yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church.

Algarus.

5 Algarus, in the yeare 942 after Ethelgarus, was constituted & installed bishop at Crediton, and having bene bishop about ten yeares, died and was buried in his owne church.

Alfwoldus.

6 Alfwoldus, as Matthew Westminster writeth, was next bishop after Algarus, and consecrated by the aduise of Dunstane, in the yeare 952. In this time Godgarus earle of Deuon, and father in law to king Edgar, builded the abbete of Taunestoke: and king Edgar called home all the monks of saint Peters which were dispersed, and without arie abbat, and made Sidemannus abbat, who was afterwards bishop. This Alfwoldus after thirteene

yeares that he was consecrated, died and was buried in his owne church.

7 Alfwolfus, as Dicitus affirmeth, was consecrated bishop in the yeare of our Lord 969, and after nine yeares died, and was buried in his owne church.

Side mannus.

8 Sidemannus of an abbat was made a bishop, in the yeare 978. In this mans time the Danes ouerran and spoiled the whole countries of Deuon and Cornewall, burned the towne of Bodmen, and the cathedrall church of saint Petroskes, with the bishops house. Whereupon the bishops see was removed from thence to saint Germans, where the same continued, untill the removing and uniting thereof into Crediton. Sidemannus in the twelue yeare after his consecration died, and was buried at Crediton in his owne church 990.

Alfredus.

9 Alfredus, whome Dicitus calleth Alfricus, abbat of Spalnesburie, was consecrated bishop, and installed at Crediton: he was taken for a learned man, because he wrote two booke, the one intituled *Derebus canobus sui*, and the other *De rerum naturis*. In this bishops time, king Ethelred endowed the bishoprike of saint Germans with lands, liberties, and priuileges. The Danes made a fresh invasion in and vpon all Deuon and Cornewall, burned and spoiled the abbete of Wodolus at Taunestoke: they besieged Excester, and being removed from thence, were fought withall at Pinnebo, about thre miles from the citie, and ouerthrowne. Alfredus, after he had bene bishop about nine yeares, died in the yeare 999, and was buried in his owne church.

10 Alfwolfus (as Dicitus writeth) was the next Alfwolfus, bishop. In his time Sweno king of Denmarke, by intisement of one Hugh then earle of Deuon, came with a great host and besieged the citie of Excester, toke it and burned it, and with great cruelty bled the people, untill in the end Almarus then earle of Deuon, and the gentlemen did yield and submit themselves, and so obtained peace. This Alfwolfus about the fiftieth yeare of his bishoprike, in the yeare 1014 died, and was buried in his owne church.

Arnoldus.

11 Arnoldus, by the report of the archdeacon of London, succeeded Alfwolfus, and was installed at Crediton. In this mans time, king Canutus gaue to Athelwold abbat of S. Peters of this citie great gifts, and sundrie priuileges, in recompense of his fathers great iniuries. Arnoldus in the fiftieth yeare of his bishoprike 1030 died, and was buried in his owne church.

Leuigus, or  
Leuingus.

12 Leuigus or Leuingus abbat of Taunestoke, and nephew to Wifithwaldus bishop of Cornewall, was chosen the next bishop, and according to the orders then bled, consecrated and installed. He was in great fauour and credit with king Canutus, vpon whome he attended in pilgrimage to Rome; and after his uncle the bishop of saint Germans being dead, obtained of the king that the bishops see was removed from saint Germans into Crediton, and both were thereby reduced and united into one bishoprike, and so hath euer since continued. He was after the death of Wifithegus bishop of Worcester, removed to that church, and there died, and was buried as some suppose: but some affirme, that in the time of Hardicanutus the king, at the accusation of Alfreddus then archbishop of Poike, for that he should be consenting to the death of Alfreddus the sonne of Ethelred, that he should be deposed of his bishoprike there, and so did returne into Taunestoke, where he died. But Dicitus affirmeth, that he purged himselfe of this crime, and by that meanes was restored, both to the fauour of the king, and to his bishoprike.

B k k k k.

Hopples

the same  
erring  
quane.threw ha-  
it burnt at  
twich.e heretics  
the held.English-  
made a  
ke and a  
re, freeng  
one substa-  
ne.the bishop  
inchester  
ceased.

thopzike againe, and died bishop of Worcester. It is recorded that he was bishop of Crediton sixteene yeares.

Leofricus.

13 Leofricus, a man descended of the blood and line of Brutus, but brought up in the land of Lotharingia or Lozeine, was so well commended for his nobilitie, wisdom, and learning, that king Edward the Confessor had him in great fauour, and made him first one of his priue counsell; then lord chancellor of all England: and lastlie the bishopzike of this prouince being void, he was made, consecrated, and installed bishop of the same. By him and by his meanes, the bishops see was remoued from Crediton vnto this citie of Excester: for at his request, king Edward together with quene Edith his wife came to Excester, & removing the monkes from hense to Westminster, did also remove the bishops see from Crediton vnto his citie, and did put the bishop in possession. For he conducting the bishop on the right hand, and the quene on the left hand, brought him to the high altar of his new church, and there placed him in a seat appointed for him. He suppressed sundrie houses or cels of religion within his sanctuarie, and appropriated and vntied them to his owne church; as also by the good liberalitie of the king obtained great reuenues, possessions, priuileges, and liberties to be giuen vnto the church. In this mans time, William duke of Normandie made a conquest of this whole realme, as also in the yeare 1068 besieged this citie of Excester, which after by composition he restored to his former estate againe. Also in his time, Richard de Biron, a noble man of Normandie, the sonne of Baldwin of Biron, & of Albez the nece to the Conqueror, was made baron of Okehampton, warden of the castell of Excester, and vicount of Deuon. This Leofricus, after that he had well and worthilie ruled his church and diocesse by the space of thre and twentie yeares, he ended his daies in peace, and died in the yeare 1073, and was buried in the cemeterie or churchyard of his owne church, vnder a simple and a broken marble stone, which place by the since enlarging of his church is now within the tower of the same, where of late, in the yeare 1568, a new monument was erected in the memorie of so good, worthie, and noble a personage, by the industrie of the writer hereof, but at the charges of the deane and chapter.

Osbertus or Osbernus.

14 Osbertus or Osbernus, a Norman bozne, and brother to an earle named William, was preferred to this bishopzike, and in the yeare 1074 was consecrated and installed to the same. Polydorus writeth, that one Galfred who joined with Odo, earle of Kent and bishop of Baion, against William Rufus, should be bishop of Eron: but it was not, nor could not so be. In this mans time, William the Conqueror, and William Rufus his sonne died. This Osbertus or Osbernus, after he had bene bishop thirtie yeares, was blind, and died, and lieth buried in his owne church.

William Warlewast.

15 William Warlewast a Norman bozne, and chapleine both to the Conqueror and his two sons, William and Henrie: he was a graue and a wise man, and for the same was preferred by Henrie the king to this bishopzike, in the yere one thousand one hundred and seuen, and was consecrated by Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, in the moneth of August the same yeare. He first began to enlarge his church, which at that time was no bigger than that which is now called the ladie chapell. He founded and builded the monasterie of Plimpton, and placed therein regular canons: in his latter daies he wared and became blind. And yet notwithstanding for his wisdom the king sent him in ambassage

vnto pope Paschalis the second, wherein he so wisely dealed, and so discretlie behaued himselfe in his message, that he made a reconciliation betwene the pope and the king, and returned with great praise and commendation. Not long after his returne, and hauing small ioye of the world, he gaue ouer his bishopzike, and became one of the religious canons in his owne house of Plimpton, where he died and was buried, he was bishop about twentie yeares.

16 Robert Chichester, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop vnder Anselmus archbishop of Canturburie, Anno 1128, and the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the first. He was a gentleman bozne, and therefore esteemed for his zeale in religion, wherein he was deuout according to those daies; and thinking his labours to be best imployed that waste, did efforts go in pilgrimage, sometime to Rome, sometime to one place, sometime to another; and euer he would bring with him some one relike or other. He was a liberall contributor to the buildings of his church. In his time was founded and builded the monasterie of S. Stephens in Lancesson, and furthered by Reinold erle of Cornewall; but vnto it this bishop was an aduersarie, not for misliking the worke, but for feare of an intrusion vpon his liberties. Likewise at this time was builded the priorie of saint Nicholas in Excester, by the abbat of Battell, vnto which abbacie this priorie was a cell. In this mans time also king Henrie made William Rideners a Norman (and his kinsman) earle of Deuon; and therewith the lordship of Excester, and the honoz of Plimpton, together with the third pennie of his reuenues in Deuon, which in the whole was then thirtie marks, whereof this earle had ten. Also in this mans time king Henrie died, and king Stephan entred, and toke vpon him the crowne, whereof ensued great warres. This bishop, after that he had occupied the place two and twentie yeares, died, and was buried in his owne church. But the monke of Westminster writeth that he should be bishop seuen and twentie yeares, and died in the yere one thousand one hundred fiftie and siue, but he neuer saw the records of this church which are to the contrarie.

17 Robert Warlewast, nephew to William the bishop of this church, deane of Sarisburie, was consecrated bishop by Theobaldus archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred and fiftie, he nothing degenerated from the steps of his predecessors, but was altogether of the same bent and disposition. In his time king Stephan died, and Henrie the second was crowned king. This Robert after that he had occupied this see nine yers or there about, died, & was buried at Plimpton by his vnkle.

18 Bartholomeus Ilicanus, otherwise Bartholomeus of Excester, was consecrated bishop of Excester vnder Theobald archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare a thousand one hundred fiftie nine, he was called Ilicanus of Ilica, which is one of the ancientest names of this citie. He was a meane citizens son, but being verie apt vnto learning, his parents and friends kept him to schoule; and he so well profited therein, that he came and proued to be a verie well learned man: and being bishop he wrote sundrie bookes, as of predestination, freewill, penance, and others. Of all men he could not brooke nor fauor Thomas Becket archbishop of Canturburie for his contempt and disobedience against the king, for the which he sharplie improued, rebuked, and incited against him openlie in the parlement house holden at Portsmouth; and with such effectual reasons, and pithie arguments, he did so temper the same, that the whole parlement relied vnto his indgement and opinion herein against Thomas Becket. And after

John I. Cant.

Henrie War.

Robert Warlewast.

Bartholomeus Ilicanus.

after his death, such was the grauntie, modestie, and wisdom of the man, that he was speciallie chosen to be ambassadoꝝ for the king vnto pope Alexander the third; and so wisely, and with such discretion vsed the same, that notwithstanding his cause and message had manie aduersaries, yet he reconciled the pope and the king, obtained the goodwill and fauour of the pope, and brought his message to good effect. This bishop was in great familiaritie and acquaintance with Baldwin of Excester his countreiman, now archbishop of Canturburie, who was a more mans sonne in this citie; but for his learning advanced to this estate. In this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred thre score and eight, William Fitzralse a citizen of this citie founded a cell for monks within this citie, and dedicated the same to saint Alexius, which not long after was vnto saint Johns within the east gate of the same citie. In his time also Reinold of Courtnelle a nobleman of Normandie, the son of Clozus the son of Lewes, named Lewes le Grosse king of France came into this land, and married Hawise daughter and heire to Mathe the daughter and heire to Abells, sister and heire to Richard de Bzions the first vicount of Deuon, and in his right was vicount of Deuon. This Bartholomew, after he had bene bishop about fouretene yeares, in the yere one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, died: but where he died, and where he was buried it doth not appeere. In this bishops time about the yeare one thousand one hundred and seuentie, one Johannes Cozinsensis a Cornish man borne, was a famous learned diuine, he was a student at Rome and other places in Italie, and by that meanes grew into great acquaintance with pope Alexander the third: he wrote diuerse bookes, and namelie one *De incarnatione Christi*, against Peter Lombard, who affirmed, *Quod Christus secundum quod homo est, aliquid non est*; and this he dedicated to pope Alexander.

John the  
chanter.

19 John the chanter of the cathedrall church of this citie was consecrated and installed bishop of this church, in the yeare one thousand one hundred eightie and foure, he was well reported of for his liberalitie in continuing the buildings of this church, wherein he was nothing inferior to his predecessoꝝ. In his time king Henrie Fitzempresse died, and he himselfe, hauing bene bishop about six yeares, died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred ninetie and one.

Henrie  
Parshall.

20 Henrie Parshall archdeacon of Stafford, the brother to Walter earle marshall of England, was consecrated bishop by Hubert archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare one thousand one hundred ninetie and one; he finished the building of his church, according to the plot and foundation which his predecessoꝝ had laid; and that done, he purchased the patronage and lordship of Wodburie of one Albemarle, which he gaue and impropriated vnto the vicars chorall of his church. In this mans time, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and one, one Simon Thurnasius a Cornish man borne, brought vp in learning, did by diligence and studie so prosper therein, that he became excellent in all the liberall sciences, and in his daies none thought to be like him. He left Drenford, where he had bene a student, and went to Paris, and there became a priest, and studied diuinitie, and therein became so excellent, and of so deepe a iudgement, that he was made chiefe of the Sorbonists; at length he became so prouid of his learning, and did glorie so much therein, that he would be singular, & thought himselfe to be another Aristotle: and so much he was therein blinded, and waded so farre in loue with Aristotle, that he preferred him before spotes and Christ. But behold Gods

just iudgement. For suddenly his memoꝛie faileth him, and he waded so forgetfull, that he could neither call to remembrance anie thing that he had done, neither could he discern, read, or know a letter of the booke. This Henrie, after that he had spent and liued twelue yeares in his bishoprike, he died, and lieth buried in the north side of the chancell of his church, in a verie faire towe of marble, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six.

21 Simon de Apulia, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and six was installed bishop of this see, of him there remaineth no memoꝛiall at all. In his time were famous Ioseph Escantius, and Alexander Peckam; the one was verie well learned in the Latine and Greke tong, and in the liberall sciences; the other was prior of saint Nicholas, and was an vniuersall man, being a profound philosopher, an eloquent orator, a pleasant poet, and a deepe diuine. In this bishops time the doctrine of eleuation, adoration, reseruation, and praieng for the dead, being established by pope Honorius the third, the parish churches within this citie were limited, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie & two. In this mans time, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and twelue, one Johannes Denonius, so surnamed, because he was borne in Deuon, being well bent to good studies, was much commended for his learning and modestie. He was familiar and of great acquaintance with Baldwin archbishop of Canturburie, and being made abbat of Ford, was in such fauor with king John, that he chose him to be his confessor and chapleine: he was a wyttier, and compiled diuerse bookes which were then accounted of. Being dead, he was buried in his abbey, the people much lamenting the want of so good a man. This bishop hauing spent eightene yeares, died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure, & was buried in his owne church.

22 William Bzower, verie hostile after the death of the foresaid Simon, was elected bishop, and consecrated by Stephan Langton archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred twentie and foure. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, being brother to sir William Bzower knight, the husband of the eldest daughter, & one of the heirs to William de Verona, erle of Deuon; and who also was founder of the abbeies of Toz, of Hartland, and other monasteries. This bishop so wisely and discretly behaued himselfe, that he was had in great reputation among all men, and in speciall fauor with the king. For king Henrie, hauing given his sister ladie Isabel to wife vnto Frederike the emperour, did commend and betake hir to this bishop, to be conueied and conducted to the emperour. And such was the fame and good report spred of him, that as he passed through the countries, they were from place to place receiued with great honoz; and being come to the citie of Coleine, the archbishop there did not onelie berie honozable receiue them, but also accompanied them vnto the citie of Wormes, where the marriage was solemnized. When this bishop had sene the marriage, and all things perfoꝛmed, he toke his leaue, and was dismissed with great presents, and honozable accompanied homewards by the archbishop and others. At his returne he was so fully receiued of all the noble men about the king, and most thankfullie by the king himselfe, and whome the king vsed as his speciall and most trustie counsellor in all his weightie causes. This bishop being come home to his owne house, and minding (as his predecessoꝝ had done) to leaue some good memoꝛiall behind him, he made a deane, and constituted twentie foure prebendaries within his church. To the one he improp-

Simon de  
Apulia.

William  
Bzower.

granted Hampton and Colton Kitcherie: for the others he purchased so much land, as out thereof he assigned to euery prebendarie foure pounds by the yeare, and of these he ordeined his chapter. Also in this mans tyme, in the yeare one thousand two hundred and fortie, Gilbert Long and Robert his brother citizens of this citie builded and founded the hospitall of saint Johns, within the east gate of this citie, for the sustenance of certeine poore folks, called afterwarde the poore children of saint Johns, & gaue all their lands and tenements to the same, which was sufficient. The yeare following, the cell of Alerius was remoued and adioined to saint Johns; and then the founders being dead, the charge and gouernement of that house was by those founders commended to the maior of this citie, & they thenceforth were founders and patrons thereof. In the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, there grew a contention concerning the poore lazer sick people of the Dagdalen without the south gate of this citie, whose maner and vsage was then, with a clappish vpon euery market daie to resort and come to the markets, and there to beg euery mans deuotion: but by reason of their sicknesse, which was lothsome and abhorred, the peoples deuotion wared thort and scant against them: as also euery man murmured against their going & begging at large. Whereupon the matter being brought into question betwene the bishop and this citie, it was concluded that a permutacion should be made: and that therefore the bishops should be patrones, and haue the gouernement of saint Johns, and the maior and his successors to be gardians and founders of the hospitall of the Dagdalen; with a prouiso, that the prior of the hospitall of the Dagdalen should on one daie in euery moneth come with his boy to saint Peters church at the time of seruice, and there receiue and gather the deuotion of the canons, which is vsed at these presents. This poore house remaineth still, but the other for want of good friends was suppressed and dissolved. This bishop, after he had continued in his church about nineteene yeares, he died, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foure, and lieth buried in the middle of his owne church vnder a plaine marble stone.

Richard  
Blondie.

23 Richard Blondie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred fortie and foue, was consecrated and installed bishop, Bonifacius then being archbishop of Canturburie. This Richard was a man of a mild spirit, but verie stout against such as in his time did offer anie iniurie to the church. And in his old yeares being but a weake man, he was much carried and ruled by such as were his officers and about him, who taking the oportunitie of the time, vsed all the meanes they might to enrich themselves. His chiefe officers were one Lodeswell his chancellor, Sutton his register, Fitzherbert his official, and Ermestow the keeper of his seale. These with others of the chiefe seruants of his household compacted among themselves, that whilst the bishop was yet liuing, who then laie sicke and verie weake in his bed, to make and conuene vnto themselves conuiances of such liuelihoods as then laie in the bishops disposition; and accordingly made out aduoucons and other such conuiances as to them seemed best, all which were forthwith sealed and deliuered according to the orders among them concluded. But these their subtil dealinges were not so closelie conueied, but that the next bishop following bolted and found the same out; and did not onely reuerse all their doings, but also did errecommitt cat them, and who were not absolved untill they had done their penance for the same: which was done at saint Peters church openlie, vpon Palmesun-

day, being the nineteenth daie of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred threescore and seven. This bishop Richard in the twelue yeare of his bishoprike, died, and was buried in his owne church.

24 Walter Bonecome, archdeacon of Sarreie, was consecrated bishop of Exeter vpon Passion Sunday, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred foure score and six vnder Bonifacius then archbishop. He was borne in this citie of Exon, and was the sonne of poore parents; but he being of a verie towardnesse and good disposition, and verie apt to learning, they partlie of themselves, and partlie by helpe of their friends, did put him to schule and kept him to his booke, wherein he proued and prospered so well that he was verie well learned. At the time of his election he was no priest, and therefore not capeable of anie such dignitie: but immediatlie he took that order vpon him, and forthwith was consecrated bishop. All which being done within sixe daies, it was counted as for a miracle; namelie, that he should be elected bishop, then made priest, and at last to be consecrated within that space. For so manie dignities (as they termed it) to be cast vpon one man in so short a time, had not bene lightlie done. He founded the college of Glasene in Perrin in Cornewall, and indowed the same with faire possessions and reuenues. He purchased the Barton of Kokesdon and Clift, and gaue it to the hospitall of S. Johns within the east gate of the citie of Exeter. He instituted in his owne church the feast called Gabriels feast; and gaue a peece of land for the maintenance thereof. He also did by a policie purchase the lordship and house of Clift Sachifield, and by a deuise did enlarge the Barton thereof, by gaining of Cornish wood from his deane and chapter: and builded then a verie faire & sumptuous house, and called it bishops Clift, which he left to his successors. Likewise he got the patronage of Clift Fromeson, now called Sowton, and annexed the same to his new lordship, which (as it was said) was in this order. He had a frier to be his chapleine and confessor, which died in his said house of Clift, and should haue bin buried at the parish church of Faringdon, because the said house was and is in that parish: but because the parish church was somewhat far off, the waies foule, and the weather raineie, or for some other causes; the bishop willed and commanded the corps to be carried to the parish church of Sowton, then called Clift Fromeson, which is verie nere and bordereth vpon the bishops lordship: the two parishes there being diuided by a little lake called Clift. At this time one Fromeson a gentleman was lord and patron of Clift Fromeson, and he being aduertised of such a buriall towards in his parish, and a lech waie to be made ouer his land, without his leaue or consent, required therein, calleth his tenants together, and goeth to the bridge ouer the lake, betwene the bishops land and his, and there maketh the bishops men bringing the said corps, and forbiddeth them to come ouer the water. But the bishops men nothing regarding the same, doe presse forwards to come ouer the water; and the others doe withstand and fall at strife about the matter, so long, that in the end my lords frier is fallen into the water. The bishop taketh this matter in such griefe, that a holie frier, a religious man, and his owne chapleine and confessor, should so vnrueerentlie be cast into the water, that he falleth out with the gentleman, and (vpon that occasion I know not) he sueth him in the law, and so bereth and tormenteth him, that in the end he was faine to yeld himselfe to the bishops deuotion, and seeketh all waies he could to currie the bishops good will, which he could not obtaine, untill for his redemption

Brite  
will.



de mption he had giuen and surrendered by his patro-  
nage of Soltoton with a peece of land, all which the  
said bishop annereth to his new lordship. Thus by  
politic he purchased the manors of bishops Clif, by  
a beuie gaineth Cornish wood, and by power wresteth  
the patronage of Soltoton. This bishop after he  
had occupied this sex about thre and twentie years,  
died and was buried in his owne church, in a sumptuous  
tome of alabastr.

Porter Quiz  
will

25 Peter Minill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred foure score and one, was consecrated bishop of this church, vnder John archbishop of Cantuarburie. He first instituted a chanter and a subeane in his church. To the one he impropriated Dainton and Chibleigh, and to the other the rectorie of Eglosehale in Cornewall, he was a liberal and a speciall benefactor to the hospitall of saint Johns in Excester as well in goods as in liuelihoods, he first began to enlarge & increase his church from the chancell downewards, and laide the foundation thereof. In his time in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred foure score and five, Walter Lichlade the first chanter was slaine in a morning as he came from the morning seruice, then called the Matins, which was then wont to be said thortlie after midnight. Upon which occasion the king came vnto this citie, and kept his Christmasse in the same, and thereupon a composition was made betwene the bishop and the citie for inclosing of the churchyard, and building of certeine gates there, as appereth by the said composition bearing date in *Festo annuntiationis beate Marie* 1286. The king at the sute of the earle of Hereford, who at his being here was lodged in the house of the Greie friers, which then was nere the house of S. Nicholas, obtained of the bishop, that they should be removed from thense to a more wholesome place, which was to the place without the fourth gate: wherof after the kings departure grew some controuersie, bicause the bishop refused to performe his promise made to the king. This man also impropriated the parish of S. Petowline, and the parish of Stoke Gabzell, and united the same to the office of the chancelloz of the cathedrall church; & vnder condition, that the said chancelloz should continually read a lecture withyn the said citie, of diuinitie or of the decretals: and if he should faile to do this, that then it might and should be lawfull to the bishop to resigne the said parsonages impropriated, and to bestow it at his pleasure, as appereth by the said grant vnder the seales of the said bishop, deane and chapter, dated the twelfe of the calends of Aprile 1287. This bishop not long after, and in the eleuenth yeare of his bishoppricke, died; being choked in drinking of a sirrup, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred ninetie and two, & was buried in his owne church. The Franciscans or Greie friers of this citie imputed his death to his hard dealing with them. For whereas he had promised the king to prouide a conuenient place for them to build their house in, and had willed their warden named Wedobatus, to seeke out and make inquirie for the same: yet notwithstanding when he had so done, bicause the same was in his see, he did swaue from his said promise, and did utterlie denie to performe the same, by the perswasion of one Peter Benefeld, a Dominican or Blacke frier, and Confessor vnto the said bishop. For he enuieing the good successe of the Franciscans, perswadeth with the bishop, that in no wise he should permit them to inioy the place which they had gotten, nor to build therein; bicause it was within his see: for saith he, as vnder colour of simplicitie they creepe into the hearts of the people, and hinder his power preachers from our gaines and liuings; so be ye sure, that if the canons put foot within your liberties, they

will in time so inroedy vpon the same, as that they will be cleane exempted from out of your libertie, and iurisdiction. The bishop being some perswaded, and contented contrarie to his promise to yeld them vnto, denieth the Franciscans; and utterlie forbiddeth them to build oꝝ to do anie thing within his see oꝝ libertie. About two yeares after, the bishop kept a great feast vpon the sundate next befoꝛe saint Francis daie, and among others was present with him one Walter Winborne one of the kings chiefe iustices of the bench; and who was present when the bishop at the request of the king made promise to further and to helpe the Franciscans, and who in their behalfe he now put the bishop in mind thereof, and requested him to haue consideration both of his owne promise and of their distresse. The bishop mistaking these speeches, wared somewhat warne and offended, and in open termes did not onelie denie to yeld herevnto, but wished himselfe to be choked what date soeuer he did consent oꝝ yeld vnto it. It fortuned that the same weeke, and vpon the daie of saint Francis eue, the bishop toke a certeine sirrup to drinke, and in too haffe swallowing thereof his bꝛeath was stopped, and he forthwith died. The Franciscans hearing thereof, made no little a do about this matter, but blazed it abrode that saint Francis wrought this miracle vpon the bishop, because he was so hard against them.

26 Thomas Witton the yere following was elected bishop, & the see of Canturburie being void, he was consecrated by John Roman archbishop of Yorke. He left no memoriall of anie great things done by him, saving that he continued in the building of his church; as also was a fauourer of such learned men as were in his diocese in his time: namelie Robert Wylmpton a regular canon of Wylmpton, and professor of diuinitie, and who wrote two booke, Walter of Cron a Franciscan frier of Carocus in Cornewall, who at the request of one Baldwin of Excester wrote the hystorie of Gule of Warwick; William of Excester doctor of diuinitie and warden of the Franciscan friers of his citie; Godfreie surnamed Cornewall, a subtil scholeman, and a reader of diuinitie sometimes in Paris. This bishop, after fouretene yeres that he had occupied this see, died, in the yere of our Lord one thousand three hundred and six, and was buried in his owne church.

27 Walter Stapledon, In the yere of our Lord walter Stapledon.  
one thousand thre hundred and seauen, being elected  
bischop of this cite, was consecrated by Robert  
Winchelsea archbischop of Canturburie. He descen-  
ded of a most noble parentage, which ioined with his  
learning, wisdome, & politike head, did him great  
credit and fauour with the king, who had him not  
onelie one of his pynite counsell, but also made him  
lord tresaurer of England. At his institution or  
installing he kept a solemne obseruation. For being  
come first to the cite, immediatlie after his conse-  
cration, as sone as he came to the east gate, he a-  
lighted from his horse, and went in on foot, all the  
street being couered and laied with blache cloth; he  
was led on both sides with two men of worship:  
and sir Hugh Courtneie knight, who claimed to be  
steward of his feast, went next before him. The feast  
it selfe was verie sumptuous and liberall. A contro-  
uersie was betwene him & the said sir Hugh Court-  
neie, concerning his chalenge to be his steward, but  
it was compounded and ended. This bishop as he  
grew and increased in wealth, so he was carefull in  
the well disposing of part therof. For the increase of  
learning he builded and erected two houses in Oxen-  
ford, the one named Stapledons inne, but since Ox-  
cester college, the other Hart hall. He was also a spe-  
ciall

Thomas  
Bison.

Walter Stinson  
pleban.

et all benefactor vnto the hospitall of saint Johns in  
 Crester, vnto the which, for the relieuing of certeine  
 poore children therein, he impropriated the rectorie of  
 personage of Ernescome. In the controuersie be-  
 twene his maister king Edward the second, and  
 Charles the French king, he was sent ambassadour  
 to the French king, and ioined in commission with  
 the queene, for the treatie of a peace and reconcilia-  
 tion: which though it were obtained, yet he ioining  
 with the Spencers, who fauoured not the queene, he  
 returned into England; leaving the queene behind  
 him. And whereas they praised what they could, to  
 put enimitie betwene the king and hir; and to set  
 hir besides the cushion, they themselves fell into the  
 same snares, which they had laid for others. For not  
 long after, the queene, by the helpe of the earle of He-  
 nault, and of sir John his brother, came into Eng-  
 land with a great armie. Whereof the king and the  
 Spencers, being affraied, departed from London  
 to Wilton, leaving the bishop at London, and made  
 him custos of the same; who requiring the keyes of  
 the gates of the citie of the mayor, the commoners  
 toke him and beheaded him, as also his brother sir  
 Richard Stapledon, in Cheapside, and carried his  
 bodie to his house without Templebar, & there bu-  
 ried it in a sandhill; namelie the fifteenth of October  
 in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred  
 twentie and nine. But the queene forgetting all dis-  
 curtesies, and reuerencing his calling, commanded  
 his corps to some more honourable buriall: where-  
 vpon the same was taken vp, and brought to this ci-  
 tie, and with great solemnitie was buried in his  
 owne church, vpon the eight and twentieth of March,  
 where his epitaph by the writer thereof is set. Thus  
 after that he had bene bishop about twentie yeares,  
 he ended his daies.

James  
 Warkleie.

28 James Warkleie, vpon the six and twentieth  
 of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three  
 hundred twentie and seauen, before the buriall of his  
 predecessor in his owne church, was consecrated bi-  
 shop of this citie. He descended of the noble house of  
 the lord Warkleie, and albeit he were reputed to be  
 a verie goodie and a wise man, yet he had no time to  
 yeld the trial thereof. For he died in the fourth mo-  
 neth after his consecration, vpon the foure & twen-  
 tith daie of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord one thou-  
 sand three hundred twentie and seauen, and was bu-  
 ried in his owne church as some say, but some thinke  
 he neuer came hither at all.

John Gran-  
 derson.

29 John Granderson, being in Italie with pope  
 John the two & twentieth. After the death of James  
 Warkleie, the king presented him vnto the pope, who  
 accepted the presentation, & consecrated him bishop  
 of this diocese on the eight of October, Anno 1327.  
 He was borne and descended of the ancient house of  
 the Grandersons, dukes of Burgognie, his father  
 was named Gilbert, the brother of who the great  
 lord Granderson. Which Gilbert comming into this  
 land, was well interteined by the king and nobilitie,  
 and had a good liking of the countrie, that by meanes  
 of Henrie earle of Lancaster, with whome he came  
 into England, he married ladie Sibill, daughter  
 and one of the heires to John Regos, lord of the cas-  
 tle of Gwas, nere Hereford east, and by hir had is-  
 sue five sonnes, and foure daughters; of which this  
 bishop was one, and was borne in the parish of Ash-  
 perton, in the diocese of Hereford. He was from  
 his childhood verie well affected to learning, and be-  
 came a good scholar and professor of diuinitie, of which  
 method he wrote two books, the one intituled *Pontifi-  
 cales maiores*, and the other *Pontificales minores*. He was  
 also verie graue, wise, and politike, and thereby grew  
 into such credit with pope John the two and twen-  
 tith, that he was not onelie of his priuie counsell,

but also *Nuntius apostolica sedis*; and in all matters of  
 weight and importance an ambassadour for him to  
 the emperour, to the kings of Spaine, of France,  
 of England, and of all others the mightiest princes  
 of christendome. And being on a time sent in an  
 ambassage to king Edward the third, he did with  
 such wisdom and grauitie behaue himselfe, that  
 the king was rauished in loue with him; and did so  
 tenderlie loue and fauour him, that he neuer ceased,  
 untill he had procured him from the pope, and then he  
 gaue him the archdeaconrie of Botingham, and be-  
 stowed great livings on him. He made him one of  
 his priuie counsell, and in the end preferred him to  
 this bishoprike. After this, there being some disliking  
 betwene pope Clement the first, and the king; he for  
 his approued wisdom was sent in an ambassage  
 to the pope, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand  
 three hundred fortie and three, for an intratie of a  
 peace and an amitie betwene them to be had; and  
 with such wisdom he did his message, that he obtai-  
 ned his purpose, and made a reconciliation. After  
 his returne home to his bishoprike, he was altoge-  
 ther giuen in doing some good things. He builded &  
 founded the college of saint Marie Otreie, and in-  
 dowed the same with great and goodlie liuelihods,  
 he was a liberall benefactor to the vicars cho:all of  
 his owne church, as also to the college of Glasneie in  
 Perrin; he builded the two last arches in the west  
 end of his church, vaulted the rose of all the church,  
 and fullie perfo:med and ended the buildings of the  
 same, and then enriched his said church with plate,  
 ornaments, and great riches. Also he builded a verie  
 faire house in his sanctuarie at bishops Teington,  
 which he gaue and left full furnished vnto his succe-  
 ssors, and did impropriate vnto the same the par-  
 nage of Kadoate, to the end as he setteth downe in  
 his testament, *ut haberent locum unde caput suum recli-  
 narent, si forte in manum regis eorum temporalia caperentur*:  
 and which his halssening in the end came partlie to  
 effect. For not onelie the most part of the temporal-  
 ties of this bishoprike, but this new builded house  
 and impropriation are come to be the possessions  
 and inheritances of tempozall men. This bishop was  
 red old, and feeling in himselfe a decate of nature,  
 made his last will and testament, wherein he made  
 such large and bountious legacies to the pope, em-  
 perour, king, queene, archbishop, bishops, colleges,  
 churches, and to sundrie persons of high estates and  
 callings; that a man would maruell, considering  
 his great and chargeable buildings & works other-  
 wise, how and by what meanes he could haue attai-  
 ned to such a masse of wealth and riches; but his wise-  
 dome and policie considered, it was easie. For first,  
 he sequestereth from himselfe and out of his house  
 the trope of manie men and horses, reteining and  
 keeping no more than to serue his reasonable estate;  
 his diet was frugall, his receipts great, his expenses  
 no more than necessarie. Moreover, he had taken  
 and set an order with all the ecclesiasticall persons of  
 his diocese, that at the time of their deaths, they  
 should leaue and bequeath all their goods to him or to  
 some other in trust, *in pios vsus*, & towards his charge-  
 able buildings; and so well he was beloued, and his  
 doings liked, that they all accepted this his order: by  
 meanes whereof he grew within the course of fortie  
 yeares to infinite wealth and riches. He was in all  
 his life time a plaine man, and void of all vaine glo-  
 rie and pompe; and p:uenting that none should be  
 vnto at his buriall, commanded the same to be done  
 plainelie & simple; and that none of his executors,  
 chapleins, seruants, nor none of his household should  
 weare any mourning blacke cloths at the same, but  
 onelie their accustomed & common apparell, which  
 then was commonlie greie coloured cloths, & his  
 1 shop

Chor  
 Wren  
 den.

bishop was no lesse graue and wise, than stout and of courage, if occasion did so require. And amongst other things this is reported of him; that about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, Simon Speham, then archbishop of Canturburie, sent his mandatum to this bishop, that he would visit his church & diocese upon mondaie next after Ascension daie then following. This bishop (upon that occasion it is not written) did refuse this mandatum, and appealed from the same, aduertising the archbishop that he should not visit his church nor diocese. Notwithstanding, the archbishop at the time appointed came to this citie, and went to St. Peters church, nothing thinking that anie durst to withstand him. But the bishop knowing of his coming, goeth to the church doore, meeteth the archbishop, and forbiddeth him to enter into his church; but the archbishop pressing forward, as with force to enter, the bishop being then well garbed, denied and resisted him: wherupon the archbishop departed, and after at a prouinciall counsell holden at London, the archbishop complained hereof, but by meanes of the like discorde betwene him & his suffragans, he prevailed not. In this bishops time one William of Excester, a verie well learned man, was a canon of this church; and he joining with Nicholas de Cesena, Dieham, Walsingham, and others, did openlie preach, that Christ and his apostles were but poe men, and had no temporall possessions: neither was anie emperor or late man subiect to the pope, but onlie in matters of religion. But when he heard that pope John the thirde and twentieth had excommunicated, and would condemne them all for heretikes; this William, to save his liuings, secretlie thronke a waie from his old companions, and changed his copie, and writeth certeine conclusions against them and his owne preachings. Also in this bishops time, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and fortie, one John of Bampton, so named, because he was bozne at Bampton, in this diocese, and a monke of the order of the Carmelites, was a verie good scholar, and first did openlie read Aristotle in the vniuersitie of Cambridge; where he was a scholar; and afterwards he studied diuinitie, and was made doctor: he wrote certeine booke, which are not extant. This bishop, after that he had occupied this church about two and fortie yeares, he died upon St. Swithins daie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred thirtie and nine, and was buried in a chappell which he builded in the west wall of his owne church.

Thomas  
Brentingham

30 Thomas Brentingham, after the death of this John Grandellon, was at one instant chosen bishop of Excester and bishop of Hereford, who refusing the one toke the other, and was consecrated bishop of Excester upon the tenth daie of March, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and seauentie, being the feast daie of Perceus and Achilles, William of Worcester then archbishop of Canturburie. This Thomas was a man verie well learned, and experted both in ecclesiasticall matters, and in politike gouernement, and in both these respects greatlie reuerenced and esteemed; and for that cause, at the parlement holden at Westminster, in the tenth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, was chosen one of the twelue peers of the realme vnder the king. He was a benefactor to the Calenderhale of the bicars chorall of his owne church, and performed and supplied in buildings and otherwise, what his predecessors had left vndone. And hauing bene bishop foure and twentie yeares, he died the thirde of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1394, and was buried in the north side of the bodie of his owne church.

31 Edmund Stafford upon the twentieth daie of June, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and nine, was consecrated at Lambeth by William Courtnaie archbishop of Canturburie. He was bozne and descended of noble parentage, being brother to Kalle lord Stafford created earle of Stafford by king Edward the third; he was both wise and learned, and for his wisdom grew into great credit with the king, and was both of his priue counsell, as also lord chancellor of England. At the parlement holden at Westminster, the one and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Richard the second, he being then speaker of the higher house, made a verie learned and pithie oration, to proue the absolute authoritie of a king: his theme was, *Res vna erit omnibus*. And hauing discoursed at large of the authoritie of a king, he did conclude; *Quod potestas regis esset sui sola, unita, annexa, solida*; and whosoever did by anie meanes impeach the same, *Pena legis merito esset plectendus*. And for the furtherance of good letters, he did increase two fellowships in the college of Stapledons inne in Orford, reformed the statutes of the house, and altered the name of it, and called it Excester college. After that he had continued bishop in much honor about three and twentie yeares, he died the fourth of September, being the seuenth yeare of king Henrie the fift, and lieth buried in his owne church in a verie faire towe of alabaster.

32 James Carie bishop of Chelser, then being at Florence when news was brought to pope Martin the fift of the said late bishop Staffords death, was there made bishop of this church, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred and ninetene, and also consecrated; but long he inioied not his office, for there he died, and was buried.

James  
Carie.

33 Edmund Lacie bishop of Hereford was translated from thence vnto this church in the feast of Easter, and in the eight yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the fift, in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred and twentie. He was a man verie deuout and religious, but subiect to flatterers, who carried him to their pleasure; he was a liberall benefactor vnto the vicar of Calenderhale. Great contentions were betwene him and the citis for liberties, which by arbitrement were compounded. He founded the chapter house in his owne church. He was a professor of diuinitie, and verie well learned. For in the second yeare of his bishopricke, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, there was a parlement holden at Westminster, in which great complaints were made against the loose and dissolute life of the religious men, and especiallie the blacke monks. And this matter being brought to the conuocation house, this bishop as chiefe prologuitor of that assemblie, did make a verie learned and a pithie oration before the king, then of purpose present, and the whole cleargie, much lamenting that the religious men were so far strated from the rules of their professions, and the holinesse of their predecessors. And when he had at large discoursed the same, he deliuered by certeine articles in writing, praying for reformation. Which his speeches were so effectualle uttered, and his articles so pithie penned, that both the king and the clergie did not onelie with great liking and allowance praise and commend the same; but also toke order that there should be a prouinciall counsell called out of hand for a reformation. Which was then promised, but not performed, by reason of the kings death, which not long after followed. But yet in the waie of good speed, it was then concluded and agreed, that euerie third benefice, being of the gift of anie of the prelates, or of anie monastrie, should from thenceforth for seauen yeares

Edmund  
Lacie.

be giuen to some scholar of Erford or Cambridge. This bishop, after he had liued fise and thirtie yeares in this bishopricke, died and was buried in the north wall of the quere in his owne church. After whose death manie miracles were said and deuised to be done at his tombe, whereupon great pilgrimages were made by the common people to the same.

George Peuill.

34 George Peuill succeeded Edmund Lacie, and was consecrated in the feast of saint Katharine, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fiftie and fise, he was of a noble parentage, being the second son of Richard Peuill earle of Sarisburie, he finished and ended the chapter house which his predecessor had begun. And after that he had bene bishop about ten yeares, he was remoued to Pothe, and made archbishop there, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre score and fise.

John Bath.

35 John Bath, after the translation of George Peuill to Pothe, was consecrated bishop vnder Thomas Warcher archbishop of Canturburie, vpon the two and twentieth date of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred thre score and six. He was by profession a ciuillian, and a bachelor of the same, he gouerned his church verie well, and builded (as some suppose) the bishops see in the quere. But being werie of the great troubles which were in this countrie betwene king Edward the fourth and the earle of Marwike, he remoued from hence to his house of Worleigh in Hamshire, where in the twelue yere of his bishopricke he died, vpon the fift of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and eight, and lieth buried at saint Clements in London.

Peter Courtne.

36 Peter Courtneie, immediatlie after the death of John Bath, was presented to this bishopricke, and consecrated by Thomas archbishop of Canturburie in Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred seuentie and seuen at saint Stephens in Westminister; he was the son of sir Philip Courtneie of Wotwerham, his mother was named Elisabeth, daughter to Walter lord Hungerford. He for his wisdome and good behauiour was in great fauor & credit with king Henrie the seauenth, by whose means he was translated from this church to Winchester, in the ninth yeare of his being bishop here, and in the fift yeare of his being there he died, vpon the twentieth date of December, in the yere one thousand foure hundred ninetie and one, and lieth buried in his owne church. He finished the north tower of saint Peters, and gave the clocke bell which is in the same, and which beareth the name Peter.

Richard For.

37 Richard For, vpon the remouing of Peter Courtneie, was consecrated bishop of this church, vnder Thomas archbishop of Canturburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred thre score and six. He was a verie wise man, and in great credit and estimation with king Henrie the seuenth, vnto whome he was a faithfull counsellor, and of his counsell; with whom he acquainted himselfe at Paris, when he was there a student. For king Henrie then erle of Richmonde, being at Venice, and aduertised how the nobilitie of England was bent to haue him for their king, came from thence to Paris, and sought vnto Charles then king of France for aid and helpe: in which the earle his sutes this For was a speciall traueeller and counsellor; and in the end, God giuing the success, the erle obtained the crowne, and hauing had due triall of the fidelitie, wisdome, & trust of this bishop, he made him lord priue seale; and kept and vsed him & his aduise in all his weightie matters as well at home as abroad. He being ambassador sundrie times to the kings of France and Scotland, and of a verie hartie good will and loue, the king made him godfather to his second son king

Henrie the eight. There was a kind of emulation, betwene this bishop and the earle of Surreie, both of them being verie wise and of great seruice to the king and commonwealth: howbeit, in some discreetie of respects, the one hauing no issue to care for, did deale without anie priuate affection or singular gaine; and the other hauing issue, was desirous to aduance his house and honor. These affections did breed some dislike betwene them two, yet the king finding a fault vnto himselfe, and a commoditie to the commonwealth, misliked it not, if the same exceeded his measure: and they more warne than commendable for their callings and estates. The king then of the counsell would deale betwene them for the appeasing and pacifying of them, and to them he was both friendlie, louing, and liberall. The one he deliuered out of the tower, pardoned him of his offenses, restored him to his lands, receiued him into speciall fauor, made him of his priue counsell, as also lord treasurer of England, and his generall into Scotland, & augmented his liuelihoods. The other he first made bishop to this church, then remoued him to Bath, and from thence vnto Durham, and lastlie vnto Winchester. Erasmus, in his booke intituled The preacher or Ecclesiastes, declareth how that the king vpon a time, wanting some peece of monie, was to borrow the same of the commons, and of the clergie. And for the dealings with the clergie, the matter was by commission committed to this bishop. Who when they came before him, vsed all the excuses that they could, to shift the miselues from lending of anie monie. Some came verie semelie and well apparelled, and awaited vpon by their men, according to their liuelihoods; and these alledged, that they were greatlie charged in hospitalitie and house keeping, with other charges incident to the same, so that they had no monie, & therefore could paie none. Some came porrelie and barelie apparelled, and they alledged that their liuelihoods were but small, and yet their charges were great, and by that meanes the world was so hard with them that they had it not to spare. This bishop, hauing heard all these excuses, vsed this dilemme. To the richer sort he said; For so much as you are so well and semelie apparelled, and doe keepe so great houses, and haue all things necessarie about you; it is a manifest argument, that you haue some store about you, or else you would not be as ye doe: and therefore ye must needs lend. To the other, who pretended excuse of their pouertie, he thus replied vnto them; that for so much as they were so bare in their apparell, and so sparing of their expences, it must needs be that they saued their purses and had monie, and therefore they must needs paie, and so adiudged them to lend vnto the prince. Now as he arose by learning, so he was a great fauorier and furtherer of learning: and for the good increafe of the same he builded and founded Corpus Christi college in Orenford. In his latter daies he waied and was blind, and dieng in Winchester, he was there buried in his owne church, after that he had bene bishop of Excester six yeres, he was remoued to Bath, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two.

38 Oliver King, immediatlie vpon the translation of bishop For, was consecrated bishop of this church, in Februarie, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and two, John Porton then archbishop of Canturburie. This Oliver was chapleine to king Henrie the seuenth, and deane of Winchester, and regisler of the order of the garter. In his time were the rebellions of Ioseph the blacke smith in Cornewall, and of Perken Warbecke. This bishop after that he had occupied this see about fise yeares, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred

Richard  
Newman.

John W.  
man. etc.

Hugh W.  
man.

Oliver King

died ninetie and seven, and (as some suppose) he was buried at Windsor.

Richard  
Medman.

39 Richard Medman, immediately upon the death of bishop Oliver King, was translated from his bishopricke in Wales to this citie: but after five yeares he was removed unto the bishopricke of Ely, and installed there in September in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and one. He was a gentleman borne, and descended of a verie worshipfull house, which joined with his wisdom and learning, did much increase his credit and good report.

John  
Arundell.

40 John Arundell, next after the translation of bishop Medman, was removed from Countreie and Lichfield unto this citie, and was installed the fiftenth of March, one thousand five hundred and one. Wherein he sought not the preferment for any livelihoods, but rather desirous to be a dweller and resident in his countreie where he was borne: for he was descended of the Arundells of Lanherne in Cornewall, a house of great antiquitie and worship. He long enjoyed not his new bishopricke, for after two yeares after his installing, he had occasion to ride unto London, and there died, and was buried in S. Clements church without Templebar, in the yeare one thousand five hundred and three.

Hugh  
Oldham.

41 Hugh Oldham, upon the death of Arundell, by the preferment of the countesse of Richmond and Derby, unto whom he was chapleine, was preferred unto this bishopricke, and installed in the same. He was a man having more zeale than knowledge, and more deuotion than learning; somewhat rough in speeches, but friendly in doings. He was careful in the saving and defending of his liberties, for which continuall futes was betwene him and the abbat of Taverstoke; he was liberall to the vicars chorall of his church, and reduced them to the keeping of commons, and towards the maintenance thereof he gaue them certaine reuenues, and impropriated vnto them the rectorie of Cornewood. He albeit (of himselfe) he were not learned, yet a great fauourer and a furtherer of learning and of learned men. Notwithstanding, he was sometime crossed in his honest attempt therein. He first was minded to haue enlarged Excester college in Orford, as well in buildings as in fellowships: but after being a requester to the fellows for one Atkins to be a fellow, in whose fauour he had written his letters and was denied, he changed his mind, and his good will was alienated. About the same time doctor Smith bishop of Lincoln was building of the college named Basenose, and was verie willing and desirous to ioine with him: but being denied to haue the nomination of a founder, his mind was changed. Not long after, being aduertised that bishop For of Winchester was minded to erect & found a new college, he ioined with him, and contributed vnto him a great masse of monie, and so a college was builded for scholars, and great livelihoods prouided for them: & then the house was named *Corpus Christi* college. Whereof the one of them bare the name of a founder, and the other of a benefactor. Whatbeit, some diuersitie was betwene these two bishops at the first, to what vse this college should be imployed. For the founder was of the mind that he would haue made it for a house of monks; but the benefactor was of the contrarie mind, and would haue it for scholars, alleging that monks were but a sort of buzzing flies, & whose state could not long indure; whereas scholars brought vp in learning would be profitable members to the commonwealth, and good ornaments to the church of God, and continue for ever. The founder being a wise man, and of a deepe iudgement, when he had paused and considered hereof, yielded hereunto: and so it was concluded betwene them to make and

build a college for scholars. And forthwith for the good direction, guiding, and gouernment of the said college and scholars, such wise, good, & politike statutes and ordinances were by good aduise and counsell devised, established, and ordeined; as whereby the said college hath bene, and yet continueth one of the best nurseries for training and instructing of good scholars in learning within that vniuersitie. This bishop and the abbat of Taverstoke did still contend and continue in law during their liues: and during which fute this bishop died, being excommunicated at Rome, and who could not be suffered to be buried, untill an absolution from Rome was procured for him. After that he had bene bishop about sixtene yeares, he died the five and twentieth of June, one thousand five hundred and ninetene, and was buried in his owne church.

John Wolfe's

42 John Wolfe, otherwise Harman, succeeded Oldham, by the preferment of king Henrie the eight, whose chapleine he then was, and deane of his chapell as also of this church; he was doctor of the lawes, verie well learned and wise, and in great fauour with the king, who sent him sundrie times in ambassages to foreine princes; he was lord president of Wales, & had the gouernment of the kings onlie daughter ladie Marie princeesse of Wales. Of all the bishops in the land he was accounted the courtliest and the best courtier. And although he were well reported for his learning, yet better liked for his courtlike behaviour, which in the end turned not so much to his credit, as to the vtter ruine and spoile of the church: for of two and twentie lordships and manors, which his predecessors had assigned vnto him, of a goodlie yearelie reuenue he left but thre, & them also leased out. And where he found fouretene houses well furnished, he left onelie one house bare and without furniture, and yet charged with sundrie fees and annuities; and by these means this bishopricke, which sometimes was counted one of the best, is now become in temporall lands one of the meanest, and according to the foreprophecying of bishop Grandisson, a place scarce left for the bishop to laie and rest his head in; and yet neuertheless he was a great fauourer of learned men, and expectant of diuines, whom he preferred in his church aboue others. He was verie bountious and liberall vnto all men, but especiallie vnto courtiers, vnto his owne kindred and countriemen. Upon manie he bestowed much, to the confusion of some of them; and upon the others he spent much by building of a towne called Sutton Colshull where he was borne, which he procured to be incorporated, and made a market towne, and set vp therein making of hearthes, but all which in the end came to small effect. In his time, after the death of king Henrie the eight, there was an alteration of religion by king Edward the first, whereof ensued a rebellion & commotion in this diocese: which in some part was imputed to this bishop, because he laie farre from it, and dwelled in his owne countreie. Whereupon he resigned the bishopricke into the kings hands, after that he had bene bishop about thirtie yeares, and liued by the rents of the temporalltie of the bishopricke, which when he alienated and discontinued, he did receiue vnto him for terme of his owne life.

43 Miles Couerdale, after the resignation of Wolfe, was by king Edward made bishop of this citie, & consecrated at Lambeth by Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Cantuarburie, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and fiftie. He was borne in the north countreie, and from his childhood giuen to learning, wherein he professed verie much: he was one of the first which professed the gospel in this land in the time of king Henrie the eight, he translated

Miles Couerdale.



translated the bible out of the Hebrew into English, and wrote sundrie books vpon the scriptures. Which doctrine being verie new and strange in those daies, and he verie freighthie pursued by the bishops, made his escape, & passed ouer into low Germanie, where he printed the bibles of his translation and sent them ouer into England, and therof made his gaine wherby he lived. But the bishops, namelie D. Stokesleie bishop of London, when he heard hereof, and minding to prevent that no such bibles should be dispersed within this realme, made inquirie where they were to be sold, and bought them all vp; supposing that by this meanes no more bibles would be had: but contrarie to his expectation it fell out otherwise. For the same monie which the bishop gaue for these books, was sent ouer by the merchant vnto this Couerdale, and by that meanes he was of that wealth and abilitie, that he imprinted as manie more and sent them ouer into England; but he was then so narrowly sought for, that he was bounden to remoue himselfe out of Flanders into Germanie, and dwelled vnder the Passegraue of Rhene, where he found much fauour. First he taught yong children, and hauing learned the Dutch tong, the prince Palatine gaue him a benefice, named Burghsaber, where he continued and lived verie well, partlie by that benefice, and partlie by the liberalitie of the lord Cromwell, who was his god lord and reloued him verie much. At length, when the religion was altered in England, and the gospel had a free passage, he returned & did verie much good in preaching of the same. And when the commotion in Denon was for religion, he was appointed to attend the lord Russell, when he came to suppress the same, and verie worthie for his learning and godlie life was made bishop of this see: who most worthilie did performe the office committed vnto him. He preached continually vpon euerie holie daie, and did read most commonlie twice in the weeke in some one church or other within this citie. He was after the rate of his linings a great keeper of hospitalitie, verie sober in diet, godlie in life, friendlie to the godlie, liberall to the poore, and courteous to all men, void of pride, full of humilitie, abhorring couetousnesse, and an enemy to all wickednesse and wicked men: whose companies he shunned, and whom he would in no wise shewd or haue in his house and companie. His wife a most sober, chaste, and godlie matrone; his house and household another church, in which was exercised all godlinesse and vertue. No one person being in his house, which did not from time to time giue an account of his faith and religion, and also did liue accordingly. And as he had a care for the successe in religion, so had he also for the direction of the gouernement in ecclesiasticall causes. And because he was not skilfull therein, neither would be hindered from his godlie studies, and be incombered with such worldly matters, which neuertheless he would haue be done in all by rightnesse, iustice, and equitie; he sent to Oxford for a learned man to be his chancelor, and by the ministerie of the writer hereof he procured and obtained one master Robert Weston doctor of the ciuill law, & afterwards lord chancelor of Ireland, vnto whom he committed his consistorie, and the whole charge of his ecclesiasticall iurisdiction; allowing vnto him, not onelie all the fees thereunto appertaining, but also lodged and found him, his wife, familie, horse, and man, within his owne house, and gaue him a yearelie pension of fortie pounds. And surelie the bishop was no more godlie and carefull of his part, concerning preaching; but this man also was as diligent and seuer in doing of his office, without reproch of being affectionated or corrupted. And notwithstanding this good man, now a blamelesse bi-

shop, lived most godlie and vertuous: yet the common people, whose old bottels would receiue no new wine, could not brooke nor digest him; for no other cause, but because he was a preacher of the gospel, an enemy to papistrie, & a married man. Many deuises were attempted against him for his confusion, sometimes by false suggestions, sometimes by open railings, and false libels; sometimes by secret backbitings, and in the end practised his death by imprisoning: but by Gods prouidence the snares were broken and he deliuered. After that he had bene bishop about thre yeares king Edward died, and then queene Marie hauing the crowne, the religion was altered, and he deposed. And notwithstanding the malice of prelats and archbishops was most bitter against him, and who had sworn his death: yet by the goodness of God he was most miraculously preserved, and deliuered from out of their hands, at the sute and by the meanes of the king of Denmarke: who so earnestlie sued, & so often wrote to the queene for him, that he was deliuered and sent vnto him; with whom after that he had staid a while, he went againe into Germanie to the Passegraue, who most louinglie receiued him, placed him againe in his former benefice of Burghsaber, where he continued vntill the death of queene Marie. And then the preaching of the gospel being againe receiued, & hauing a free passage, he returned into England; but would neuer returne to his bishopricke, notwithstanding it was referred for him, & sundrie times offered him; but lived a priuat life, continuing in London, preaching & teaching the gospel, so long as the strength of his bodie would permit; and at length being verie old and stricken in yeares, he died, and was honourably buried at saint Agnys church in London.

44 John Wolfe, after the depriuation of Miles Couerdale, was restored to this church, and for the better setting of the Romish religion did here staid for a while: but his mind was addicted to his owne countrie, that he returned thither, and made his owne abode there, practising there what he could, to haue the making of heresies to come to some effect; but the same being more chargeable than profitable, came to small profit. This man being verie old died in his owne house, with a pang, and was buried in his parish church there, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and five.

45 James Trobelsfeld succeeded bishop Wolfe, and was consecrated in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie & six, he was a gentleman bozne, and of a good house, verie gentle and courteous; he professed diuinitie, but most zelous in the Romish religion, & yet nothing cruell nor blowdie. And yet that he might not seeme to do nothing, he was contented to prosecute and condemne a gentle poore seelie woman, named Agnes Picest for religion and heresie, & who was burned in Southwicheam for the same. It was laied to his charge, as doth appeare by an indictment taken at Lancaster, *Die luna in quarta septimana quadragesime, anno Philippi & Maria secundo & tertio*, before William Stanford then iustice of the assise, that she should denie the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, and that the same was but a signe and a figure of Christs bodie, and that none doth eat reallie the bodie of Christ but spirituallie. He was verie carefull to recouer some part of the lands of his bishopricke, which his predecessor wasted, and did obtaine of queene Marie, to him and to his successors, the fee farme of the manor of Crediton. After that he had bene bishop about two yeares, queene Marie died; and he was deposed, and lived after a priuat life.

46 William Allee, in the second yeare of queene Elisabeth, was chosen bishop, and installed the first of August,

John Wolfe

James Trobelsfeld

William Stanford

1. Sec

2.

August, in the peare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and one. In all queene Maries time, which were called the Marian daies, he travelled from place to place in the north countrie, where he was not knowne; and sometimes by practising of physike, and sometimes by teaching of scholars, he picked out a poore living for himselfe and his wife, and so continued, being not knowne to haue bene a priest, during all queene Maries time: after whose death he went to London, and there did read diuinitie lecture in Pauls verie learnedlie, and to his great commendation; and from thence he was taken and made bishop of this citie. He was verie well learned vniuersallie, but his chiefe studie and profession was in diuinitie, and in the songs. And being bishop, he debated no part of his former trauels, but spent his time verie godlie and vertuouslie. Upon euerie holic daie (for the most part) he preached, and vpon the weeke daies he would and did read a lecture of diuinitie; the residue of his time, and fræ from his necessarie businesse, he spent in his privat studies, and wrote sundrie books, whereof his prelections or lectures which he did read in Pauls, and his poore mans librarie he caused to be impzinted: the like he would haue done with his Hebrie grammar, and other his works, if he had liued. He was well stoied, and his libzarie well replenished with all the best sort of wzriters, which most gladlie he would impart and make open to euerie good scholar and student, whose companie and conference he did most desire & imbrace. He seemed at the first appearance to be a rough and an austere man, but in verie truth, a verie courteous, gentle, and an affable man; at his table full of honest speeches, joined with learning and pleasantnesse, according to the time, place, and companie. All his exercises, which for the most part was at bowles, verie merrie and pleasant, void of all fadnesse, which might abate the benefit of recreation; loth to offend, readie to forgive, void of malice, full of loue, bountifull in hospitalitie, liberrall to the poore, and a succourer of the needie, faithfull to his friend, and courteous to all men; a hater of couetousnesse, and an enemie to all euill and wicked men, and liued an honest, a godlie, and vertuous life. Finalitie, he was indued with manie notable good gifts and vertues, onelie he was somewhat credulous, of a haste belæse, and light of credit, which he did oftentimes mislike & blame in himselfe. In his latter time he waxed somewhat grosse, and his bodie full of humors, which did abate much of his wonted exercises: and hauing bene bishop about eight peares, he died the first of Aprill one thousand five hundred and seauentie, and was buried in his owne church.

William Wadbyrdge.

47 William Wadbyrdge, deane of Sarisburie, was the next bishop, and consecrated at Lambeth by Matthew Parker archbishop of Canturburie, the eighteenth of March one thousand five hundred and seauentie: he was a professour of diuinitie, but not taken to be so well grounded as he persuaded himselfe, he was zealous in religion, but not so forward as he was wished to be. In his latter daies he delighted to dwell in the countrie, which was not so much to his liking, as troublesome to his clergie, & to such as had anie lutes vnto him. It was thought he died verie rich, but after his death it proued otherwise: he died suddenly, no bodie being about him, at Newton Ferris, the ninth peare of his bishoprike, vpon the nine and twentieth of Iulie, in the peare of our Lord 1578, and was buried in his owne church. Thus farre the collection of John Hooker, agreeing with the records.]

L. Stow.

The seuenteenth daie of Iulie the queenes maie.

He being on the river of Thames, about nine of the clocke at night (betwixt his highnesse manour of Greenwich & Dartford) in his private barge, accompanied with the French ambassador, the earle of Lincolne, and maister vicechamberlaine; it chanced that one Thomas Appletree, a pong man, and seruant to maister Gentrie Carie, with two or three others, being in a bote on the Thames, rowing by and downe betwixt the places aforesaid: the foresaid Thomas had a calliet or harquebus charged with bullet, and shooting at randoff, by misfortune shot one of the watermen, being the second man next vnto the dales of the said barge (which sat within the shot of his highnesse) cleane through both armes, and moued him out of his place. For the which fact the said Thomas being apprehended and condemned to death, was on the one and twentieth of Iulie brought to the water side, where was a gibbet set vp, directly placed betwixt Dartford and Greenwich. But when the hangman had put the halter about his necke, the right honorable sir Christopher Barratt capteine of the gard, and one of his maiesties priuie counsell, shewed the queenes maiesties most gracious pardon, and deliuered him from execution. This yeare John For of Wodbyrdge, William Walshe, nele of Dorsetmouth, and Robert Dore of Warwich Englishmen, hauing bene prisoners in Turkie about the space of thirtene or foureteene peares, with more than two hundred and fiftie other christians of diuerse nations, by killing their keeper, maruelouslie escaped, and returned into their native countries.

A translation  
of Thomas  
Apple-  
tree.John For an  
Englishman  
deliuered two  
hundred and  
thre score  
christians fra  
captiuitie  
of the Turke.

This yeare in the moneths of September and October fell great winds and raging flouds in sundrie places of this realme, as in the towne of Newport: the cotages were borne downe, the corne lost, pasture ground ouerwhelmed, and cattell drowned. In the towne of Bedford the water came vp to the market place, where cupboards, chests, stools, and fowms swam about the houses; their felwell, corne and hait was wackt & borne awaie. Also the towne of saint Edes in Huntingdonshire was ouerdrowed suddenly in the night, when all men were at rest; & the waters brake in with such force, that the towne was almost all defaced; the swans swam downe the market place, and all the towne about the botes did float. The towne of Cozmannesher was suddenly suppressed, their houses flowed full of water, when men were at rest, and their cattell with other things were destroyed.

winds and  
high waters.

The one and twentieth of Nouember, sir Thomas Gresham knight agent to the queenes highnesse, who had in his life built the roiall Exchange in London, betwene six and seven of the clocke in the evening, comming from the same Exchange to his house (which he had sumptuouslie builded) in Bishopsgate Street of London, suddenly fell downe in his kitchen, and being taken vp was found speechlesse, and presently dead, who afterwards was solemnlie buried in his owne parish church of saint Helen there, where he had prepared for himselfe a sumptuous towe or monument, without anie epitaph or inscription thereupon. This sir Thomas Gresham in his testament (which long before his death he had ordeined) bequeathed diuerse large legacies not yet performed.

Anno reg. 22.  
Sir Thomas  
Gresham de-  
ceased.

The eight and twentieth daie of March, one Francis alias Armaduke Clouer was hanged on a gibbet set vp for that purpose by the standard in Cheape, for wilfullie murdering sergeant Grace after he was by him arrested. Also on the next morrow, being the nine and twentieth daie of March, the same gibbet was set vp at Hog lane end vpon east Smithfield, nere vnto the tower of London, thereon to haue

1580  
Clouer a  
murderer  
hanged in  
Cheape.  
Doe executed  
for murder.

haue hanged one Richard Dod for murthering of  
mistresse Skinner a widow, in his house there by.  
But sir Owen Hopton lieutenant of the tower, com-  
manding the officers pertaining to the shiriffes of  
London backe againe to the west side of the crosse,  
toke the shiriffe of the out shire with the prisoner in-  
to an house, and after long talke brought the priso-  
ner forth againe, & deliuered him to the officers, to  
be by them brought backe to London: When he cau-  
sed the gibet to be taken downe, and carried alofte  
at his pleasure, and without further contention. (fo-  
my knowlege) the said Richard Dod was in the as-  
ter none of the seuer date hanged at Chiborne.

A great  
earthquake.

On the first of Aprill, being Wednesday in Easter  
week about six of the clocke toward evening, a sud-  
den earthquake happening in London, and almost  
generallie throughout all England, caused such an  
amazednesse among the people as was wonderfull  
for the time; and caused them to make their earnest  
prayers to almighty God. The great clocke bell in  
the palace at Westminister strake of it selfe against  
the hammer with the shaking of the earth, as di-  
uerse other clocks & bells in the steeple of the citie of  
London, and elsewhere did the like. The gentlemen  
of the Temple being then at supper, ran from the ta-  
bles, and out of their hall with their knives in their  
hands. The people assembled at the plaie houses in  
the fields, as at the Whoreater (the Theater I would  
saie) were so amazed, that doubting the ruine of the  
galleries, they made hast to be gone. A peece of the  
temple church fell downe, some stones fell from saint  
Pauls church in London: and at Christs church  
nere to Beuigate market, in the sermon while, a  
stone fell from the top of the same church, which stone  
killed out of hand one Thomas Gye an apprentice,  
and an other stone fell on his fellow seruant named  
Abell Cuert, and so brused him that he liued but  
four daies after. Diuerse other at that time in that  
place were so hurt, with running out of the church  
one ouer another for feare. The tops of diuerse chim-  
neies in the citie fell downe, the houses were so sha-  
ken: a part of the castell at Wythpys Stratford in  
Essex fell downe. This earthquake indured in or  
about London, not passing one minute of an houre,  
and was no more felt. But after ward in Kent, and  
on the sea coast it was felt thre times; as at Sand-  
wich at six of the clocke the land not onelie quaked,  
but the sea also fomed, so that the ships tottered. At  
Douer also the same houre was the like, so that a  
peece of the cliffe fell into the sea, with also a peece of  
the castell wall there: a peece of Saltwood castell in  
Kent fell downe; and in the church of Hyde the bells  
were heard to found. A peece of Sutton church in  
Kent fell downe, the earthquake being there not on-  
lie felt, but also heard. And in all these places and  
others in east Kent, the same earthquake was felt  
thre times to moue, to wit, at six, at nine, and at e-  
leuen of the clocke. The nineteenth daie of Aprill  
the ferrie at Lambeth was drowned with five men  
and foure horses; other two men and five horses  
swam to land and were saued.

A water-  
quake.

A ferrie  
drowned.

William  
Lambe es-  
quier decea-  
sed, his el-  
mentaries.

On the one and twentieth of Aprill, in the yeare  
1580 departed this life master William Lambe  
esquier, sometime gentleman of the chapell in the  
reigne of king Henrie the eight, citizen of London,  
and free of the clothworkers. Of this mans almes-  
deeds and manifold charities, some before, some since  
his death put in effectuall practise, thus reporteth a  
memoriall recorded in print, agreeing in truth with  
his last will and testament: an extract thereof for  
others imitation is necessarilie here to be inserted.  
This gentleman remembring that learning bring-  
eth preferment, yea euen to them which are put base-  
lie boyne, as it pleased God to moue him by his god

and gracions spirit, he proued himselfe by testimo-  
nials of his doings a louer of learning, and a fauou-  
rer of cuerie honest profession. For in the towne of  
Sutton Valens in Kent, this worshipfull gentle-  
man at his owne costs and proper expences erected  
a grammar schole for the education of youth in the  
feare of God, in good maners, in knowledge and in  
vnderstanding.

He also agreeing with himselfe, that the labourer  
ought of right to haue his hire; and that, no man  
goeth to worke of his owne proper charge, besides o-  
ther commodities which he thought that and neces-  
sarie, hath allowed the master twentie pounds, and  
the other ten pounds, from time to time, as either  
place shall be supplied by succession, for their praelie  
appends and perpetuall pensions. To continue the  
reuerend of his good deeds in Sutton aforesaid, note  
his tender & pitifull heart toward the poore, for whose  
sustentation, maintenance, and reliefe, he hath built  
seuerall almes houses for the impotent, and hath gi-  
uen six pounds to be yearely paid unto them for  
their necessarie prouision. Moreover, besides this cha-  
ritable deed, to keepe still within the compasse of  
Kent, make the singular loue which this gentleman  
did beare unto learning; for the furtherance wherof,  
and the more incouragement of poore scholars, he  
hath giuen to the schole of Spalding ten pounds a  
yeare for ever, with this cause or prouiso, that needie  
mens chylzen should be preferred to the enioieng of  
this singular benefit.

That this gentleman had not onelie a regard for  
the seed-plots of learning, to haue them watered  
with the springs of his bountie: but also a prouident  
eye, and a carefull hart for the profit of the common-  
wealth, the particulars following substantiaillie do  
proue. For, seeing in his life time the decaye of sun-  
drie trades, the ruine of diuerse occupations, and o-  
ther inconueniences, which are like to growe to the  
vndoieng of a multitude, except by policie they be  
preuented: of a mere affection (if I said fatherlie I  
were not controllable) he hath fraile given to the  
poore clothiers in Suffolke, to the poore clothiers of  
Widgenoth in Shropshire, and to the poore cloth-  
iers at Ludlow in the said countie, thre hundred  
pounds, to be paid by euen portions, to each severall  
towne of the said countie one hundred pounds a  
peece, for their suppoztation and maintenance at  
their worke and occupation. So little esteemed he the  
mucke of this world, in respect of doing good, (per-  
uallie when he saw old age drawing him to his grave:  
of which mind it were to be wished all richmen  
would be (whom God hath made his stewards) when  
they war crooked & bowe backt, and (as the poet saith)  
*Obrepit canis rugosa fenestra capillis.*

Furthermore, the well of his welldoieng not yet  
waring drie, but yelding liquoz of reliefe verie  
largelie, hath watered other places. For, as the coun-  
trie, so likewise the citie (the citie I meane of Lon-  
don) hath cause, yea iust cause with open mouth to  
magnifie the goodnesse of God, so mightilie working  
in this praiseworthy equier. The memorabill mo-  
numents, which shall liue when he is dead, and shall  
flourish when he is rotten, are witness of the loue,  
which he being a citizen bare unto this citie. For, let  
vs begin with the conduit which he of his owne  
costs, not requirring either collection or contribu-  
tion, founded of late in Holborne, not sparing ex-  
pences so it might be substantiaill, not pinching for  
charges so it might be durable and plentifull, as  
they can testifie which saw the saking of the springs,  
the manner of making the trenches, the ordering  
of the pipes, lieng in length from the head to the  
said conduit, more than two thousand yards: and  
finallie, the framing of cuerie necessarie appur-  
tenance

The erection  
of a gram-  
mar schole  
necessarie at  
lowance to the  
master and  
other.

When houses  
built for the  
poore.

All or some  
for poore men  
chylzen to be  
kept at schole.

The common  
wealth re-  
membred.

A reliefe to  
poore cloth-  
iers in diuers  
places.

A London the  
better by this  
act of his.

A remem-  
brance of  
holborne  
conduit some  
years since  
built in 1577.

The wast  
water at the  
bridge run-  
ning at the  
standard.

Providence  
considers  
man.

Howe soon  
benefited by  
the conduct.

The right  
hospitall  
Clothwork-  
ers remem-  
bered.

Allowance  
for foure  
partie ser-  
mons.

Carrie poyse  
man and poyse  
women a  
kirt, a smocke,  
a gowne, and  
a paire of  
shoes, &c.

Saint Giles  
without Cri-  
plegate bene-  
fited.

mem-  
re of  
ozme  
re found  
nd find  
n An.

tenance thereto belonging. Besides this, means  
is made, by a standard with one cocke at Holborne  
bridge to conuete the wast, which doth such seruice, the  
water thereof being both sweet, pleasant, and whol-  
some, as neither rich nor poore can well misse. Which  
great worke as he aduisedly attempted, so he com-  
mendably finished, hauing disbursed therabouts, of  
his owne costs & charges, to the sum of 1500 pounds.

And yet further note the wisdome and prou-  
idence of this gentleman, who considering that the  
right vse of a good thing might cut off manie occa-  
sions of unchastities and idleness, and knowing that  
we are placed in this world to follow the vocation  
therunto we are called: besides that, seeing the  
hardnesse of this age wherein we live, that manie  
would worke if they had meanes, manie neglect and  
care not for worke though they haue meanes, some  
would willingly withstand pouertie if they might,  
some had rather beg and do worke than giue them-  
selues to labour, hath bene thus beneficiall to poore  
women that are glad to take paines, as to bestow vp-  
on them a hundred and twentie paces, wherewith to  
carrie and serue water: an honest thift of liuing,  
though somewhat toilsome. To descend and come  
downe to other his almesdeeds, you shall vnderstand  
that he being a member of the right hospitall cor-  
poration and societie of Clothworkers, was not for-  
getfull of that companie, vnto whome he hath giuen  
his dwelling house in London, with other lands, and  
tenements, to the value of thirtie pounds or there-  
abouts, by them to be thus bestowed: to wit, for the  
hiring of a minister to read diuine seruice thise a  
weeke, that is, euerie sundae, wednesdaie, and Fri-  
daie throughout the yeare, in the chapell or church be-  
longing to his house, called by the name of Saint  
James in the wall by Cripple gate: and for foure ser-  
mons there yerele to be made and preached, a com-  
petent allowance.

Out of which sum also of thirtie pounds, it is prou-  
ided that a deduction be made by the said Clothwork-  
ers, for apparelling twelue men, and as manie wo-  
men, in foure as followeth: that is to saie, to euerie  
one of the twelue men one fraeze gowne, one loco-  
rum shirt, & a good strong paire of winter shoes: to  
twelue women likewise one fraeze gowne, one loco-  
rum smocke, & a good strong paire of winter shoes,  
all readie made for their wearing: remembered al-  
waies that they must be persons both poore and ho-  
nest, vnto whome this charitable deed ought to be ex-  
tended. Vponed also, that the execution hereof be  
done the first daie of October, orderlie from yeare to  
yeare for euer whiles the world doth last. Moreover,  
he hath giuen to those of his companie foure pounds  
freelie, not for a time, but perpetuallie: and thus doth  
his bountifullnesse manie waies appeare. To the pa-  
rish of S. Giles without Cripple gate, he hath giuen  
fiftene pounds to the bells and chime, hauing meant  
(as it seemeth if they had taken time) to be moze libe-  
rall in that behalf. The said bells & chime were in his  
life, & also after his deith kept in good order according  
to his will: but afterwards vpon occasion some of  
them newlie cast became ill of sound & out of tune: a  
fault in some which would be amended. The poore of  
the parish aforesaid, by their reliefe in his life time se-  
cretlie ministered, haue iust cause to lament the losse  
of this right bountifull almoner. For by his means  
their succour was the moze: now it is to be feared it  
will be so much the lesse, by how much it may be sup-  
posed he increased their reliefe. Thus regarded he not  
so much his priuat thift, as the comon good, giuing  
therein to the world a testimonie of christian pro-  
vidence, whose nature is to prefer the benefit of manie  
before the profit of one, according to that of the poet:

*Publica priuatis qui sapit antefere.*

This gentleman's distributions are so diuerse, and  
so manie, that the rehearfall of them requireth a large  
discourse. It is well known, and that can the wor-  
thypfull companie of the Stationers witnesse, that  
this gentleman, for the space of these fouretene or  
fiftene yeares, whiles he liued, was pitifull to the  
poore of the parish of S. Faiths, and other parishes:  
in which said parish church, euerie fridaie ordinarie  
throughout the yeare, distribution was made of their  
allowance by the hands of the said worthypfull Sta-  
tioners, to whome that charge was and is commit-  
ted: namelie, to twelue poore people twelue pence  
in monie, and twelue pence in bread. Neither is this  
charitable deed laid asleepe, but continued euen to the  
worlds end, for the perpetuall succor of the poore and  
impotent, a legacie of six pounds, thirtene shillings  
and foure pence, allowed to that end; the bestowing  
whereof is in the hands of the said worthypfull socie-  
tie of Stationers, the distributors of this almesse to  
the poore: who are put in mind to praise God for that  
prouision, in this request of the benefactor grauen in  
mettall, and fixed fast in the wall hard by his towe:

I praie you all that receiue bread and pence,  
To saie the Lords praier before ye go hence.

As for Christs hospitall, vnto the which he hath  
prouided himselfe a fatherlie benefactor, towards the  
bzinging vp of the poore children, he hath giuen six  
pounds, which they shall inioie for the terme of fiftie  
hundred yeares. Moreover (marke the rare liberali-  
tie of this vertuous gentleman) he hath giuen to the  
said hospitall one hundred pounds in ready monie,  
wherewith to purchase lands, that their reliefe, by the  
reuenues of the same, might be perpetuall: a nota-  
ble deed, and an vndoubted worke of perfect christia-  
nitie. As for S. Thomas spittle in Southwarke, to-  
ward the succour of the sicke and diseased, he hath gi-  
uen foure poundes yerele, and for euer: so that we  
may see in all his proceedings with what mercie he  
was moued, with what pittie picked: and finally, in  
all respects how godlie giuen. And here by the waie  
it is to be noted, that wheras it was reported, that he  
gane to the hospitall, commonlie called the Sanatorie,  
founded by king Henrie the seventh, to purchase  
lands for the behoofe of the said hospitall, one hun-  
dred pounds in monie: it is nothing so. For his be-  
neficence towards that hospitall was staid, not tho-  
rough any default in him; but because such agree-  
ments could not be concluded vpon, as he reasona-  
bly required. Wherefore his contribution that waie  
ceased, soe (I dare saie) against his godlie will. Thus  
much I was desired to speake touching that mat-  
ter, to the intent that nothing but plaine truth might  
be reported, with the contrarie whereof he was not a  
little offended.

And although offenders deserue rather to be puni-  
shed than fauoured, whereupon by politike gouerne-  
ment it is prouided, that their bodies apprehended,  
be committed to appointed places of imprisonment:  
yet this good gentleman remembering that the holie  
Ghost willeth vs not to withold our hand from a-  
nye of our brethren in distresse, considering that cha-  
ritie should not be parciall but indifferent, hath for  
the releafe of the poore prisoners of the two Coun-  
ters, of Fleetgate, of Ludgate, of the Marshalleie,  
of the Kings Bench, and of the white Lion, dealt ve-  
rie bountifullie, and discretlie: giuing vnto the two  
Counters, six pounds to be paid vnto them both by  
twentie shillings a moneth: and to the other prisons  
aboue mentioned, six mattresses a peece, the whole  
number being two dozen and a halfe. In consider-  
ation of which charitable deed, how deepele they are  
bound, if they haue anye sparkle of grace, to thanke  
God for his goodnesse shewed vnto them by the mi-  
nisterie of this gentleman, all the world maie per-  
ceiue.

Reliefe for the  
poore people.  
Wh. Lambes  
toure to the  
worthypfull  
Stationers.

Perpetuall  
prouision for  
the poore.

Reliefe for  
Christs hos-  
pittall.

A purchase  
for the said  
hospittall.

Reliefe for  
S. Thomas  
spittle.

why he staie  
his benefi-  
cence from the  
hospittall of  
the Sanatorie.

Prisoners for  
offenders.

Reliefe for  
poore pris-  
oners.

A charitable  
worke in-  
deed.

Marriage  
monie for  
poore maides.

This loue to-  
wards his  
seruants.

This faith was  
fruitfull.

I. Stow.  
An earth-  
quake in  
Kent.

T. C.

Castles and  
ships scene  
in the aier.

cedue. It were intarie offered, to let slip vncem-  
bryed his mindfulnessse of poore maides marriages:  
and how willing he was to helpe them, it appeareth  
by his good gift of twentie pounds to be equally di-  
uided among fortye such in number by equall por-  
tions of ten shillings a peece: with this caveat, that  
these poore maides so to be married, should be of good  
name and fame: wherein marke how in all his be-  
quests, wisdome is ioined as a yokefellow with his  
bountie.

Lastlie, and for conclusion, this discret gentle-  
man, carried awaie with the zeale of a good conscie-  
ence, tendering the state of his seruants, left them  
also at a resonable good waie. For besides their halfe  
peares bozd fretie giuen and granted, he hath bene  
beneficiall to them in diuerse other respects, which I  
passe ouer vncemembred. But alas! these forsooth  
seruants doe not a little lament the losse of so louing  
a maister. I omit the hundred & eight frese gownes  
readie made, which he bequeathed at his funerall to  
poore people, both men and women: with the dis-  
persing of the remnant of all his goods after his bu-  
riall, where need and reason required. And thus you  
see what monuments this gentleman hath left be-  
hind him, to beare witnessse to the world of the fruit-  
fulnessse of his faith: which if (as saint James saith)  
it maie be iudged by works, and that it is a dead and  
a barren faith which declareth not it selfe by deeds:  
then the sequelle maie be this, that the faith where-  
with he (of whome this is written) was indued, the  
worth it selfe to be the same faith which is wished,  
and I would to God were in the heart of euerie chri-  
stian. As for his religion, it was sound; his professi-  
on sincere; his hearing of Gods word, attentive &  
diligent; his vse of prayer, deuout: in his sickenesse  
patient, willing to forsake the world, and to be with  
Christ, in whose faith he died; and lieth intombed in  
a faire large balot in saint Faiths vnder Paules,  
this epitaph grauen in brasle or copper, fixed vpon his  
grauestone, compassing a note of our mortalitie:

As I was, so are ye:  
As I am, you shall be:  
That I had, that I gaue:  
That I gaue, that I haue:  
Thus I end all my cost:  
That I leste, that I lost.

Hitherto concerning maister Lambes almes  
deeds, wherein thus much hath at large bene spoken  
for others example, whome as God hath indued with  
riches: so it were to be wished they would vse them  
no worse. The first daie of Maie, after twelue of  
the clocke in the night, was an earthquake felt in di-  
uerse places of Kent, namelie at Ashford, great  
Chart, &c: which made the people there to rise out of  
their beds, and run to the churches, where they called  
vpon God by earnest prayers to be mercifull vnto  
them. Of this earthquake one writeth thus. Ma-  
nie thousands haue heard and commonlie it is re-  
ported, that latelie in Kent an other earthquake  
was sene and felt, and so terrible and soze the  
earth did tremble and quake, that it wakened  
people that soundlie slept, and had like to haue ro-  
ked them all asleepe that were awaie. So feare-  
full was the matter, and so dreadfull is the wrath of  
God in time of visitation, and wicked season of in-  
quitie. This was a pretie naturall cause: in deed so I  
thinke. For the naturall diseases of man, and the  
naughtie filthinesse of the flesh (full of lust and in-  
firmities) caused God for the correction of natures in-  
clination, to make Dover, Sandwich, Canturbu-  
rie, Grauesend, and sundrie other places tremble  
and shake.

The eighteenth daie of Maie, about one houre be-  
fore sun setting, diuerse gentlemen of worship, and

good credit, riding from Bodman in Cornewall to T. C.  
wards Foie, there appeared to their seeming in the  
northeast, a verie great mist or fog, much like vnto  
the sea: and the forme of a cloud in the fashion of  
some great castell, with flags; & streamers the reon  
as it were standing in the sea, which presentlie va-  
nished awaie. In whose stead, and nere to the same  
plate, appeared an other cloud which altered into the  
likenesse of a great argosie, furnished with masts,  
and other necessaries; and his sailes seeming full of  
wind, made him waite on the south-west of the castell,  
hauing streamers and flags verie warlike, with two  
boats at either sterne. There thicountinent appeared  
againe the forme of a castell, and behind the same  
came following on the south-west side, an other great  
argosie, furnished as the first. This being past, there  
appeared three or foure gallies with their masts and  
flags in warlike sort, hauing boats at their sternes;  
and thereby appeared other small clouds to the num-  
ber of twelue, which altered into the proportion of  
the said castells, and one following an other, as soe  
as anie of them vanished other came in their roms;  
and this continued the space of an houre. Shortlie af-  
ter the sights in the aier aforesaid, a worthy Gen-  
tleman in the countrie wrot to a right good gentle-  
man in the court, that there was sene vpon a  
downe called Bodwells downe, in Summerset-  
shire, three score personages all clothed in blacke, a  
furlong in distance from those that beheld them; and  
after their appearing, and a little while taring, they  
vanished awaie; but immediatlie, an other strange  
companie in like maner, colour and number appea-  
red in the same place, and they incountered one an  
other, and so vanished awaie. And the third time ap-  
peared that number againe all in bright armour and  
incountered one an other, and so vanished awaie.  
Foure honest men which saw it, reporting the same  
abroad, were examined thereof, before sir George  
Bozton, to whome they swore, that those things they  
had sene were true, as here before is rehearsed.

Moreouer, it is crediblie reported of manie honest  
men, that fise miles from Blonndon in Wiltshire, a  
crie of hounds was heard in the aier, the selfe same  
daie that the first earthquake was, and the noise  
was so great that was made, that they seemed three  
or foure score couples: whereat diuerse toke their  
greyhounds, thinking some gentlemen had bene a  
hunting in the chafe, and thought to course: yet some  
of those that went out of their houses, seeing nothing  
below abroad, looked vnto the skies, and there  
espied in the aier fise or six hounds perfectlie to be  
discerned. Now (to saie my fanthe) I doubt not but  
thousands hold these netwes so, fables inuented for  
pleasure. But I protest before God and man, I can  
believe a great deals more stranger matter than  
this, in this strange world: for the people so estrange  
themselves from God by vsing manie strange fa-  
shions, and clapping on new conditions & natures,  
that except he shew some miracles, his godhead  
would quickelie be forgotten on earth, and men  
would believe there were no other world but this.

The thirtenth of June, about six of the clocke in  
the morning, at Shipwash within the baronie of Bo-  
thell in Northumberland, there happened a tempest  
of lightning and thunder, after the which, on a sud-  
den came a great shouze of haile, amongst the  
which were found stones of diuerse shapen: maruel-  
lous to behold, as in the likenesse of frogs, mattocks,  
swords, horse shoes, nails, crosses of diuerse sorts,  
skulls of dead men, &c. The scuententh day of June,  
in the parish of Blasedon in Northshire, after a gret  
tempest of lightning & thunder, a woman of fours  
score yeares old, named Alice Perrin, was deliue-  
red of an hideous monster, whose head was like vnto

T. C.  
wonders in  
wiltshire and  
summeret-  
shire.

John  
Hume

So  
trans-  
into

Don  
birth

Blas

Very  
last

These stones  
of strange  
shapen.

A monstrous  
birth.

Spoken  
on eyes  
of the  
time.



to a fallet or headpiece, the face like unto a mans; except the mouth, which was round and small, like unto the mouth of a monke, the fore part of the bodie like to a man, having eight legs not one like an other, and a taile halfe a yard long. Which monster brought into the world, besides an admiration of the diuine workes of God, an astonishment at his iudgements. But of these we may saie as a stranger said sometime vpon the like occasion of prodigies and wonders successiuelie ensuing, not without weightie signification; to wit; that such things be as tales told to the deafe, verie few welcōg in their minds the meaning & effect of strange accidents, and therefore thinke vpon nothing lesse than a reformation of their wicked life: for the which things sake God sendeth these and manie such significant warnings, before he taketh the rodd in hand, and whippeth vs till we smart: we then not looking to the meanes that prouoke this vengeance, as willing to auoid them: but murmuring at the iust iudge, vnder whose heauie hand we grone, & charging him to be the author of all misfortunes falling vpon vs: which Homer trauile saimeth right well to haue noted in this sense:

*Cui stulti incusant mortales numina celi?*

*Et si nos dicunt auctores esse malorum?*

*Cum prater fari leges in aperta ferantur*

*Damna, suauentis proprijs erroribus ori.*

About the eighteenth daie of Iulie, the lord Erie toke his voyage towards Ireland as lord deputie thereof, after whom was sent diuerse bands of lustie souldiours, both horsemen and footmen, vnder the leading of expert captiains, of whose prosperous and happy success against their enemies, the Irish and others, diuerse pamphlets haue bene published, & matter more at large is set downe in the historie of Ireland. The thre and twentieth of September, at fennie Stanton in Huntingdonshire, one Agnts wife to William Winstete was deliuered of an vgly and strange monster, with a face blacke, the neckered, mouth and eies like a lion, on the forehead a roll of flesh that might be turned vp with ones finger, on the hinder part of the head a lump of flesh proportioned like a fether, being hollow, with one eare growing on the lower part of the cheeke, his bellie big and hard, the armes big, having five fingers and a thumbe on either hand, and in place of toes on the left foot five fingers and a thumbe, on the right foot a thumbe and seven fingers, & in the place of priuities the shape both of male & female: a strange sight to be seene, and I feare, signifieth our monstrous life, which God for his mercie giue vs grace to amend, without procrastination or putting off from daie to daie, as the poet significantlie saith:

*Cras vultis, sed vult hodie vindex Deus, & cras.*

*Aur non vult, aur vos obruet atra dies.*

The eight daie of October, immediatlie after the new monie, there appeared a blasing star in the south, bushing toward the east, which was nightlie scene (the aier being cleere) more than two moneths. The eighteenth of October were made eight sergeants at law, to wit, William Flatterwood recorder of London, Edward Flowerdew, Thomas Snag, William Periam, Robert Walton, John Clench, John Pickering, Thomas Warmleie; maister Snag before named was sicke, and therefore was swozne in his chamber at Greies inne, the other seven were swozne at Westminister, and held their feast at the new Temple at London.

The quenes maiestie being informed, that in sundrie places of this realme, certeine persons secretlie taught damnable heresies, contrarie to diuers principall articles of our belae and christian faith, who to colour their sect named themselves the familie of loue, and then as manie as were allowed by them

to be of that familie to be elect and saued, and all others of that church soener they be, to be reiected and damned. And for that vpon conuening of some of them before the bishops & ordinaries, it was found that the grounds of their sect is maintained by certeine lewde, hereticall, and seditious books, first made in the Dutch tong, and lastlie translated into English, and printed beyond the seas, & secretlie brought ouer into the realme, the author whereof they name H. P. &c. And considering also it is found, that those sedaries held opinion, that they may befoze anie magistrat or ecclesiasticall or tempozall, or anie other person, not being professed to be of their sect, by oth or otherwise denie anie thing for their aduantage: so as though manie of them are well knowne to be teachers and spreaders abroad of these dangerous and damnable sects; yet by their owne confession they can not be condemned. Therefore hir maiestie being verie soze to see so great an euill, by means of the diuill to be brought into this hir realme, and by hir bishops and ordinaries the vnderstandeth it verie requisit, not onelie to haue those dangerous heretiks and sedaries to be seuerelie punished; but that also all other meanes be used by hir maiesties roiall authoritie, which is giuen hir of God to defend Christs church, to root them out from further infecting of hir realme: she hath thought meet and conuenient, and so by hir proclamation commanding, that all hir officers and ministers tempozall shall in all their feuerall vocations assist the bishops of hir realme, and all other person to search out all persons duilie suspected, to be either teachers or professors of the foresaid damnable sects, and by all good meanes to proceed seuerelie against them, being found culpable by order of the lawes ecclesiasticall or tempozall; and that all search be made in all places suspected, for the books and writings maintaining the said heresies and sects, and them to destroe and burne, &c: as more at large may appere by the said proclamation, giuen at Richmond the thirde of October, and proclaimed at London on the nineteenth daie of the same moneth.

About this time there arrived vpon the west coast of Ireland, a certeine companie of Italians and Spaniards, sent by the pope to the aid of the earle of Desmond in his rebellion, which fortified themselves strongly nere vnto Smerwicke, in a fort which they called castell del Oye, there erecting the popes banner against hir maiestie. Which when the lord Erie of Wilton deputie of Ireland vnderstood, he marched thitherward, and on the sixt of November, bearing of the arriuall of the Swift, the Tigre, the Aid, the Sperlion, & other of the quenes maiesties ships, and also of thre barks fraughted from Corke and Limerike with vittels, on the morrow after marched towards the fort, vnto the which he gaue so hot an assault, that on the ninth of November the same was yeilded, all the Irishmen and women hanged, and more than foure hundred Spaniards, Italians, and Bilcaies put to the sword; the coronell, captiains, secretarie, and others, to the number of twentie saued for ransom. In which fortresse was found good store of monie, biscet, bacion, oile, wine, and diuerse other provisions of vittels sufficient for their companie for halfe a yeare; besides armour, powder, shot, and other furniture for two thousand men and vnto wards.

The eight and twentieth daie of November were arreigned in the kings bench, William Kandoll for conspiring to know where treasure was hid in the earth, and goods feloniously taken were become; Thomas Elks, Thomas Lupton, Rafe Spacie, and Christopher Waddington, for being present, aiding, and procuring the said Kandoll to the conspiracy & foresaid.

The quenes maiesties purpose to root out this pestilent sect.

Victorie against the Irish and other in Ireland.

Anno reg. 23. Kandoll hanged for conspiring.

Strange speeches of a child.

for; said; Wandoll, Ellis, Spacie, and Waddington were found guiltie, & had judgement to be hanged; Wandoll was erected, the other were reprieved. About the 24 of December in the town of Wandoll in the countie of Salter, a child of eleven years old; named William Withers, late in a trance for the space of ten daies without anye sustenance, and at the last coming to himselfe he uttered to the standers by manie strange speeches, intencing against pride, covetousnesse, colonele of charite, and other ontragious sins. To behold this child there resorted diuerse godlie & zelous preachers, as also knights, esquires, & gentlemen, all of them hearing and seeing that which was wonderfull. And among others that came thither, there was a gentleman of great credit and worship, with certeine of his men to heare and behold the child: who hauing espied a serving man that had bene there with his maister twotimes, whom he had charpelye taunted for his great and monstrous ruffes, spake vnto him verie beherentlie, and told him that it were better for him to put on sackecloth and mourne for his sinnes, than in such abhominable pride to pranke by himselfe like the diuels darling, the verie father of pride and lying, who sought by the exercise of that damnable sinne to make himselfe a prete to euerlasting torments in hellice. Whereupon the servingman, as one piched in conscience, soe sobowed and wept for his offense, rent the band from his necke, toke a knife and cut it in peeces, and vowed neuer to weare the like againe. This for the strangenesse thereof will be condemned as a lie, speciallie of unbelieuers and peruers worldlings, whose hearts are so hardened, that they will not beleue though one rise from the dead, or though God should speake vnto them from heauen (as the poet noteth trulie) which he hath done in times past:

*solique tremendus ab alto*

*Altitonanti celo signa suspenda dedit.*

About the twelue daie of Januarie proclamation was published at London, for reuocation of summe the quenes maiesties subiects remaining beyond the seas vnder colour of studie, and yet liuing contrary to the lawes of God, and of the realme: and also against the retaining of Iesuits and massing priests, sowers of sedition, and other treasonable attempts, &c. The thirtenth of Januarie a man was beate to saint Thomas of Waterings, and there hanged, headed, and quartered, for begging by a licence wherevnto the quenes hand was counterfeited.

On the sixteenth daie of Januarie, the lords and barons of this realme began to sit in the parlement house at Westminister: and on the twentieth daie of Januarie the quenes maiestie went from White hall to the parlement house by water. Where as a great challenge of iustis was signified by waite of deuile before hir maiestie on Twelue night last past, to haue bene performed the sixteenth daie of Januarie, hir maiesties pleasure was for diuerse considerations the same should be deferred until the two and twentieth daie of the same moneth; on which daie the same was most contragiously accomplished in the accustomed place at Westminister, where manie stanes were ballantlie broken; but through the great concourse of people thither repairing, manie of the beholders, as well men as women, were soe hurt, some maimed, and some killed, by falling of the scaffolds overcharged.

This yeare about Hallowtide last past, in the marshes of Danefete hundred, in a place called Southminster, in the countie of Essex, a strange thing happened. There suddenly appeared an infinite multitude of mice, which overwelming the whole earth in the said marshes, did sheare and gnaw the

grasse by the roots, spoiling & tainting the same with their venemous teeth: in such sort that the cattell which grased thereon were smitten with a murreine and died thereof. Which vermine by policie of man could not be destroyed, till now at the last it came to passe, that there flocked together all about the same marshes such a number of owles, as all the thire was not able to yeld: whereby the marsh holders were thortlye deliuered from the vexation of the said mice.

This yeare (against the coming of certeine commissioners out of France into England) by hir maiesties appointment, on the six and twentieth daie of March in the morning (being Easter daie) a banquetting house was begun at Westminister, on the south west side of hir maiesties palace of White hall, made in maner and forme of a long square, three hundred thirtie and two foot in measure about; thirtie principals made of great masse, bring fortie foot in length a pece, standing upright; betweene euerie one of these masses ten foot asunder and more: The walles of this house were closed with canuas, and painted all the outsidess of the same most artificiallie with a worke called rustike, much like to stone. This house had two hundred ninetie and two lights of glasse. The sides within the same house was made with ten heights of degrées for people to stand vpon: and in the top of this house was wrought most cunninglie vpon canuas, woorks of iurie and holie, with pendents made of thicker rods, and garnished with bate, rue, and all maner of strange flowers garnished with spangles of gold, as also beautified with hanging toleens made of holie and iurie, with all maner of strange fruits, as pomegranats, oranges, pompions, cucumbers, grapes, carrets, with such other like, spangled with gold, and most rightlie hanging. Betwixt these woorks of bates and iurie, were great spaces of canuas, which was most cunninglie painted, the clouds with starres, the sunne and sunne beames, with diuerse other cotes of sunnie sorts belonging to the quenes maiestie, most rightlie garnished with gold. There were of all maner of persons working on this house, to the number of three hundred seuentie and five: two men had mischances, the one brake his leg, and so did the other. This house was made in three weekes and three daies, and was ended the eightenth daie of Aprill; and cost one thousand seuen hundred fortie and foure pounds, ninetene shillings and od monie; as I was creditlie informed by the worshipfull maister Thomas Craue sureror vnto hir maiesties woorks, who serued and gaue order for the same, as appeareth by record.

On the sixteenth daie of Aprill arrived at Dover these noblemen of France (commissioners from the French king to hir maiestie) Francis of Bourbon prince dophin of Auergne, Arthur Coslaie marshall of France, Lodonic Lusignan lord of Laneoc, Cauegrinus Caercongin countie of Lillie, Bertram Salignacius lord spot Fenelon, monsieur Panaisfour, Barnabie Bissen president of the parlement of Paris, Claud Pinart, monsieur Marchmont, monsieur Uerate; these came from France by water to London, where they were honorably receiued and intertemed; and thortlye after being accompanied of the nobilitie of England, they repaired to the court and banquetting house prepared for them at Westminister, as is aforesaid, where hir maiestie

*(decussilla Britanniam)*

*Gemmaque non alijs inuenienda locis*  
with amiable countenance & great courtelie receiued them: and afterward in that place most roiallie feasted & banquetted them. Also the nobles & gentlemen of the court, desirous to shew them all courtelie

1581  
Banquetting house at westminister.

How this banquetting house was garnished and decked with artificiall beuities.

The costs and charges of this banquetting house.

Noblemen of France arrived at Dover.

Ab. Hart. in R.L.  
Against Jesuits and massing priests.

One executed for counterfeiting the quenes hand.

Parlement at westminister.

Justing at westminister.

After deuoure the grasse in Danefete hundred.

possiblest for such a state, and to sport them with all courtly pleasure, agreed among them to prepare a triumph, which was being quickly concluded: and being devised in most sumptuous order, was by them performed in as ballant a manner to their endlesse fame and honor. The chief of challengers in these attempts were these: the earle of Arundell, the lord Willoughby, master Philip Sidney, and master Fulke Greville, who calling themselves the four foster children of desire, made their invention of the foresaid triumph in order and forme following.

The gallerie of place at the end of the tiltyard adjoining to his majesties house at Whitehall, whereas his person should be placed, was called and not without cause, the castle of fortress of perfect beaultie, for as much as his highnesse should be there included; whereto the sayd foster children laid title and claime as their due by descent to belong unto them. And upon deniall of anye repulse from that their desired patrimonie, they betwixt to vanquish and conquer by force. who so should come, so withstand it: for the accomplishing wherof, they sent their challenge of first defiance to the queenes majestie; which was uttered by a boie on sundae the firste of April last, as his majestie came from the chappell, who being apparelled in red and white, as a martiall messenger of desire fostered children, without making anye speciall reverence at all, uttered these speeches of defiance from his masters to his majestie, the effect wherof in such.

O Madie, that dost in title the titles you possesse with the honor of your worthinesse, rather crowning the great crowne you hold, with the faune to have so excellen an owner, than you receiving to your selfe anye increase: heaping that outward ornament: boushase with patient attention: to heare the words which I by commandment am here to deliver you, wherein if your ears (blessed to the thanksgiving of your people: the due praises of the earth) shall heare a statelie discourse to heare once the sound of a desire, yet dare I warrant my selfe so far upon the rapier deceyving shew of rare Beaultie, as that malice can not fall from so faire a mind upon the feallie danger, whose mouth is a servant to others direction. In you you therefore alone lie princeesse, that herby (so far off they are neuer) there lies incamped the four long haplesse, now hopefull fostered children of desire: who having bene a great while nourished by with that infective milke, and too much care of their fierie fosterer (though full off that date nurse despise indurized to weine them from it) being now as strong in that nurture, as they are weak in fortune, incouraged with the ballant counsell of neuer fainting desire, and by the same assured, that by right of inheritance even from ever, the fortress of beaultie doth belong to his fostered children: lastlie, finding it blazed by all tongues, ingrained in all hearts, and proued by all eyes, that this fortress built by nature is seated in this realme: these four I saie and saie againe, thus nourished, thus animated, thus intitled, and thus informed, do will you by me, even in the name of justice, that you will no longer exclude vertuous desire from perfect Beaultie. Whereto if you yield (I yield so) so all reason requirereth) then have I no more to saie, but re- soise that my sayings have obtained so rightfull and yet so blisfull a request. But if (alas but let not that be needfull) Beaultie be accompanied with disdainefull pride, and pride waigted on by refusing crueltie; then must I denounce unto you (who is me answer before it be denounced) that they determine by request to accomplish their claime. And because they will better testifie to the world, they have bin brought by under the wings of honorable de-

sire; this honorable forewarning they send you, that upon the foure and twentieth daie of this month of April they will besiege that fatal fortress, knowing not to spare (if this obstinacie continue) the sword of faithfulness, and the fire of affection. Now if so it fall out, the worthie knights of your court (moued with passion in themselves) of some of your leaders be honeste in partiall thing (which I most doubt) to the majestie of your eyes, will either bid them battell before they approach, or suffering them to approach, will after a hour to leue the siege: they protest to meet them in that for they will chose, wishing onlie it may be performed before your owne eyes, whome they know as even in judgement as dauntie in choosing: where if so they will, first at the tilt in so many combats, as your selfe shall please to appoint; and then if any will call them to the course of the field with lance and sword, they hope to give such true proofes of their valour, as at last shall make their desires more noble. Now on the other side, that if before the night part the strife, they do not overcome all them that come in against them, they will yield themselves slaves unto you for ever. This therefore O queene (greater in that you are queene of your selfe, than in passing the whole compass of the earth) have I delivered my charge, not as a challenge to your knights, against whome but in so last a cause) they acknowledge themselves unable to match the meanest, but as a plaine proclamation of war, unles the fortress of Beaultie, that hath bene so manie to lose themselves, be speedily surrendered.

And now it shall be seen what knights you have, whome Beaultie may pray to resist a rightfull title. And I for my parte moued by that I see in you (though I ferus your enemies) will daily praise that all men may see you, a then you shall not feare anye armes of aduersaries: or if enemies you must have, that either they may have the mind of them that send me, or their fortune in that they have long desired.

At which daie abovesaid for certeine vident occasions, the said challenge and triumph, by his majesties commandment, was deferred till the first daie of Maie: at which daie for like causes it was further deferred till the next mondaie following, being the eight daie of Maie: and so till Whitsun mondaie, when they first began to performe it. The said daie being come, the four foster children had made preparation to besiege the fortress of Beaultie, and thereto had provided a frame of wood, which was covered with canvas, and painted outwardlie in such excellent order, as if it had bin verie naturall earth or mould, and caried the name of a rowling trench, which went on wheels, which wate soener the persons within did drive it. Upon the top wherof was placed two cannons of wood, so passing well coloured as they seemed to be in deed two faire field peeces of ordinances, and by them was placed two men for gunners clothed in crimson saracen, with their bakers of earth for defense of their bodies by them. And also there stood on the top of the trench an ensigne bearer in the same sute with the gunners, displaying his ensigne, and within the said trench was cunninglie conueied diuerse kind of most excellent musike against the castle of Beaultie. These things thus all in a readinesse, the challengers approached, & came from the stable toward the tiltyard, one after another in by aue excellent order as followeth.

First, the earle of Arundell entred the tiltyard, all in gilt and ingrauen armour, with caparisons and furniture richlie and brauelle imbroyered, having attendant upon him two gentlemen byers, four pages riding on four spare horses, and twentie of his gentlemen. All which abovesaid were apparelled in short clothes and venetian hose of crimson velvet,

The challenge made and how to be tried.

The fortress of Beaultie.

Urgent causes why the challenge was deferred.

The order of the rowling trench which most excellent inventions.

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The excellent invention of the triumph.

The first defiance of challenge.

Desire and beaultie foster children.

Whereto if you yield (I yield so) so all reason requirereth) then have I no more to saie, but re- soise that my sayings have obtained so rightfull and yet so blisfull a request.

beluet, laid with gold lace, doublets of yellow sattin, hats of crimson beluet with gold bands and yellow feathers, and yellow silke stockings. Then had he six trumpetters that sounded before him, and one and thirtie peomen that waited after him apparelled in cassocke coats, and venetian hose of crimson beluet, laid on with red silke and gold lace, doublets of yellow taffatie, hats of crimson taffatie, with yellow feathers, and yellow worsted stockings.

The lord Windsoze entrie the first daie and his attendants.

After him proceeded the lord Windsoze, in gilt and ingrauen armour, with caparisons and furniture, richlie imbodered with gold, having attendant on him foure pages riding on foure spare horses, and foure and twentie gentlemen, all apparelled in short cloaks of scarlet, lined through with orange tawnie taffatie, and laid about with silver lace, doublets of orange tawnie sattin, venetian hose of orange tawnie beluet, blacke beluet caps, with silver bands and white feathers, and silvered rapiers and daggers, with scabbards of blacke beluet; foure trumpetters, and two footmen in cassocke coats and venetian hose of orange tawnie beluet, and blacke beluet caps with silver bands and white feathers, foure groomes of his stable leading of his foure horses, in cassocke coats and venetian hose of orange tawnie taffatie and orange tawnie felts with silver bands, and white feathers. Then had he thre score peomen in coats of orange tawnie cloth, with the unicombe of silver plate on their sleeves, and orange tawnie felts with silver bands and white feathers.

M. Sidneys entrie, now for Philip Sidneys and his attendants.

Then proceeded maister Philip Sidneys, in verie sumptuous maner, with armour part blew, and the rest gilt and ingrauen, with foure spare horses, having caparisons and furniture verie rich and costlie, as some of cloth of gold imbodered with pearle, and some imbodered with gold and silver feathers, verie richlie and cunninglie wrought: he had foure pages that rode on his foure spare horses, who had cassocke coats, and venetian hose all of cloth of silver, laid with gold lace, and hats of the same with gold bands and white feathers, and ech one a paire of white buskins. Then had he a thirtie gentlemen and peomen, & foure trumpetters, who were all in cassocke coats and venetian hose of yellow beluet, laid with silver lace, yellow beluet caps with silver bands and white feathers, and euerie one a paire of white buskins; and they had upon their coats, a scrowle or band of silver, which came scarfe wise over the shoulder, and so downe vnder the arme, with this poesse, or sentence written vpon it, both before and behind, *Sic nos non nobis*.

M. Fulke Grevills entrie with his traine of attendants.

Then came maister Fulke Grevill, in gilt armour, with rich and faire caparisons and furniture, having foure spare horses with foure pages riding vpon them, and foure trumpetters sounding before him, and a twentie gentlemen and peomen attending vpon him, who with the pages and trumpetters were all apparelled in lose ierkins of tawnie taffatie, cut and lined with yellow farfenet, and laid with gold lace, and cut downe the arme and set with lopes and buttons of gold, venetian hose of the same lined (as aforesaid) laid with gold lace downe the side with lopes and buttons of gold, with ech a paire of yellow worsted stockings, and hats of tawnie taffatie with gold bands and yellow feathers. Having thus all entered the tiltyard, they proceeded on with the rowling trench before them, which staied against the queene, and they passed by, as though they would behold the Fortresse of beautie; and so went about the tilt. At last the boie that uttered the first defiance pronounced these speeches to hir maiestie.

If the message latelie deliuered vnto you had bene beleued and followed (O queene) in whome the whole storie of vertue is written, with the language

of beautie; nothing should this violence haue needed in your inviolate presence. Your eyes, which till now haue bene onelie wont to discern the bowed knees of kneeling hearts; and inwardlie turned, found alwaies the heauenlie peace of a sweet mind, should not now haue their faire beames reflected with the shining of armour; should not now be driven to see the furie of desire, nor the fierie force of furie. But sith so it is (alas that so it is) that in the defense of obstinate refusal there neuer groweth victorie but by compassion; they are come; what need I saie more, you see them, readie in hart as you know, and able with hands as they hope, not onelie to assailing but to preuailing. Where chance you despise the smallnesse of number. I saie vnto you, the force of desire goeth not by fulnesse of companie. Saie rather vnto with what vnresistable determination themselves approach, and how not onelie the heauens send their invincible instrument to aid them: but also the verie earth the duldest of all the elements, which with naturall beautiesse still strives to the sleape centre; yet for aduancing his enterprise is content actualie (as you shall see) to moue it selfe vpon it selfe to rise vp in height, that it maie the better command the high and high minded fortresses. Spante words, when deeds are in the field, are tedious both vnto the speaker and hearer. You see their forces, but know not their fortunes; if you be resolved, it boots not, and threats breed not. I haue discharged my charge, which was euen when all things were readie for the assault, then to offer partlie a thing not so much bruised as gracious in besiegers. You shall now be summoned to yeeld, which if it be reiected, then looke for the affectionat alarme to be followed with desirous assault. The time approacheth for their approaches, but no time shall staie me from wishing, that howsoeuer this succed, the world maie long iniois hir chiefest ornament, which decks it with hir selfe, and hir selfe with the loue of goodnesse.

Spante the musike with in the mount.

Wherewith the mount moved growe by in height.

Which speech being ended, the rowling trench of mount of earth was moued as nere the queenes maiestie as might be, which being setled, the musike played verie pleasantlie, and one of the boies being then accompanied with cornets, summoned the fortresse with this delectable song, here vnder noted.

The rowling trench moued nere to the queene.

The fortresse summoned in song.

Yeeld, yeeld, O yeeld, you that this fort doo hold,  
which seated is, in spotlesse honors feeld,  
Desires great force, no forces can withhold:  
then to desires desire, O yeeld O yeeld.  
Yeeld yeeld O yeeld, trult not on beauties pride,  
fairennesse though faire, is but a feeble sheeld,  
When strong desire, which vertues loue dooth guide,  
claimes but to gaine his due, O yeeld O yeeld.  
Yeeld yeeld O yeeld, who first this fort did make,  
did it for iust desires, true children beeld,  
Such was his mind, if you an other take,  
defense herein dooth wrong, O yeeld O yeeld,  
Yeeld yeeld O yeeld, now is it time to yeeld,  
before th' assault begin, O yeeld O yeeld.

When that was ended, an other boie turning him selfe to the foster children and their retinue, song this alarme with pleasant voice & famelie countenance.  
Alarme alarme, here will no yeelding bee,  
such marble eares, no cunning words can charme,  
Courage therefore, and let the starclie see,  
that nought withstands desire, alarme alarme.  
Alarme alarme, let not their beauties moue remorse in you to doo this fortresse harme,  
For sith warre is the ground of vertues loue,  
no force, though force be vsed, alarme alarme.  
Alarme alarme, companions now begin,  
about this neuer conquered wals to swarme,  
More praise to vs we neuer looke to win,  
much maie that was not yet, alarme alarme.

The alarme song.

Alarme

The second daie of chausenge.

Alarme alarme, when once the fight is warme,  
then shall you see them yeeld, alarme alarme.

The shooting  
of the two  
canons, the  
one with sweet  
water, and the  
other with  
sweet powder.

Which ended, the two canons were shot off, the  
one with sweet powder, and the other with sweet wa-  
ter, verie odoriferous and pleasant, and the noise of  
the shooting was verie excellent content of melodie  
within the mount. And after that was shote of pre-  
tie scaling ladders; and the footmen thew shoures  
and such fanles against the walls, with all such deu-  
tes as might seme fit for desire. All which did  
continue till time the defendants came in.

The manner  
of the defen-  
dants com-  
ming in.

Then came in the defendants in most sumptuous  
manner, with euerie one his seruants, pages, and  
trumpeters (hauing some more, some lesse) in such  
order as I haue here vnderplaced them; with eue-  
rie one his sundrie inuention, which for that some of  
them be mysticall and not knowne to manie, I omit  
therefore for breuitie sake to speake of anie. Yet  
such speeches as were spoken or presented for them  
to hir maiestie, so manie as were, or at the least as  
I could come by, I haue here in their order placed  
them, whereby their inuentions for whome they were  
spoken, are therein plainelie declared. Therefore I  
refere you to the reading of them hereafter. But  
thus the defendants entered the tilt-yard, one after  
an other as followeth. First maister Henrie Greie,  
sir Thomas Perot, maister Anthonte Coke, maister  
Thomas Katcliffe, maister Henrie Knolles, mas-  
ter William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles,  
maister Francis Knolles, maister Rafe Bowles,  
maister Thomas Helwate, maister George Cozing,  
maister William Tresham, maister Robert Aier-  
ander, maister Edward Dennie, maister Hercules  
Auantus, maister Edward Poze, maister Richard  
Skipwith, maister Richard Ward, maister Ed-  
ward Digbie, maister Henrie Howell, maister  
Henrie Bunker. And afterwards in the middell  
of the running came in sir Henrie Leigh, as be-  
knowne, and when he had broken his straites went  
out in like maner againe. So passing on one after  
an other, when sir Thomas Perot & maister Coke  
came to the end of the tilt, ouer against the queenes  
maiestie, one of their pages arraid like an angell  
uttered these speeches vnto hir.

The speech of  
sir Thomas  
Perot and  
maister Coke  
to the queene.

Despaire, no not despaire (most high and happie  
pryncesse) could so congeale the frozen knight in the  
aier, but that desire (ah sweet desire) inforced him to  
behold the sun on the earth, whereon as he was ga-  
zing with twinkling eie (for who can behold such  
beames steadfastlie?) he begun to dissolue into drops,  
melting with such delight, that he seemed to preferre  
the lingering of a certeine death before the lasting of  
an vncerteine life. Such is the nature of ingrauen  
loialtie, that it chooseth rather to haue the bodie dis-  
solved, than the mind disliked. Thus consuming with  
content (a sweet sicknesse is conceipt) and pining  
with more than speakeable passions, he suddenlie be-  
held that sun to be besieged which he so deuoutlie ser-  
ued. Wherewith boiling in no lesse disdain, than sur-  
pised with immoderat pensuenesse, he uttered these  
wordes: O Ioue, if thou meane to resolue nature into  
contraries, why dost thou meane to see it? If into nothing,  
why dost thou lye at all? If the foot scale the head, there is  
no rest; if desire ouerthowt dutie, there is no reason:  
and where either of these are, there can be no rule.  
And so letting more sighs than maie be numbred by  
ciphers, this present time (ah griefe) this present time,  
that honest & faire hearted frozen knight died (what  
said I) even that which againe with griefe I must  
say died, whose ghost making speedie passage into the  
Elysian fields (for what more swift than a soule) in  
the midst of the infernall multitude, with shrieces,  
cries, clamours made both heauen & hell to redouble  
this echo: O times, O men, O corruption of ma-

Re the sun to  
beant but ma-  
line, called  
the queene  
the queene  
the queene

ners! The sun is besieged, the sun (O mischiefe) the  
sun is besieged. Which strange and vnacquainted  
termes caused not onelie murmuring amongst the  
ghosts beneath, but a musing amongst the gods a-  
bove: who as well to reuelle the tumults, which  
might haue risen among the shadows, as to reuenge  
the pride which began to grow on the earth, sent  
downe an angell with this commandement; So de-  
scend, and cause Adam and Eue to appeare on the  
earth in that sort as they were in paradise, that the  
world may know them & wonder at them. For see-  
ing out of their loines haue issued those preposterous  
limmes, I knowe none more fit to correct them. Cer-  
tes none more willing. They will attempt anie  
thing for thy sake, and seruice of that earthlie, and  
yet (O strange conceipt) most heauenlie sun. For as  
they were before vniuen from their desire, because  
they desired to knowe the best: so now shall they be  
diuinen vnto their desire, which they couet to honour  
most. This shall be their reward, they shall come  
nere and yet shall not searce, and be they farre off,  
it shall warme. A cloud maie sometimes barre their  
sight, but nothing shall deprime them of the safegard:  
yet command them to be humble in affection,  
though seruient, least they seme to disdain that  
pride in others which they desire themselves.

The sun in the highest delighteth in the shadow  
which is shortest, nourisheth the tree whose root grow-  
eth deepest, not whose top springeth loftiest. This  
commission and counsell ended, all things were in a  
moment accomplished with such celeritie (for to the  
gods time is tied) that they were sped so sone as they  
were spoken. And now most renowned and diuine  
sun, Adam and Eue being present, vouchsafe to heare  
somewhat in their behalfs pronounced. Sir knights,  
if in besieging the sunne ye vnderstand what you had  
vnder taken, ye would not destroye a common blef-  
sing for a priuat benefit. Will you sabdow the sun:  
who shall rest in the shadow where the wearie take  
breath, the disquiet rest and all comfort? Will ye be-  
reue all men of those glistering & gladstone beames:  
what shall then prosper in the thining, but you will  
cline it by the rales: O rare exhalations! Wothers  
you may be to desire, but sone ye are to ill hap, which  
thinke you can not sinke depe enough into the sea,  
vnlesse you take your fall from the sun. Desist you  
knights, desist, sith it is impossible to resist: content  
your selues with the sunnes indifferent succor, suffer  
the snipper thimb to grow by the losse oke, and  
clame no prerogatiue where the sun grants no pri-  
uilege; for being of the same mettall that others are,  
the sun will worke the like effects, as the doth in o-  
thers. The giants would haue bin gods, if they could  
haue scaled the heauens; and you no lesse than stars  
could you conquer the same: but as their thowing  
hill vpon hill did manifest their pride, but nothing  
further their pretence; so your lateng challenge vpon  
claime, and conquest vpon challenge, may well proue  
a will but no worthinesse; a desire to reach, but no  
possibilitie to recover. In which your soaring as-  
saies if you chance to fall, the only comfort you haue  
is to crie with Iheron, *Magnus excidimus ausis*. But  
if no persuasions may moue your minds, knowe ye  
proud knights, there are that haue hearts as big as  
mountains, and as far about you in prowesse as ye  
are about all in presumption, yet not so vaine (which  
ye terme balliant) to assault the sun. And whie: because  
it is impregnable. We content to intole the light, ye  
to eclipse it; we to rest vnder the feet, ye to run ouer  
the head; we to yeeld to that which nothing can con-  
quer, you to conquer that which maketh all men cap-  
tues. But were it possible that head could deuide,  
courage attempt, or hand execute anie thing that  
might thew the depth of our vnspotted loialtie, sone  
should

Sir Thomas  
Perot & mas-  
ter Coke  
were both in  
like armour  
beset with ap-  
ples and fruit,  
the one signi-  
fying Adam &  
the other Eue,  
who had haire  
howing all  
downe his  
helmet.

The angell  
speareth to  
the queene.

He speaketh to  
the chalengers  
in the behalfe  
of the two  
knights Ad-  
dam and Eue.

*Magnus excidi-  
mus ausis*, the  
crie of Iheron  
at his fall.

ing the  
: with-  
mount.

erwith  
dunt  
d a rols  
height.

e rowling  
ch moued  
e to the  
ing.

ye footstrell  
mored in  
ig.

he alarme  
ing.



The defend-  
ants gantlet  
shewne  
downe, &c.

The defend-  
ants iure  
and desire.

Mr. Ratcliffe  
speech to the  
queene.

A moile  
cliffe.

Mosse and  
nothing but  
mosse.

should be seene (and for your selues so seene) that your enterprises should be of as small account then, as now they are of likelihood; so deepe an impression is engrauen in our thoughts, for the maiestie of that sun which now persing our eyes, hath fullie subdued our hearts, that we are prest in his defense to offer the whole world defiance. In prose whereof I am charged to throw downe this gantlet, which who so dareth take up, shall feele both the heat of their lust conceived quarrell, and the reproch of their püne deserued follie, not by rising in breaking a few stanes to end the strife, but at a conuene, or what else neuer they can deuise, or dare aduenture to win the benefit of Beautie. Thus most resoluend & diuine Beautie, whose beames shine like the sun, haue Adam & Que aduentured to defend the sun. The same I call Beautie the light of the world, the maruell of men, the mirror of nature, on which their encounter if those fauourable gleames may fall, they will not onlie thinke to haue done good herein, but to be restor-  
ed againe to paradise. The one meaneth to repose his trust in a woman, who like Que cannot be begotten, the other to rest on a saint which by a serpent will not be tempted. Thus being placed in the garden of your graces, & of all things most gracious, where vertues grow as thicke as leaues did in paradise, they will take hede to tast of the forbidden fruit, contented to behold, not coueting to take hold. And for that it hath bene long argued, and no arguing can end, whether the first offense came by the crudelie of Adam, or the simplicitie of Que; the one defending his fault by sound arguments, the other excusing hers by sharpe answers: they most humble sue for this, that either by fir courses betwene them the quarrell may be ended, or by your highnesse peremptorie sentence determined. For they both being in the world, are desirous that one might beare the blame of both. And what herein your excellencie shall set downe, there is none shall gainsaie; for when neuer the question shall be moued, no other reason shall be allowed or liked than this; *Elizabetha dixit*. This speech being thus ended, sir Thomas Perot and master Cooke proceeded backward on the other side of the tilt. And when master Ratcliffe came likewise against the queene, one of his pages pronounced these speeches in his masters behalfe to hir maiestie.

So manie were the misfortunes (most renowned and beautifull princeesse) of the desolate knight my master, as neither the shortnesse of the time will suffer me to repeat, nor the greatnesse of the myserie to remember. But let this suffice, that some there were and so manifold, that geometrie whereon the bodie of man hangeth could not beare being intollerable, nor the mind which consisteth in arithmetike number being infinit. Thus alwaies crossed by fortune, whose crossing is no blessing, he determined to separate himselfe as far from societie, as his actions were from successe; who wandering through manie deserts, yet finding as he thought no place desolate, happened at the last to come to a cliffe adioining to the maine sea, covered all with mosse, whereon he was walking: much delighted with the solitarie seat, but not well liking the cold situation, he suddenly sunke into a hollow vault, surprised at the first with feare, but seeing it at the last a place of succour, he accounted his former miseries manie appeased by this present fortune. In this den he used for his bed mosse, for his candle mosse, for his ceiling mosse, and breake now and then a few coales, mosse for his meat: a drie sod God wot and a flesh, but so moistened with wet teares, and so salt, that hard it was to coniecture, whether it were better to sad or to fast. Here he gaue himselfe to continuall meditation, se-

parating his mind from his bodie, his thought from his hart, yea diuorcing himselfe from himselfe, in so much that with his strange diet and new conceits he became so enchanted; that neither the remembrance of others, nor a thought touching himselfe could enter into his mind: an alteration seldome heard of that the place where as he was throwed in, should make him to forget who he is. Living thus a long time, so that no lim should seeme short, rising according to his maner to walke in the mosse in the griping of the day, he espied vpon the those certaine men either cast astate by shipwacke, or ouer board by pirates, vnto whom he went; and perceiving by their plaints one which lay dead amongst them to be their master, inquired wherof they were: But they not willing to repeat their misfortunes, opened the bosome of the gentleman, and pulled out a scroll containing a claime, a challenge, naie a conquest of Beautie. At the sight whereof, suddenly (quoth he) Beautie, hand therewithall appalled, entering by little and little out of his present melancholies into his former misfortunes, who as one awaked out of a long dreame began thus to beate. O Beautie, where thy fortress is founded I know, but what these brethren should meane I maruell; for as I am assured that to win the none could be so fortunate, so did I thinke that to claime the none could be so fond; when as thou O diuine Beautie art of euerie one to be desired, but neuer to be conquered of Desire. But as the eagle beholding the sunne, coueteth to build his nest in the same, and so dimmeth his sight; so they betwix the brightnesse of Beautie are incited to conquer it by Desire. And what then? Because she is inuincible shall I be indiffer-  
rent? No, I will forsake this caiffe cottage, and will take arms to defend that Beauties castell. Nothing shall remoue me from mine attempt, which being performed, nothing can moue me. Yea but the hath seruants already a number; I but vnles I be there, not the whole number: but manie were famous, but none more faithfull: yet alas, if thou go, thou shalt euer be infortunat: better alwaies infortunat, than once disloyall. Which words being ended, he demanded whether they would in like case aduenture with one of no lesse courage than their master, but certeinlie of greter affection: whose seruice he having vpon small intreatie obtained, for that belike they were desirous to see the entent for the which they had suffered such aduentures, he departed to his caue, beuwing a shield out of the hard cliffe enriched onelie with soft mosse: a double signe of his desire, thinking that nothing could manifest Beautie so well as Pythagoras walnut, a tender rine and a hard shell. And now most excellent and diuine Beautie, binne it must needs be that worketh so heauenlie, sith he is called from his solitarie caue to your sumptuous court, from bondage to libertie, from a living death to a neuer dieng life, and all for the sake and seruice of Beautie: vouchsafe his shield, which is the enigne of your fame, to be the instrument of his fortune. And for prostrating himselfe to your feet, he is here ready prest to aduenture anie aduentures for your gracions fauour.

Which speech being ended, he retired backe as the rest. And after him came the foure sonnes of sir Francis Inolles, one after an other, according to their age, and all in like armour: who coming to the end of the tilt, staid till these speeches were vttered by one of their pages, who being apparelled like vnto Mercurie, pronounced these speeches in the knights behalfe to hir maiestie.

Report hath brynt all abroad, that desperat Desire with a wonderfull armie of affections hath laid his siege against the inuincible fortress of petye.

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lesse beantie, and that the chiefeft champions of this most famous enterpryse are foure of fantasies fellows, fosterbrothers to desire, and the nurse by despair, valiant knights, and honorable personages, whose haughty hearts deserve renowne at least, for venturing to win the golden sere without Medea's helpe. The giants long ago did scale the clouds men saie, in hope to win the foot of Jupiter. The wanton youth, whose waten wings did drie with soaring vp aloft, had scapt unlesse if he had kept a meaneer gale below. So failes it out in this attempt, desire daunts to conquer Beauties foot by force, wherein the goddesse keeps continuallie watch and ward, so that desire may despair to win one inch of hir against hir will. Hir stately seat is set so high, as that no leuell can be laid against hir walles: and sooner may men undertake to hit a starre with a stone, than to beat hir haue built woakes by batterie. No undermining may preuaile, for that hir foot is founded upon so firme a rocke, as will not stir for either fraud or force. And is there anie hope to win by famine such a foot as yields continuall food to all hir foes? And though they feed not fat therewith, yet must they either feed thereon or fast: for Beautie is the onlie bait whereon desire bites; and loue the chiefe resort that ladie Beautie likes, so that she can no more be left without meat, than men can liue without minds. Of all affections that are, desire is the most worthe to win, but lest deserves to win Beautie: for in winning his saint, he loseth himselfe: no sooner hath desire what he desireth, but that he dieth presently: so that when Beautie yieldeth once to desire, then can she neuer want to be desired againe. Therefore of force this principle must stand, it is conuenient for desire euer to wish, and necessarie that he alwaies want. O rare and most renowned Beautie, O goddesse to be honored of all, not to be equalled of anie, become not now a prisoner: your softnesse is inuincible. So doubt desire will content himselfe with a fauourable parlee, and wait for grace by lotallie, not challenge it by lance, although he make neuer so braue. He would dooth know that ladie Beautie needs no rescue to raise this siege, for that she sits above all reach, hir heauenlie looks aboue when she so lists can dayell all mens eyes. But though she list not see those meanes, yet it is mete that all hir seruants come and shew themselves deuout to do hir will: perchance hir pleasure is to see the foits tried of these foure foster friends. O happie, ten times happie they whose hap shall be with fauour of hir desire, to take in hand this braue attempt: in hope thereof these foure legitimate sonnes of despair, brethren to hard mishap, suckled with sighes, and swathed by in sorrow, weaned in woo, and drie nursed by desire, long time fostered with fauourable countenance, and fed with sweet fantasies, but now of late (alas) wholie giuen ouer to grieffe and disgraced by dishaue, are come with ready hearts and hands, to pounce against these other foure, that desire dooth not deserue one winke of good fauour from ladie Beauties smiling eyes, for threatening to win hir foot by force. They doubt not the victorie, if onlie they may find some like shew from their saint in fauor of their enterpryse. If Mercurie haue said amisse, blame those bright beams which haue bereft him of his wit; if well, vouchsafe one becke to bid him packe awaie.

These speeches being ended, both they and the rest marched about the tilt, and so going backe to the other end thereof prepared themselves to run, euerie one in his turne, each defendand six courses against the former challengers: who performed their parts so ballantlie on both sides, that their prowess hath demerited perpetuall memorie, and worthilie won hono; both to themselves and their native countrie,

as same hath the same reported. When this daies sport was thus accomplished, the boie that uttered the defiance, in these few speeches took his good night of the queene.

In the trial of this debatefull question, O your selfe) what can be said more than is? You see that saying begins to faile. Might the ordinarie truce maker, though no truce be treated if at least your presence make it not lightsome will wrap all in his blacke and mourning words, perchance mourning, so that the noblest desire hath bene subiect to vnderfused toiments: and therefore these knights by the authoritie of darkenes verie vnderfused are compelled to depart from whence they came. So conclude, thus much they command me in their names to confesse, that such excellencie they find in your knights, and in comparison of them such vnablenesse in their selues, that if desire did not banish despair as a traitor out of his kingdome, it would haue already vndermined their best grounded determination: but no inward nor outward wound, no weakness, no wearinesse, can daunt desire, nor take awaie the naturall effects that follow it. Therefore hauing left them no other courage than desire, no other strength than desire, no other beginning or ending cause but desire, they will continue this hard and hardie enterpryse to morrow. In the meane time they can find no place in their hearts that dooth not wish you as sweet rest, as Psyche was conueied vnto by the gentle Zephyrus, and if it be possible by the same ghost visited. They wish that when your lids loke vp, your eyes may be brightened, to see to morrow a better daie than this, and therewithall so singular successe, as you may long, fixelie, and toyfullie inoy your selfe, to the delight of lookers, and wonder of markers. This said, and all the triumphant shewes ended, the knights in verie comelie and conuenient order (as they came) departed:

*Et fessos soluant artum, molissima quaque  
Gustant, et dulci membra quiescent.*

The next daies shew was done in this order. The foure foster children of desire entered in a braue charriot (verie finelie and curiouslie decked) as men force wearied & halfe overcome. The charriot was made in such sort, as vpon the top the foure knights sat, with a beautifull ladie, representing desire about them. Wherevnto their eyes were turned, in token what they desired. In the bulke of the charriot was conueied roine for a full consort of musike, who played still verie dolefull musike as the charriot moved. The charriot was drawne by foure horses according to the foure knights, which horses were appareled in white and carnation silke, being the colours of desire. And as it passed by the hyper end of the tilt, a herald of armes was sent before to utter these speeches in the knights behalfe to hir maiestie.

No confidence in themselves, O most unmatched pynesse, before whome enueie dieth, wanting all narrenes of comparison to susteine it, & admiration is expressed, finding the scope of it void of conceivable limits, nor anie slight regarding the force of your valiant knights, hath incouraged the foster children of desire to make this daie an inheritance of yesterdaies action: but the wing of memorie alas, the swoone enimie vnto the wooll mans quietnesse, being constantlie held by the hand of perfection, and neuer ceassing to blow the cole of some kindled desire, hath brought their inward fire to blaze forth this flame vnuentchable by anie meanes: till by death the whole fetwell be consumed. And therefore not able to maister it, they are violentlie borne whither desire draweth, although they must confesse (alas) that yesterdaies braue onset should come to such a confession, that they are not greatlie companied with hope,

The boie that  
uttered the  
defiance, in  
this speech  
took his good  
night of the  
queene.

There entered  
a most excel-  
lent and braue  
charriot, with  
rare, curious,  
and costlie  
workes with  
the foure chal-  
lengers in it,  
which charriot  
or was verie  
curiouslie drawne  
with fine lawne.

The first  
speech the  
second daie.

Hope the sup-  
plie to desire  
armie.

the common supplier to desires armie. So as now  
from summoning this castell to yield, they are fal-  
len lowlie to beseech you to boughsafe your eies out  
of that impregnable fortreffe, to behold what will  
fall out betwixt them and your famous knights:  
therin though they be so overpressed with the others  
valour, that already they could scarcely haue borne  
able to come hither, if the chariot of desire had not  
carried them; yet will they make this whole assem-  
bly witnesses so farre of their will, that sooner their  
soules shall leaue their bodies than desire shall leaue  
their soules. In that onelie standeth their strength,  
that gaue them their first courage, and must be their  
last comfort. For what resistance is there, where not  
onlie they are met with foreign enemies, such as state-  
lie disdaine, which looketh from so high a tower to  
pore desire, that though (in it selfe) it be great, yet in  
hir eies (so seated) it seemeth small, or such on the o-  
ther side as vnfortunat despair, which maketh the  
countrie so barren where they laie their siege, that it  
would take awaie all the food of fantasie: but euen ci-  
uill warre pesserdate grew betwixt them and others  
who beare the same badge of desire: that they do so,  
as thus bestead they are brought to this faire passe,  
to desire no more, but that this death or ouerthrow  
maie be scene by those eies who are onlie vnhappie, in  
that they can neither find fellows nor see themselves.

Tourneyes &  
barriers con-  
ragiouslie  
tried.

Which speech being done, the defendants came in,  
in such order as they came in the daie before. There-  
fore I shall not need to make a new repetition of the  
same, sith all hath bene touched already. Then went  
they to the tourneye, where they did verie noble, as  
the shyning of the swords might verie well testifie;  
and after that to the barriers, where they lashed it  
out lustilie, & fought couragiously, as if the Greeks  
and Troians had dealt their deadly dole. No partie  
was spared, no estate excepted, but eue knight indu-  
red to win the golden fleece, that expected either fame  
or the fauour of his mistresse, which sport continued  
all the same daie. And towards the evening the sport  
being ended, there was a boie sent vp to the queene  
being clothed in ash coloured garments in token of  
humble submission, who hauing an olive branch in  
his hand, & falling downe prostrate on his face, and  
then kneeling vp, concluded this noble exercise with  
these words to hir maiestie.

The last  
speech to the  
queene signi-  
fying the hum-  
ble hearted  
submission of  
the foure so-  
uer children  
of desire.

Most renowned princeesse of princes, in whome  
can nothing obtaine victorie, but vertue. The foster  
children of desire (but heires onlie to misfortune)  
send me to deliuer in such words as sorrow can af-  
ford their most humble hearted submission. They ac-  
knowledge this fortreffe to be reserved for the eie of  
the whole world, farre lifted vp from the compasse  
of their desinie. They acknowledge the blindness  
of their error, in that they did not know desire (how  
strong soeuer it be) within it selfe to be stronger  
without it selfe than it pleased the desired. They ac-  
knowledge they haue degenerated from their foster-  
er in making violence accompanie desire. They ac-  
knowledge that desire receiued his beginning and  
nourishment of this fortreffe, and therefore to com-  
mit vngatefalsnesse in bearing armes (though desi-  
rous armes) against it. They acknowledge noble  
desire should haue desired nothing so much, as the  
flourishing of that fortreffe, which was to be este-  
med according to it selfe liking. They acknow-  
ledge the least determination of vertue (which  
stands for the gard of this fortreffe) to be too strong  
for the strongest desire, & therefore they do acknow-  
ledge themselves overcome, as to be slaves to this  
fortresse for ever, which title they will beare in their  
foreheads, as their other name is ingrauen in their  
hearts. For witness thereof they present this olive  
branch to your presence, in token of your trium-

An olive  
branch pre-  
sented to the  
queene.

phant peace, and of their peaceable seruitude, where-  
by they present themselves as bondmen by those  
bonds, which the losse of life can onelie lose. Onelie  
from out of that which was theirs they craue thus  
much, to giue some token to those knights, which  
maie be iudged to haue done best in eue kind of wea-  
pon, or who by his deuise hath come in best fort in this  
desirous strife. This being done, they being now  
slaves (in whome much dutie requireth) for feare of  
offense, dare saie no further; but with from the bot-  
tome of their captiued hearts, that while this realme  
is thus fortified and beautified; desire maie be your  
chiefest aduersarie.

Which speech being ended, hir maiestie gaue them  
all praise and great thanks, which they esteemed so  
well, and thought themselves rewarded according  
to their owne wishing: and so they departed eue one  
in order, according to the first coming in. And thus  
ceased these courtlie triumphes, set forth with most  
costlie bauerie and gallantnesse, whereof I maie  
saie as the academical poet sometime said at the  
gratious entering of hir maiestie into Cambridge:

*Et cocco murex, aurum superatur ab auro,*

*Naturam certant vincere quaque suam:*

*Nil ibi fas pulchrum, quamuis pulcherrima quaque,*

*Et quamuis vincant omnia, victa iacent.*

The one and twentieth of June in the night, the  
lowest images (which were of Christs resurrection, of  
the virgin Marie, and of kings and bishops of this  
realme) about the crosse in Cheape (being six square)  
on all the sides, were broken and defaced: whereop-  
on two daies after, proclamation was made tho-  
rough out the citie, that who so would bewaile the  
doers thereof, should haue forty crownes for their  
labour: but nothing came to light. The seauen and  
twentieth of June, Thomas Butcher breuer, was  
conuicted in the Guildhall of London, for that he as  
principall, and others as accessaries, to the number  
of a thousand persons, on the five and twentieth of  
June last past, about ten of the clocke in the night,  
with force of armes, in west Smithfield of London,  
& other streets of the citie congregated themselves,  
and with diuerse exclamations, provoked the people  
in manner of a rebellion, contrarie to the peace & sta-  
tutes of the realme. On the eight and twentieth of  
June, the same Thomas Butcher, being arraigned at  
the Iustice hall in the old Baillie, was found gilty,  
and had iudgement to be whipped on the next market  
daie from Newgate thorough Smithfield, Long  
lane, Aldersgate street, saint Martins le grand; & so  
thorough the citie to the bars without Aldgate, & then  
to be committed to Newgate. On the 30 of June,  
the same T. Butcher, being deliuered vnto James  
Hale and other beables, to haue receiued execution,  
as is aforesaid, he being whipped from Newgate  
into west Smithfield, was there rescued, taken from  
the beables, and sent to Christ for himselfe abroad: for  
the which fact the one & twentieth of Iulie, William  
Downe, J. Harro, T. Harres, and T. Appollwell,  
three shoemakers and a breuer, were whipped from  
Newgate to the middell of Smithfield, and there  
set on the pillorie, whereon they stood from ten of the  
clocke till twelue, and from thence againe commit-  
ted to prison. The thirteenth of Iulie, Richard Cor-  
dooz of diuinitie, sometime scholemaister to king  
Edward the first, deane of Westminster, and of  
Christs college in Orenford, and of late bishop of  
Elie deceased, and was buried at Elie; whose epi-  
taph (alluding to his name and the execution of his  
charge, wherein he was iust) hereafter followeth:

*Vita caduca vales, salueto vita perennis,*

*Corpus terra tegit, spiritus alta tenet.*

*In terra Christi gallus Christum resonabam,*

*Da Christo in calis te sine fine sonum.*

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into  
England.

Two men of  
strange sta-  
tures to be  
seen.

This yeare were to be scene in London two Dutchmen of strange stature, the one in height seven foot & seven inches, in breadth betwixt the shoulders three quarters of a yard and an inch, the compass of his best one yard, an halfe, and two inches; & about the waist one yard, quarter, and one inch; the length of his arme to the hand a full yard: a comelie man of person, but lame of his legs (for he had broken them with lifting of a barrell of beere.) The other was in height but three foot, had neuer a good foot, nor anie knee at all, and yet could he dance a galliard, he had no arme, but a stumpe to the elbow of little more on the right side, on the which, singing, he would dance a cup, and after tolle it about three or foure times, and euerie time receiue the same on the said stumpe: he would shoot an arrow nere to the marke, flourish with a rapier, throw a bolle, beat with an hammar, beate with an ar, sound a trumpet, and drinke euerie daie ten quartes of the best beere, if he could get it. About the seauententh of Iulie, I saw these men in the parish of saint Peter upon Cornhill, the taller sitting on a bench bareheaded, the lesser stood on the same bench, and hauing on his head a hat with a feather, was yet the lower. Also the taller man standing on his feet, the lesser (with his hat & feather on his head) went by right betwene his legs, and touched him not.

Guerrard  
Dance expe-  
rienced.

The eighteenth of Iulie, Gerard Dance, alias Ducket, a seminarie priest, was in the sessions hall in the old Bailie of London arraigned, where he before the quenes iustices affirmed that himselfe being now in England was subiect to the pope in ecclesiasticall causes, and that the pope hath now the same authoritie here in England that he had an hundred yeares past, and which he hath now at Rome, with other traitorous speeches: for the which he was condemned to be beheaded, hanged, and quartered, and was executed accordingly on the last of Iulie. At the same sessions were brought from the Fleet, the Gatehouse, Fleetgate, and the Counters, sundrie prisoners, indicted for refusing to come to church; all which being conuicted by their owne confession, had iudgement according to the statute, to paie twentie pounds for euery moneth of such wilfull absence from the church. The first of November, monsieur Francis duke of Anjou, the French kings brother, and other nobles of France (hauing latelie arrived in Kent) came to London, and were honourably receiued, and retained at the court with banquetting, and diuerse pleasant shewes and pastimes, of whome more hereafter in place convenient.

Monseigneur  
duke of Anjou  
not coming to  
church.

Monseigneur  
duke of Anjou  
came into  
England.

On morrowe being the twentieth of Nouember, Edmund Campion, Kate Sherwin, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Wylton, Thomas Coteham, Henrie Dutton, Robert Johnson, & James Bosgrave. All these before named persons were brought vnto the high barre at Westminster: where they were seuerallie, and altogether indicted vpon high treason, the sum whereof followeth in briefe as thus. That these persons, contrarie both to lone and dutie, forsooke their native countrie, to line beyond the seas, vnder the popes obedience, as at Rome, Viterbes, and ouer other places: where (the pope hauing with other princes practised the death and depriuation of our most gracious princeesse, and vtter subuersion of his seat & kingdome, to aduance his most abhominable religion) these men, hauing vowed their allegiance to the pope, to obeye him in all causes whatsoeuer, being there, gaue their consent; yea vttermost furtherance they might, to aid him in this most traitorous determination. And for this intent and purpose they were sent ouer to seduce the hearts of his maiesties louing subiects, and to conspire and practise his graces death, as much as in them lay, against a great

daie, set and appointed, when the generall hanoche should be made, those onelie reserved that iained with them. This laied to their charge, they boldlie and impudentlie denied. Whereupon a iurie was impanelled, their owne confessions, their owne writings, and credible witnessles *Pitts Voice* produced to their faces, approuing them guiltie of the former allegations, as hereafter followeth.

After the indictment was read vnto them, and their answer, that it was beyond their power to proue them faultie in such matters, so stiffelie they stood in their apparant impudencie, first was moued to them sundrie treasons past, attempted against his maiestie by those of their sect and disposition: yet notwithstanding the vttermost of their malice, how mightilie God had defended his chosen Elisabeth, returning their dealings to their owne destruction. Among sundrie these treasonable practises, which the pope, the ancient aduerfariie to his maiestie hath at diuerse times set abroch, the rebellion in the north may remaine as a witnessle of his exceeding malice and spite against his grace and gouernement. Where to let vs ad the bull sent ouer by Iohn Felton, which traitorously he placed on the bishop of Londons gate: in which bull, the pope vtterlie excommunicated his maiestie, she was an heretike, he had dispossessed hir of hir crowne and dominion, she was not the lawfull queene of this realme, and his subiects were not bound to obeye anie of hir lawes or decrees; but they were all free, and perforce discharged of their allegiance to hir, so that they might lawfullie, when time serued so convenient for them, both stirre rebellion against hir, and also enter into armes against his maiestie. The popes will in this hath bin put in execution, as through the ill demeanour of diuerse persons to him affected it was moued in the north, where maintaining themselves on the authoritie of the pope and his traitorous bull secretlie dispersed abroad, they entred into a plaine and manifest rebellion. The like was put in practise in Ireland through doctor Sanders and other traitors, who there iained themselves togither vnder the popes standard, to bring to passe their secret appointment in this realme. Through their persuasions and dealings, the people were moued in the popes name to fight against their lawfull princeesse vnder his banner; and to rebell against hir so notoriouslie as they might. The encouragement to this great disobedience they receiued through doctor Sanders a fugitive and ranke traitor to his prince and countrie, as also through diuerse Iesuits both English and Irish, whose hypocriticall shew of holinesse and diuellish persuasions on the behalfe of the pope their maister and head, intised a multitude of the people there to change their profession in religion, and to yeld themselves to the popes authoritie, whereby they should renounce the most certeine and iust title of his maiestie: and when foren forces should be assembled there, they to ioine with them in their intent, and so traitorously rebell against their lawfull soueraigne. All these practises toke their originall from the pope, as well by sending his secret messengers, as also by his traitorous bull, which being sent by Iohn quinthus, is neuertheless confirmed (in the former authoritie) by this pope Gregorie the thirteenth, and remaineth in hope to take effect at some time or other, for which he doth watch opportunitie as conuenientlie as he maie. But God the iust auenger of all causes, as he hath hitherto preserved his maiestie & this little Island from all their malicious attempts and practises, and hath deseruedlie shewne the poke of their shame on their owne necks: so will he no doubt continue his fatherlie care, that his children shall be preserved, & their aduerfaries confounded, &c.

The rebellion  
in the north,  
onlie through  
the popes  
meanes.

The sum of  
the popes bull  
which our  
Englishmen  
beyond the  
seas hold as  
their authori-  
tie to rebell a-  
gainst his ma-  
iestie.

Doctor San-  
ders his re-  
bellion in Ire-  
land, through  
whome the  
people were  
seduced to  
fight against  
their lawfull  
princeesse.

This bull re-  
maineth in  
his former  
force by this  
pope, onelie a  
collation for  
the straitness  
to the subiects  
then in amens-  
dec.

But

Campion, be-  
sireth not to  
heare how  
these treasons  
rooke their o-  
riginal, and  
how from time  
to time they  
haue bene en-  
terprised and  
confounded:  
wherefore to  
blind the peo-  
ples eyes he  
maketh this  
counterfett  
answer.

But saith Campion: What is this to vs here  
present? What appertaineth this to our inditement?  
We are here both severallie and all together indicted  
of high treason; and for that that is objected against  
vs we must answer. Let not other mens offenses  
be laid to our charge, that we should answer for other  
mens faults committed long since. Some of vs were  
then but novices here in the universities, and were  
altogether ignorant of these matters. What have  
we to do with anie thing that they did? They that  
were offenders, let them answer to that you can lay  
against them. For vs that be here at this instant,  
you must either saie, When Campion didst this thing,  
or thou (naming some of the other) committedst this  
offense, and therupon bring your proofes and witness-  
ses, otherwile you shall never be able to touch vs. As  
for these assertions, for the strength they haue against  
vs, I will not esteeme it worth a penniworth of pip-  
pins. And therefore to your inditement.

This answer so smoothly deliuered, and with such  
roie looks and protestation of action gested, that all  
the standers by gave perfect notice of the man, both  
of his nature and disposition, as also of his prompt  
& ingenious wit, to shadow an absolute truth with  
a shew of great wisdom and learning. For this he  
knew right well, that before he came to that place,  
he had wone a marvellous goodlie report, to be such a  
man as his like was not to be found, either for life,  
learning, or anie other qualitie that might beautifie  
a man. So that by his fauours and friends it was  
blown abroad, that we had neither doctors, nor o-  
thers that were worthy to enter disputation with  
him, he was so farre above them all, that they might  
not deale with him. Hereto do the great titles which  
they adorne him withall give credit, saieing thus:

Ex libello qua-  
dam famosi.

*Quid? Campiano deerat doctrina perito,  
Doctrina natus qui penetrale fuit:  
Cui fuit in primis sponsata scientia cunctis,  
Quique puer nulli mente secundus erat:  
Ingenium iuuenis qui sedulus imbuisset artes,  
Virque videbatur vix habuisse parem, &c.*

Now being brought vnto a publike triall, it stood  
him vpon to argue somewhat of the praise that had  
bene given him: wherefore in verie quaint and fa-  
miliar eloquent glosses he stood vpon quirks and fine  
deuise of speech, thinking as he had deluded manie  
before, so at that present he might blind the eyes of in-  
dice, & acquite himselfe of his horrible treasons. But  
as truth sheweth most braue when she goeth bare &  
naked, and deceipt finest when he is cunninglie fla-  
rishd; even so the poore habit of the one discovered  
the proud hart of the other, and confounded his bol-  
nesse with his sacred brightnesse, giuing all men to  
vnderstand, that *Veritas vincit omnia*. And because  
Campion would haue made such a cunning conue-  
nience of the matter, as though it neither might or  
could at taint him or anie of them: it was giuen him  
to vnderstand, that they would not alone touch him  
in the sequels of the former causes, but them all, and  
he that thought himselfe the clearest. Whereupon do-  
cto: Sanders and doctor: Wiffow, their traitorous  
writings in defense of the popes bull exhibited a-  
gainst his maiestie, were read vnto them, how they  
both allowed it, and also the rebellion in the north. Af-  
terwards that Wiffowes booke in allowance thereof, named  
his Motiues, was especiallie commanded to be used  
amongest them both at Rome and at Rheimes, eu-  
erie one being expresse charged not to be without  
one of these bookes.

Doctor: San-  
ders and doc-  
tor: Wiffowes  
bookes were  
there read vnto  
them. Where-  
in most traito-  
rously they de-  
fended the re-  
bellion against  
his maiestie.

This with open mouths they altogether denied,  
some that they had neuer sene it, and some that they  
neuer heard of anie such commandement: when as  
John Hart one of their owne fellowes had auouched

had auouched it, and therevnto subscribed. Besides, my selfe when I came to Rheimes, saw them as  
common amongst them, as the litle catechisme here  
amongst children, the inequalitye of the number con-  
sidered. Again, at Rome they were as common  
likewise in the seminarie, and among the English  
men in the citie, for my selfe had it, and one of do-  
cto: Allens catechismes deliuered me, with great  
charge to embrace it as my chiefe instruction. My  
companion that went with me had one likewise; the  
rest of the witnesses had sene how common they  
were, and in what reuerence and authoritie they e-  
steemed them: yet these men would with shamelesse  
faces denie it; yea, and if they might haue bene so  
credited, would haue sworne against it. This ma-  
nifest reprofe they would not grant vnto, but Cam-  
pion taketh vpon him to wrest it according vnto his  
humor; by answering that the booke was not so ill as  
they toke it for, nor deserued anie such iudgement of  
preiudice. Now he thought he could not be taken  
tardie, but supposed his argument to passe unreprou-  
able; for that in the new imprinting of this booke,  
such matters as did most sharplie touch them, were  
abridged, thinking none of the former bookes should  
come to light. But here Campion ouershot himselfe,  
for so sile an answer could not couer so foule a ble-  
mish. When they had notably considered them of these  
matters, which with obstinacie they still denied, they  
came to the intent of their secret comming ouer in-  
to this realme, which was for the death of his maiestie,  
and ouerthrow of the whole realme, which should  
be by domesticall rebellion and foren hostilitie, the  
sum whereof in briebe is thus. This litle Island, God  
hauing so bountifullie bestowed his blessings vpon  
it, that except it proue false within it selfe, no trea-  
son whatsoeuer can prouale against it, and the pope  
being hereof verie well persuaded, by reason that  
all his attempts haue proued of no effect: he hath  
found out a meane, whereby he assurth himselfe to  
sped of his desire. Secret rebellion must be stirred  
here at home among our selues, the hart of the peo-  
ple must be obdurated against God and their prince;  
so that when a foren power shall on a sudden invade  
this realme, the subiects thus seduced must ioine  
with these in armes, and so shall the pope attaine the  
sum of his wish. And all this must be wrought by  
certeine locusts of the popes seminarie mainteined  
at Rome & Rheimes, arriving in England, and  
dispersing themselves into such places, where they  
thinke themselves to be surest, some in one place,  
and some in another; and disguising themselves like  
gentlemen, seruicemen, or what apparell they may  
find meetest for them, haue accesse to manie and  
sundry places, where hauing reconciled some, their  
friends must likewise be of the same stamp. And so,  
that from father to son, husband and wife, kinsman  
and acquaintance, a number are seduced & brought  
into their detestable dealings. For, after they haue  
gotten anie litle ground within them to build vpon,  
then do they laie vnto them, that a generall bloudie  
date is toward England, that the pope and other fo-  
ren princes haue sullenly determined to ouerrun the  
realme; then better it were for you (saie they) to yield  
your selues willingly, than to see so horrible a  
slaughter, both of your prince, and all that dare  
presume to take his part. Your selues, yea and your  
friends shall abide the same hard iudgement, except  
you ioine with vs in this action. Thus through ter-  
rifieng, and a thousand traitorous fetches they haue;  
one friend bringeth another, and one kinsman ano-  
ther. So that, as they themselves will make  
their boast, in short time they doubt not to haue the  
most part of all England: yea and further they pre-  
sume, that his maiestie thinking his selfe in most  
saetie,

Campion ma-  
nifested this  
point subtilly,  
because in the  
last edition of  
the booke the  
chiefe matters  
against them  
selues were  
abridged.

The generall  
determinati-  
on how to  
bring to passe  
their intention  
this realme.

Their owne  
confession  
how they be-  
haue them-  
selues seduced  
they come into  
England.



saferie, shall then be sonest of all beguiled & deceiued. These are the men that make themselves so sound and substantiall, that they are as true subsidies to hir maiestie, as the best of vs. Yea, saith Campion, neuer shall you proue this, that we came ouer either for this intent or purpose: but onelie for the sauing of soules, which more loue and conscience compelled vs to doe, for that we did pittie the miserable estate of our countrie. But where are your profes (saith he) these are but quirkies by the wals, our liues I perceiue standeth vpon points of rhetorike, you haue shewen vs the antecedent, now let vs haue the Ergo. With this continuall course of boloness and impudencie, Campion and his fellows would grant nothing, but stillie denied euerie cause: and Campion he tolke it for a custome to wrest euerie thing as pleased him, saieing: that the iurie were not men learned, and therefore causes of conscience ought not to be committed to them, neither was that barre appointed to define on causes of conscience: wherefore, all that you do (saith he) is but to bring vs in *odium* with the iurie. After this order he deluded the people, appealing still to the deuoutnesse of his conscience: because he saw the matter brought to the verie pith that would generallie conuict them all, for the witnesses were produced and moone, parts confession and their owne writings before them, so that they would remoue them from their ordinarie illusions.

George Eliot, one of the ordinarie peomen of hir maiesties chamber, vpon his oath gaue forth in euidence as followeth. That he, liuing here in England among certeine of that sect, fell in acquaintance with one Paine a prest: who gaue him to vnderstand of a horrible treason intended against hir maiestie and the state, which he did expect hostile to happen, the order how & after what manner in briefe is thus. That there should be leuted a certeine compaignie of armed men, which on a sudden should enterprise a most monstrous attempt: a certeine compaignie of these armed men should be prepared against hir maiestie, as manie against my L. of L. as manie against my L. T. as manie against S. F. W. and diuerse other, whose names he doth not well remember. The deaths of these noble personages should be presentlie fulfilled, and hir maiestie bled in such sort, as modestie nor dutie will not suffer a subject to rehearse: but this should be the generall cry euerie where, *Queene Marie, queene Marie*. It was also appointed and agreed vpon who should haue this man of honours to come, and who should haue that office, euerie thing was determined, there wanted nothing but the committing ouer of such prests and others, as were long looked for. Vpon this report, this aforesaid George Eliot tolke occasion to question with this Paine, how they could find in their hearts to attempt an act of so great and horrible crueltie, considering how high an offense it should be to God, beside great dangers might arise thereby. Whereunto Paine made answer, that the killing hir maiestie was no offense to God, nor the uttermost crueltie they could vse to hir, or anie that tolke hir part, but that they might as lawfullie do it as to a brute beast, and himselfe would be one of the foremost in executing of this villanous and most traitorous action.

By this you may perceiue, that the death of hir maiestie and overthrow of this realme was thoroughly agreed vpon, and fullie determined: there wanted nothing but opportunitie, for prests both then and after came ouer continuallie to further it, so much as in them laie. To the said effect did A. D. utter most odious matter, the reading whereof would make anie true English hart quake & tremble: and to write it, what totall subiect is able to a-

bide & And therefore as deriued from the diuell to his dearlings we omit the same; counting it more laudable to kill such deuises and consultations as appe, than to publish them to the world in blacke & white: due reuerence to the principall obiects alwaies reserued. All which abominable stiffe, circumstances of times, places, persons, and other particulars dilie pondered, giue euident demonstration what affection these fellows afford their lawfull queene and countrie: well is he that can imagine most against hir maiestie, and highlie is he esteemed that beareth the most traitorous hart to hir. Yet Campion and the rest of his fellows they plead ignorance in all these causes, they bolster by one another with large protestations, railing words, and subtill turnings: affirming that they were not sent hither for anie such intent: which is as vntrue, as we know it for truth, that the Lord God liueth in heauen.

For this \* I am able to saie my selfe, that at diuerse other times, it was whispered among them in the seminarie: that shortly there should be prests appointed for England, to win the people against the appointed time; when as a great armie should be readie to ioinie with them: and Campion, who was then at Praga in Bohemia, he was spoken of amongst them all, to be a rare and singular fellow, and therefore generallie was taken for a meet man to be sent about such a message, so that they iudged that he should be sent for to be a chiefe man in this matter. Well (saith Campion) it may be they had such an opinion of me, which in my selfe I find not to be deserued; and it may be that I was appointed to be sent into England, according as those other prests were, for the sauing of soules and benefit of my countrie: must it follow then that we are sent to praieise the death of the queene, and to seke the ruine of our countrie? Alas, this is a hard case, and I desire you of the iurie to marke it, for these are but shadows without anie substance. This you are to note, that we which enter into that Blessed societie of the Iesuites: we do as it were forsake the world, bolowing our selues to chastitie and sinceritie of conscience, to obeie our superiours, and to be readie to go whither they shall appoint vs. If they send vs to the Indies, or to anie such places, where the people haue not the true catholike faith: we are bound by dutie in conscience to go whither they appoint vs. And shall it then be said that we come for the destruction of the prince and countrie, where we settle our selues? Alas, that were a hard case, for christian charitie willet vs to comfort one another, and if we can to get the sheepe into the fold which hath long run astraic. And when we heare confession, we do not perswade them to anie disobedience; for that is against the nature of confession: God forbid that we should once thinke anie such thing.

Behold the subtill shifts that he found out still to his vnto, yea though the manifest dispofe laie before them, yet would he find some canill or other: for not onelie the euidence of their generall determination beyond the seas was shewen them, but also the traitorous articles were there read vnto them, which John Hart had copied out for doctor Allen (concerning the proceeding of these traitorous causes, and for which he went purposed to Rome to confer with the pope about) and subscribed vnto, that they were certeine and true, as also their owne confessions and writings were laid open before them, approving them notable guiltie of the matters aforesaid, and yet in their lying pamphlets scattered here & there in sundry hands, they haue faces of hyasse to report, that

*In fide sanctos implicuere viros.*

Charles Sled, who sometime serued master doctor Apotton in Rome, in whose house there was manie matters

Campion nee his fellows will grant to anie thing, but raise and vse both spaciouly, where by their guiltie consciences were discovered. M. A.

Campion conuicteth their traitorous intention vnder the sauing of soules.

A holie kind of life were it not for the

Note here the perfect image of hypocritie.

when man's selfe praies of their treasons were laid before them: they would in no wise grant their guiltinesse.

37.  
ib-  
and  
ic  
ne  
the

Campion conuicteth their intention, shewing it was for the safeguard of soules.

when he had another shift, he fell into such words.

in me this subtiltie, in the tion of the matter: theme were

The depositio of G. Eliot.

generall mination to go to passe intent in realme.

it owne mission they be: them: is when come into glaud.

A most traitorous and villainous action: of conscience true subiect to be read with reuerence of the person.

As out of their good will wanted, if God did not (as he daile doth) prevent their purpose.

matters determined, both by doctor Allen when he came to Rome, and diuers other doctors living there in the citie, as also diuerse of the seminarie: he likewise vnderstood of the pponition for the great date, that it was generallie spoken of among the Englishmen: and to be more certeine he kept a iournall or booke of their dallie dealings, noting the date, time, place, and persons present at their secret conferences, and verie much matter hath he iustified against them. One Cradocke a merchant, when he was in Rome, he vnderstood the aforesaid determination, and how that doctor Shelleie the English priest, who is a knight of the Rhodes, for that he sometimes spake against such crueltie to be vsed to his native countrie, was somewhat mistlike of himselfe, and had almost bene turned out of his office. And this aforesaid Cradocke being in prison there for the space of twentie moneths and more: it was said to him, that he might account himselfe blessed of God that he was there, because he should not see the grievous ruine of his native countrie. He that hath but halfe an eye may see how these matters conoord and agree together, and noting euerie thing as it lieth, may plainelie see their horrible and traitorous deuises.

Consider euerie matter and then iudge how they conoord and agree together.

A booke which they vse as their instruction, how to answer to euerie question so phisicallie.

To doe their dutie is a weightie burden to their consciences, and therefore they abide in their obstinacie and blindness.

And further, there was a little booke in Latine, which they themselves brought ouer with them, it was there openlie read vnto them: wherein was certeine rules and orders prescribed, how they should behaue themselves here in England, and how if they were demanded of anie thing, they should make answer indrectlie: or to take the word it selfe, according as it is mentioned in the booke, they must answer *sophisticke*, whereby is meant as thus. If they be examined as concerning their allegiance to hir maiestie, they will make their answer after this manner: She is our lawfull soueraine ladie & quene, and we obeye hir. But then object vnto them; Will you obeye hir, notwithstanding the popes excommunication, or anie thing that he commandeth to the contrarie? Then will they answer: We desire you not to charge our consciences, and that you would not enter so deepe into our consciences, we trust the pope will not command vs anie thing against hir: & a hundred such like deuiselesse answers they make, neuer agreeing to anie certaintie, but holding the pope in more reuerence than they do hir maiestie. For this consideration they carrie with them, that if by their shew of humilitie, & their deuised order of craftie answering, they might moue our magistrats to haue a good opinion of them, & not to deale so stricte as law and their deseruing doth would merit: then they might with lesse suspect go about their holie fathers businesse, in that their sophisticated answers couered so foule an abuse. And then so manie as come after them, purposelie sent about the same affaires, seeing their passage made before them, and being scholed after the same manner: they might withdraw the hearts of a number of hir maiesties subiects, by such meanes as is before largelie exprest; so that destruction should come vpon vs, before we had discovered their trecherous dealings. But God be thanked, as all their deuises haue had their deserued successe, this sophisticated order hath sped alike with them for compaignie: and this let them fullie assure themselves, that what meanes soeuer they seeke against their prince and countrie, God will reward them after their owne dealings.

To Campion himselfe the former questions were put forth at the barre: and this answer he made to them. She is my lawfull soueraine ladie & quene, and I do obeye hir. But when he was demanded, although the pope did expresselie command him the

contrarie: if he would neuertheless faithfullie obeye hir: Oh then! they must not so depelie enter into his conscience, that barre was not a barre to define on causes of conscience: that question touched his conscience, wherefore he flatlie said he might not answer it. So, no, he knew full well that the traitorous affaires he came about, would not allow him such a direct answer as they had looked for, and gladlie would haue had, that of a Saule they might haue made him a Paule. Wherefore his secret and guilefull behauiour made perfect apperance of his wicked intent, which he shadowed vnder the counterfeit cloke of sauing soules, and reconciling his countriemen to the catholike faith, vnder the sweet bait of the amiable title of the societie of Iesus, to which order hauing bequeathed himselfe (and become a resolute and obstinate votarie) he thirsted after the kingdome of heauen; if we maie beleue their owne report concerning Campion, of whome they saie:

*Nominis inde tui sancto deuotus Iesu  
Ille socalitio calica regna sinit.*

Here it can not be greatlie amisse, to rehearse vnto you the cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull, seeing this sophisticated kind of answering grew chiefe there by. When anie of these secret messengers should be sent about their holie fathers determination here in England, to reconcile, shew, & win hir maiesties subiects to their diuillish intent: if such misadventure should happen to them, that their secret dealings came to the eares of iustice, then they fell into the danger of law. Wherefore to shadow their subtiltie, and to prosecute the effect of their message, the pope thought good to hartten them by this sophisticated addition. For well we know, & themselves likewise are not ignorant thereof, that being examined, if they should denie the quenes maiestie to be their supreme prince and gouernesse in all causes: then they fell into condemnation by hir lawes. Again, if they denied the authoritie of the pope, as of force they must needs do, if they will esteeme themselves good subiects, and manifest a dutifull and obedient heart to hir maiestie: then they breake their bow made to the pope, and so fall into his curse and condemnation likewise: so that this is certeinlie appointed them, to cleaue faithfullie to the one, and vtterlie to forsake the other.

Yet that they might haue as much fauour and friendship, as the furtherance of such a cause required: this hard clause (being well scanned of diuerse our English doctors and others, both at Rome and at Rheims) was thorough earnest sute deliuered to diuerse of the cardinals, who laing their heads together, and thoroughlie searching the bottome of euerie doubt: a toleration for that strit point was found out, which was ordeined as you haue heard before. When in all the hall the pope was giuen to vnderstand thereof, who respecting what might be for his benefit, and what might turne to his dishonour, authorized them this former toleration, which (God be thanked) carried as slender strength as the rest of his practises hath done. Yet all this being knowne to vs, Campion & his fellows will grant no knowledge, but pleade still their deuout consciences. An other of their owne booke was also there read vnto them, wherein was other orders prescribed them, how they should handle a nobleman, how a gentleman, and how a poore man: which being openlie read before them, gaue all there present to vnderstand, how assuredlie they had appointed the course for their treason. A number of inuincible proofs passing against them, they came at last to the point of their comming ouer: how suddenlie, how baselie, & all thorough a generall appointment. Campion, he had staid a long time at Praga in Bohemia, and

The cause why this pope hath tolerated the former bull of Pius Quintus.

Our English doctors consulting with the cardinals found out the means for this toleration.

An other booke how to handle all manner of persons to win them to their intent.

Campion confessed from Praga and

get to go with  
other priests  
appointed for  
England.

and on a sudd in he was hastily sent for to Rome: by  
his owne confession he knew not wherefore, but the  
message was in such hast, that he must come thither  
with all speed.

When he came to Rome, he staid there but five  
daies: in which time, receiving the summe of their  
charge from the pope, as is their usuall wont, and  
their father generall deliuering them what he hath  
in office: he was dispatched from thence with other  
priests, who had their *Platicum* from the popes trea-  
surie, and were all especiallie appointed for Eng-  
land. These priests were sent (as all other are) about  
the chiefe cause, for that none come from thence but  
onlie for that purpose. The estate of the cause before  
expressed, it is too manifest, that Campion and his  
fellows are guiltie of the matters objected against  
them. For this you are to remember, that none must  
staie there without they will be priests: when they re-  
ceiue their priesthood, they enter into their oth, which  
oth containeth the summe of the treason: so that all  
which come from thence (hauing taken that oth) come  
about the execution of the treason, in that none but  
they that are especiallie sent, can haue their *Platicum*  
of the pope; and then he sending them, the case is too  
evident.

Let not a light iudgement passe ouer a matter of  
so great respect, let the popes intent of keeping them  
there be considered, the great malice and spite that  
he beareth his maiestie and the relme, and then their  
oth to execute his commandements; all these laid to-  
gether, discouereth the depth of their trecherie. But  
what answereth maister Campion to this? He con-  
fesseth that he was quietlie settled at Braga, and lit-  
tle expected any such hastie sending for: beside that,  
he went to Rome with great speed, tarrising there  
no longer than five daies, as is before expressed, and  
that he receiued his *Platicum* of the pope, when as he  
was dispatched thence with other priests, purposelie  
appointed for England, and that he came no other-  
wise than they did, nor for any other intent than for  
the benefit of soules, as he still termed it: but he  
would not grant that he came for any treason.

So that to seduce his maiesties subiects, to per-  
suade them from their dutie and obedience, and to  
toine themselves in such sort, as their princeesse and  
countrie must be destroyed thereby: this is no trea-  
son in his opinion. Notwithstanding, Campion and his fel-  
lows pleaded ignorance still, they saw and would  
not see, they were so craftilie schooled. James Bos-  
graue, he was at Vilna in Polonia, and as he con-  
fessed himselfe, he understood that there was priests  
appointed for England: vpon which report he came  
a waie from thence in verie great hast. And in his  
passage, he mentioned to one in the ship, who was  
sworne, and confessed the same before certaine iusti-  
ces, that there was such matter towards in Eng-  
land, as hath bene before expressed: and therevpon  
he sought to haue wone him, if his purpose could  
haue taken effect. Campion seeing this begun some-  
what to touch the quicke, and that in truth it discou-  
ered the dealings of them all: he taketh vpon him to  
answer on his behalfe, for that they all reposed them-  
selves on him.

He saith, that if Bosgraue did heare such newes,  
that there were papists appointed for England, whie  
should they take hold on so small a cause? Flieng  
reports are not to be credited, for albeit he heard such  
newes, how knew he, if they were certaine or no?  
Againe (quoth he) the man hath bene long out of  
England, and he doth not speake English per-  
fectlie: it maie be then that some word maie escape  
him vnawares, which you are not to build vpon, con-  
sidering the defect of the man, for he maie peraduenture  
speake he knoweth not what. And where you

saie, that such a one hath smothered before certaine iu-  
stices, that he bled such and such words to him; where  
is the man, we are not to credit a written paper,  
what know we if it be true or no? Let vs heare him  
selfe saie so, and then we will beleue it. So what a  
number of shifts he had continually to wast the time,  
and all to no purpose. The mans owne confession  
was there, wherto himselfe had subscribed, and foure  
or five iustices set their hands to it for the certaintie  
thereof; yet this was not sufficient to answer them.

Robert Johnson he was likewise at Autun in  
France, from whence he came also in verie great  
hast, vpon the report he had heard of priests that  
were appointed for England. Now there is an o-  
ther thing to be considered, that these men, settled  
where they were, by their owne confession they must  
not depart from thence without they be appointed by  
their superiours, then it is easie to be answered, that  
they came by their superiours appointment at this pre-  
sent: and as the generall determination was, so the y

came all for one cause & intent. Edward Kishston, he  
being here in England, wrote a letter to Richardson  
a priest, and who is likewise condemned amongst  
them; which letter was there openlie read to his face.  
Howe there were foure goldsmiths of his occupation  
latelie come ouer, who indeed were priests, and how  
all things went successiuelie forwarde. And Campi-  
on being in the Towler wrote a letter vnto Downd  
likewise, wherein he gaue him to vnderstand that he

was verie soie, that though his faultie he had be-  
trayed those, at whose houses he had bene so friend-  
lie interteined; wherefore he asked God hartilie for  
giuenesse, and them all whome he had so highlie of-  
fended. But (saith he) as for the chiefe matter that  
is as yet vnrerealed, and come racke come rope, ne-  
uer shall that be discovered. A number of matters  
more were brought against them, which to rehearse,  
would requite a farre more large discourse: but to  
be briefe, in the end, this was the fall and certaine is-  
sue.

That these men, when they were beyond the  
seas: the generall agreement and determination a-  
mongest them, was to worke the death of our most  
gracious princeesse, to deströie hir dominion, and to  
erect such as pleased them when this aforesaid daie  
should take effect. And that their comming ouer,  
was to seduce his louing subiects, to win their obe-  
dient hearts from hir, so that they should be in a rea-  
dinesse to toine with a foren power, and so they should  
likewise be destroyers of their princeesse and coun-  
trie. And that in the meane while they themselves  
sought to accomplish his maiesties death, so much as  
in them laie.

This was manifestlie proued by verie large and  
ample euidence, credible witnesses, and their owne  
confessions and writings: whereon the iurie, hauing  
wiselie and discretlie pondered and searched and  
sene into the depth of euerie cause, withoute and de-  
seruedlie gaue them by all guiltie of the treasons  
whereof they were indicted and arraigned. Which  
being done, after a godlie and comfortable exhorta-  
tion, perswading them patientlie to suffer and abide  
the death for them appointed, and to be hartilie soie  
for their greuous and hainous offenses, the sentence  
of death was pronounced on them: that they should  
depart to the places from whence they came, and  
from thence to be vnto on hurdles to the place of  
execution, where they should be hanged till they were  
halfe dead: then to be cut downe, their priuite mem-  
bers to be cut off, and their entrailes taken forth, and  
to be burned in the fire before their eyes: then their  
heads to be cut off, their bodies parted into foure  
quarters to be disposed at his maiesties pleasure,  
and the Lord God to receiue their soules to his mer-  
cie. Afterwards they were conueied from thence  
to the place of execution.

traitors will  
never beleue  
any truth, es-  
peciallie if it  
touch them-  
selues.

Robert John-  
son his com-  
ing from  
Autun in  
France.

Edward  
Kishston's let-  
ter to Ri-  
chardson one  
of the con-  
demned.

Campions  
letter to mai-  
ster Downd  
in the Towler.

Campion  
was resolute  
in the chiefe  
matter.

Sentence of  
death denoun-  
ced against  
Campion and  
his confe-  
derats.

The priests  
are there one-  
ly maintained  
for this pur-  
pose, and none  
come from  
thence, but a-  
bout this  
cause, which  
proueth them  
altogether gui-  
ty.

Campion  
granteth, he  
came as the  
other priests  
did to recon-  
cile & shew  
but he will not  
allow that he  
came for any  
treason.

James Bos-  
graue, his ha-  
ving comming  
from Vilna,  
whie he heard  
that priests  
were appoint-  
ed for Eng-  
land.

Campion fre-  
quently his  
accustomed  
order of subti-  
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with betes to a place of larning for them appointed, from whence they were conducted to the Tower of London, diners of them giuing forth sundrie letw and dishonell speeches: as Thomas Coteham, being so manie people to behold them, desired that fire and brimstone might fall from heauen, to destroe both the cittle and all that were in it: with diuerse other wicked words, which for modesties sake I omit here to rehearse, desiring God in mercie to giue man better grace.

A verie holie thing, but verie meet for his deuotion.

On the next daie, being tuesday and the one and twentieth daie of Nouember, there was brought to the said high barre these persons following: John Hart, Thomas Ford, William Filbie, Laurence Richardson, John Shert, Alexander Brian, and John Collington. Alexander Brian, he had shauen his crowne himselfe, & made him a crosse of a peece of a trencher, which he held in his hand openlie & praised to: which when he was rebuked for, he bollied and stoutlie made answer: that his crowne was of his owne shauing, and he had good hope to do it againe. In brase, they were all indicted on the selfe same treasons as they were the daie before; and John Harts traitorous sermon which he made at Whens against hir maiestie auouched to his face, their owne writings and confessions with substantiall witness produced against them, so that they were found guilty of their treasons, as the other were before them, except John Collington, he was quit of the former high treason by the Iurie.

Execution of Campion, Sherwin, and Brian.

On fridate being the first of December, Edmund Campion Jesuit, Kalle Sherwin, & Alexander Brian seminarie priests, being condemned for high treason against hir maiesties most roiall person, as also for traitorous practices, touching the subuersion of the true & vndoubted religion here maintained, with the vtter ruine and ouerthrow of this realme of England, were drawne from the Tower of London on hurdles, to the place of execution appointed, guarded with such a sufficient companie as might cresse the honoz of iustice the larger in that behalfe. Being come to the place of execution, where diuerse of hir maiesties honorable counsell, with manie honorable personages, and gentlemen of worthip and good account, beside a multitude of people not here to be remembred attended their comming; Edmund Campion was first brought vp into the cart, where after the great rumoz of so manie people somewhat appeased, he spake thus.

Campion in his confession implieth a desense of his innocencie.

First he began (the people then present expecting his confession) with a phrase or two in Latine, when immediatlie after he fell into English in this manner. I am here brought as a spectacle before the face of God, of angelles, and of men, satisfieng my selfe to die as becometh a true christian & catholiclike man. As for the treasons that haue bene laid to my charge, and I am come here to suffer for: I desire you all to beare witness with me, that thereof I am altogether innocent. Whereupon answer was made to him by one of the counsell, that he might not seeme to denie th objections against him, hauing bene proued so manifestlie to his face, both by sufficient witness and euidence. Well my lord (quoth he) I am a catholiclike man, and a priest, in that faith haue I liued hitherto, and in that faith I do intend to die; and if you esteeme my religion treason, then of force I must grant vnto you, as for anie other treason I will not consent vnto. Then was he moued as concerning his traitorous and hainous offense to the quenes most excellent maiestie. Where to he answered; She is my lawfull princeesse and quene. There somewhat he drew in his words to himselfe, whereby was gathered, that somewhat he would haue gladlie spoken: but the great timidity and

vnstable opinion of his conscience, wherein he was all the time euen to the death, would not suffer him to vtter it.

Here is with iudgement a deepe point and high matter to be considered, that it is man alwaies directing the course of his life to a vaine glorious imagination, and alwaies couetous to make himselfe famous; at this instant made a perfect discouerie of himselfe. For being somewhat learned, all matters that soener (as you haue heard before) he bare a waite with a maiestieall countenance, the visor of vanitie applie fitting the face of onelie hypocrisie; that was sound he would make sophisticall, what was the infallible truth of it selfe he would carrie in his owne conceipt, and delude the people with a pleasant quicke, or some such stiffe, onlie to purchase him credit and affection. And he was not to learne to set a coragious countenance on euerie such slight reason, whereby he peruerterd manie, decetued more, and was thought such a champion, as the pope neuer had the like. But now behold the man, whom neither racke nor rope should alter, whose feare was such as he boasted invincible: feare had caught hold on this braue boaster, and terroz entred his thoughts, whereby was discouered his impudent dissimulations. Now let it with patience be moued a little, that the outward protestations of this man vied some there present to teares, not entring into conceipt of his inward hypocrisie to make a plausible definition of this perillous deceiver, not by coniecture, but by profe it shall be thus answered.

Campion noted to be verie vaine glorious.

Campion described

The calic of his com to C

Edmund Campion, as it is by men of sufficient credit reported, at what time he spent his studie here in England both in the hospitall, and also at the vniuersitie of Oxford, was alwaies addicted to a maruellous suppose in himselfe of ripe iudgement, prompt audacitie, and cunning conuelance in his schole points: wherethrough he fell into a proud and vaine glorious iudgement, practising to be eloquent in phrase, and so fine in his quirks and fantasticall coniectures, that the ignorant he won by his smooth deuises, some other affecting his pleasant imaginations he charmed with subtiltie and choked with sophistrie. The learned, who beheld his practices and peremptorie order of life, pitteng his follie, and wishing him a more staied determination, lothed his maners; yet loued the man, because christian charitie willed them so to do. Now this glorious Pharo having by his libels made himselfe famous, and vnder shew and suppose of great learning (though indeed being approued, found verie simple to the speeches giuen of him) subdued manie to affect him verie much; when he was taken he knew it stood him vpon, not to lose the credit openlie he had wonne secretly. Wherefore in his former ridiculous manner, both in prison, at his arresignment, yea and at his death, he continued the same in all points, which the foulness of his treasons blemished euerie waie. Now indeed, as our English nation is both louing and pitifull: so manie seeing the gifts of God so well bestowed on the man, and by him applied to so great abuse, through naturall kindnesse bemoaned his case, wishing he had not fallen into so traitorous a cause. Then was moued to him againe his treasons and hainous offenses against the quenes maiestie, which impudentlie he still denied, seeming to vtter words on the behalfe of one Richardson, one likewise of the condemned traitors, taking on his conscience that it was not he. Which hath bin proued to the contrary, for that it is knowne how this Richardson is he, who distributed Campions libels and booke abused: and when he was put to his oath, whether it was he or no, he refused to sweare on his behalfe. And because the world might be fullie resolved, that (notwithstanding

A further description of Edmund Campion.

The place the Jre

The thing against him

Campions curious care to keepe the credit he had wonne in England.

Camp his confession





one *Credo* for him. Whan indirect answers he made, as when he was moued to aske the queene forgiveness, and when the preacher requested him to shew some signe of a penitent sinner, then shortly he replied: *You and I, we are not of one religion.* After a few silent prayers to himselfe, the cart was drawen awaite, & he committed to the mercie of God. There he hanged till he was dead, when being cut downe, he was bowelled and quartered, according as it was appointed by iustice. Rafe Sherwin seemed a man of better iudgement, more learned, and more obedient; he said the Lords prayer in English, believing in God that made him, in Christ his sonne that saved him, and in the Holteghost that sanctified him: and according to the saleng of S. Augustine, desired Jesus, that he would be to him Jesus, as much to saie, as his sauntour and redemer. He likewise confessed himselfe a catholike man and a priest, intending to die in that faith. But when the treasons were moued to him, he likewise did make deniall thereof. He asked the queenes maiestie forgiveness, and desired that the might long liue and reigne ouer vs. When was read to him the booke of the aduertisement, which before had bene read to Campion, and after a few prayers he likewise ended his life. Alexander Brian seemed more obstinate and impious, bing verie little signe of repentance and hartie humilitie: he vsed manie prayers to himselfe, and spake verie little worthe the rehearfall. Justice being executed on him, he and Sherwin were quartered, according as Campion had bene before them.

Rafe Sherwin's behaviour at his death.

Alexander Brian's demeanour at his death.

So soner had iustice giuen the blow of execution, and cut off the foresaid offenders from the earth; but certaine enemies to the state politike and ecclesiastike, greatlie fauouring them, and their cause, which they falslie gaue out to be religion, dispersed abroad their libels of most impudent denie, tending to the iustificing of the malefactors innocencie, to the heinous and unrecompensable defamacion of the couric of iustice and iudgement against them commended and finished: in somuch that speaking of the daie whereon they died, they blushed not to intitile them martyrs, saleng among other things not publishable, as in these few verses extracted followeth:

Ex libello quodam famoso.

*Vna dies viuos pariter caesosque videbat,  
In caelum missos vidit & vna dies:  
Aeternisque breui gaudent pro morte coronis,  
Hac sunt martyribus dona parata pps.  
Felix illa dies mensis fuit illa Decembris,  
Martyris donans caelica regna tribus:  
Felix quae sanctum suscepit terra cruorem,  
Quem caecata ody fuderat ira & tui:  
Supremumque manens felix constantia finem,  
Atque in conspectu mors pretiosa Dei, &c.*

\* Alludit ad Angliam.

Abt. Fl.  
Ex concione apud crucem  
Paulinam per  
D. Sellar 6. Feb.  
1586.

Thus slanderouslie against the administration of iustice scattered these vipers broad their lieng reports, therein to the skies advancing the children of iniquitie as spotlesse; yea forging most monstrous fables, put them in print; as though God and nature had suffered violence to their vnappealeable indignation, for that men of such integritie forsooth and extraordinarilie sanctified, suffered so shamefull a death: in somuch that it was bruted abroad not by men, but by brute beasts, that on the selfe same daie whereon Campion was executed, the river of Thames did neither eb nor flow, but stood still. A miracle! Whether this were a lie or not, as all the world may sweare it was no truth; this is certaine and vndoubted, that there was found a facultie about Campion a litle before his death, wherein authoritie was giuen him from the bishop of Rome Gregorie the thirtieth, to execute the sentence of the bull published by Pius Quintus against all the queens maiesties subjects as hereticks, &c: and yet this man forsooth (al-

beit notorious) died not for treason but for religion, as with foule mouths they are not ashamed to saie:

*Religio crimen non mala vita fuit.*

But of this matter inough, & now to the proceesse of English accidents after this tragicall narration. When the queene of England and the monsieur (then duke of Anion understood by report made to hir maiestie and his highnesse by monsieur de Duneaur (who had bene sent ouer a litle before from the duke to the prince of Orange, and had prosecuted the treatie the former yeares as his ordinarie ambassador) that god will and great longing he had found in the prince of Orange, who was come into the Ile of Walcheren with a great number of gentlemen, and with the deputies of the states, and of the chieft of the best cities of the low countrie to receiue his highnesse, and to do him most humble seruice: and when they had also heard the ambassage of the lords of Whain & Junius, sent from the lords of the state to the duke, to shew vnto him the exceeding great desire which all the people had to see his highnesse, for the present ratifying of the former covenants that had passed betwixt them: for accomplishing whereof it was needfull that he should passe ouer with all speed: whereby the same thing was confirmed which had bene declared off afore by the lord of mount saint Aldegond, ordinarie ambassador to hir maiestie and his highnesse: vpon the intelligence of these things, it was resolved by hir maiestie & his highnesse, that the monsieur should depart. Wherevpon the queene calling the lord Howard, commanded him (for the earle of Lincolne was then sicke) to take vpon him the charge of the admerals ship, and to go to Rochester, and there to choise vessels meet for transporting of the monsieur & his traine, & to furnish them with men of war, mariners, and all manner of necessaries as well of war as of vittels. Which thing was done with such diligence and speed, that the ships being ready with all things in lesse than eight daies, passed out of the riuer of Rochester and the Thames, and were conueied to the downes nere to the towne of Sandwich, where the monsieur was to take shipping. And for so much as the monsieur came into England accompanied but with a few princes and lords, & they also had left their traine in France, & some of the same lords were sent backe againe after ward by his commandement and for his seruice; the queene determined to giue him a companie & traine meet for his greatnesse, taking his iournie about so great & noble exploit. And therfore (as agreeing with his highnesse hart) he commanded the earle of Leicester master of hir hostes, the lord of Hunsdon gouernour of Berwicke hir maiesties nere kinsman,

Monsieur the duke of Anion departed out of England.

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\* Nemo Ama  
Henrici & uxore,  
sereniss. regine  
Elisabethae ge-  
neris.

*(cuius fuerat matertera pulchra  
Regina genetrix Henrici nobilis & vxor)*

and the lord Howard the viceadmerall (of whom the first two were of hir priue councill, and all three were knights of the order of the garter) to attend vpon him, and to assemble as great a number of English lords and gentlemen as could be gotten in so litle time, to honour him withall: wherevnto the said lords obeyed verie willingly. And there went with them to accompanie them, the lord Willoughbie, the lord Windsoze, the lord Sheffield, the lord Howard, the lord Audley second sonne to the late duke of Norfolk: master Philip Sidneie nephew to the forenamed erle of Leicester, sir George Careie, and master John & Robert Careie all three sonnes of the said lord of Hunsdon; master William Howard brother of the said lord Howard, sir Thomas Sherleie, sir Thomas Perot, sir William Russell, sir William Dzurie, & sir George Bowser knights, and a great number of gentlemen; namelie, master Henrie Windsoze brother to the lord Windsoze, ma-

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of Anion  
rteth out  
ngland.

Her John Brough brother to the lord Brough, master Walter Kaleigh, master George Carew, master Edward Hobbie, master Francis Darcie, master Michael Stanhope, master William Knolls, master Francis Knolles, master George Digbie, master Thomas Nauasor, master Anthonie Wilde- maie, master Henrie Potwell, master Nicholas Gorges, master Michael Harecourt, master Fulke Grenill: so as the whole traine that attended upon the said earle, was to the number of an hundred gentlemen, and more than three hundred servingmen. The lord of Hunsdon had of gentlemen and others together to the number of a hundred and fiftie: and the lord Howard had as many, besides many more, whereof diuerse were his maiesties seruants. The queene determined to accompanie the monsieur to the sea side, & yet neuertheless commanded the said lords to keepe their course, and to attend upon his highnesse to the said place, with all manner of solemnities, interteinments, and feastings. Upon the o-  
ther side desired and besought his maiestie not to de-  
part from London, as well for that the iournie  
would be painefull vnto hir; and for that he saw the  
weather faire and wind fauorable, and therefore was  
loth to lose any occasion of performing his voiage  
with all speed. But he could not preuaile.

The queene  
married  
together at  
Windsor.

Whereupon his maiestie toke his iournie with  
his whole court, the first daie of Februarie, & lodged  
that night at Rochester. The next daie abiding still  
at Rochester, his maiestie shewed him all his great  
ships which were in that place, into most whereof his  
highnesse and the prince and lords of his traine ente-  
red, not without great admiration of the French  
lords & gentlemen, who confessed that of good right  
the queene of England was reported to be ladie of  
the seas. Also he beheld how all those ships were rea-  
die furnished and well appointed. And his maiestie  
told him that all those vessels & the furniture of them  
should do him seruice, when soeuer he would imploie  
them: for the which he most humbly thanked his ma-  
iestie, and so after all the great ordinance had bene  
shot off, they returned for that daie againe to Roches-  
ter. The third day they went to Sittingborne, where  
dining both together, the queene was serued after  
the English manner by the greatest ladies of his  
court; and the monsieur after the French manner by  
the gentlemen of his traine, which ladies and gentle-  
men dined afterwards together. When his highnesse  
besought his maiestie againe to go no further, decla-  
ring vnto hir that the faire weather passed awaie.  
But notwithstanding his intreatance the queene  
went on still to Canturburie. At which place, after  
one daies tarryance, when she had openly feasted all  
the French nobilitie, either part toke their leaue of  
other, not without great griefe and shew of verie  
great amitie, especiallie betwene his maiestie and  
the monsieur. Which thing was perceiued also in  
the lords and gentlemen of both nations, & likewise  
in the ladies, to all whome it was like griefe to de-  
part after they had bene conuersant and had liued  
friendlie and brotherlie together by the space of three  
moneths, without any change or alteration of good  
willes. But the honor which enforced his highnesse,  
alluaged his griefe, and made him to proceed on his  
iournie with the said prince and lords of both na-  
tions.

The first daie of the same moneth, whereas he was  
determined to haue taken ship, he was counselled to  
lodge that night of Sandwich, because the wind was  
somewhat changed. Howbeit, some of the English  
gentlemen, namelye master Sailegreite, master Dier  
and diuerse others, to eschew thronging at their in-  
barking went to Dover, and there taking ship the  
same night lay a while at anchor, and somewhat after

midnight sailed awaie with certeine other vessels.  
The seuenth daie in the morning about nine of the  
clocke, his highnesse toke the sea in three great ships  
of war. In the greatest of them named the Discou-  
rer, sailed the monsieur himselfe with the erle of Lei-  
cester, and the lord Howard the viceadmirall, in the  
second called the Sentinell went the prince Dol-  
phin; and in the third was the countie of Lonast, and  
the lord of Hunsdon. Now as his highnesse was yet  
at anchor, there came a post from a lord of England,  
who brought him word that the states of the low  
countrie were reuolted, and namelye the cite of  
Antwerpe, and therefore he prayed him not to depart  
vntill he had more certeine newes. Notwithstand-  
ing this, his highnesse determined to depart, and so  
sailed awaie with fiftene ships: and he had so faire  
weather (which continued euen vntill after his ente-  
ring into Antwerpe, and his feasting and soleinne  
interteinment there) that the heauen, the winds,  
the sea, and the earth seemed all to fauour his voiage,  
and to further the gladnesse which the people shewed  
in receiuing him with so great god will.

In the meane time the prince of Orange, seeing  
the time fit, departed from Middlebrough, where he  
had taried the monsieurs coming six weekes and  
more, and came to Flushing to take order for all  
things that were requisite for the honorable and com-  
modious interteinment of so great a prince. At the  
which place, vnderstanding by the letters of the said  
lords ambassadours and others, that the monsieur  
was departed from London and come to Cantur-  
burie; and therefore thinking it would not be long  
per he arrived there: he dispatched monsieur Tres-  
lon his viceadmirall of Zealand, with a little pinnesse  
called the Chale, to go before to meet the monsieur:  
commanding him that as soon as he had discovered  
his fleet, he should giue him a watchword thereof by  
the shot of two cannons. Monsieur Treslon hauing  
about nonetide discovered the ships that were par-  
ted from Dover, and thinking that they had bene  
the great fleet, gaue his watchword, which was the  
cause that a certeine vessel went forth to the sea to  
meet his highnesse; but anon after perceiuing his er-  
rour, he returned to Flushing, where by and by the  
fleet of Dover arrived. Then monsieur Treslon go-  
ing forth, found the monsieur and the great fleet be-  
twene Petwport and Dunkirke: where after saluta-  
tion giuen and taken on either side, the monsieur  
standing vpon the hatches of his ship, espied his  
owne secretarie named Sephue standing likewise  
vpon the hatches of the Chale; to whome he sent his  
shipbote, commanding him to come aboard to him,  
which thing he did, and there aduertised the monsieur  
that as concerning the reuolting of the states there  
was no such matter, but that all things went verie  
well, & that his highnesse was waited for with great  
longing. That daie, by reason the wind was turned  
northeast, they could go no further, but were faine to  
cast anchor ouer against a place called Offend, where  
they passed that night, waiting for the tide the next  
morning. His ships were perceiued by them of  
Flushing, where after midnight arrived the lord of  
S. Aldegond, who assured the prince of Orange, that  
the next morning the monsieur would arrive there  
with the tide. Whereupon the prince of Orange and  
the prince of Espinoie with a great number of gen-  
tlemen toke the sea the next morning: but because  
the tide was against them, and on the other part the  
monsieur hauing a side wind with him was con-  
strained to halt to the land. By means whereof the  
prince, being not able to come aboard to him with his  
ship, was faine to turne saile backe againe to Flush-  
ing, where the prince Dolphin had taken land alrea-  
die, & sought euerie where for the prince his brother.

The prince of  
Orange tar-  
ried order for  
the intertein-  
ment of the  
monsieur.

Sephue the  
monsieur's  
secretarie.

The lord of  
S. Aldegond,  
the prince of  
Orange and  
the prince of  
Espinoie, &c.

The queene  
married  
together at  
Windsor.

Rempe Anna  
married to  
the prince  
of Orange  
the prince of  
Espinoie, &c.

Embracing  
of the knee.

The mountier  
landeth.

Lustie dis-  
charging of  
guns on all  
sides.

The monsieur  
berie isfullie  
receiued.

Antwerpe  
retioiseth at  
the monsieurs  
comming.

When they had embraced and saluted one another like brethren; the prince of Orange, perceiving the monsieur to approach verie nêre, toke the water againe. But when he perceiued him to come downe into his bote to take land, he turned backe againe, and bied him so fast that he toke land before him, and there tarried his comming. As sone as he was arrived, while he was yet in his bote readie to come a land, the prince receiued him with great reuerence; and embracing his highnesse knee, because he saw the weather was cold said vnto him in few words, that he was verie glad to see that happie daie, which had bene so long expected, wherein he had the honor to behold his highnesse, and to offer vnto him his most humble seruice, with goods and life, & all that he had besides; hoping that by meanes of his highnesse, that countrie hauing indured so great aduersitie, should now be fullie set at libertie. Wherevnto the monsieur answered verie wiselie and brieflie. And when he had embraced him with such honor as was due in respect of his age and doings: he came aland, and was brought by the prince to the palace of the citie: howbeit not without great difficultie, by reason of the great pzeale of men of war and other people pestering one another, the folke of that countrie thronging to see his highnesse, and the Englishmen which as then were come downe thither in great numbers pzealing to know the prince of Orange. In the meane while the trumpets and drums sounded with such noise that the aire rang of it, and all the ordinance shot off, as well of the quenes ships as of the other ships, wherof the number was great which laie then in the rode, with so great roling and thundering, that they conueied the netues of his highnesse happie arriual in the low countrie to Calis, and to other places of France. They of Flushing shot two peales, with so great noise by reason of the great number of the peeces that are in the towne, that all the ground rang of it. The monsieur found in that place all sorts of his officers; for his household and his gard of Swisses and Frenchmen, departing from Calis and Bullongne foure daies afoze, were come to Middleborough.

The magistrates of the citie waited for him at the gates of the citie, who told him by the mouth of their recorder, that they were verie glad of his comming, and thought themselves happie to see him, in hope, that by his guiding and gouernement they should see their countrie restored to tranquillitie, and set by againe in his former renowne. The states of Brabant speaking by the mouth of monsieur van Straelen Amptman of Antwerpe, after their welcoming of him, declared with what mind the noble and good cities of Brabant had expected him, beseeching him most humbly to honor the countrie of Brabant with his presence out of hand. Next then the deputies of the citie of Burelles (besides the declaration which they made of their owne good will, and generally of all the peoples of that countrie) declared also particularlie, with what great goodwill and affection his highnesse had bene waited for in that citie, the chiefe seat of the lords of that countrie; and that after so manie mischances which they had suffered for withstanding the tyrannie of the Spaniards, next vnto God they had not any hope, but in the comming of his highnesse their prince and lord. Afterward they of Antwerpe were heard, who declared the affection of the people toward his highnesse, their long longing for him, and the great desire which they had to see their prince and souereigne. The colonels and capitains of the towne spake afterward, and declared vnto him how carefullie and diligentlie they had kept the citie, in hope to put it shortly into his hands, and reioissing likewise at his comming.

Vnto all these orations his highnesse answered verie sagelie and brieflie, as vnto all the reasons, to the well liking and contentment of all that stood by. The prince of Orange tarried a while with the monsieur in the towne house of the citie: and then taking his leaue went to visit the princes and lords of both the nations that came with him to see how they fared, and to take order that they should want nothing, so far forth as the abilitie of the towne of Flushing (which is none of the greatest) could extend, where such provision was made, that all were well lodged and serued, notwithstanding that about five hundred men of the onelie English lords were come a land that daie. All that after none was spent in feasting, in making of bonefires, in fireworks, in sounding of trumpets, and in all manner of tokens of iote, which all men vttered vniuersallie for the comming of so great a prince. Also the foure members of Flanders, which came by the counsell of the prince of Orange, waited to present themselves vnto him at Middleborough.

The prince of Orange, perceiving that the monsieur was minded to go the next daie to Middleborough, told him that there were three waies, the one about the castell of Kamekins, to enter in at the great chanell of Middleborough by the bout of the foreland; an other by the little chanell through the countrie; and that he had kept ships in a readinesse to go the outer waie, and a great sort of botes to go the inner waie, because his highnesse could not forneie either by cox or on horsebacke by reason of the winter, and there was but onelie one causeie where by folke trauelled ordinarilie on foot. The monsieur beholding the fitnessse of the time, for indeed it was verie faire weather, and understanding that the waie was not past a good French league in length, vnder-toke to go it on foot, and so did all the rest of the princes, lords, and gentlemen, as well of the same countrie, as of France and England. A great sort of the monsieurs house, which were lodged alreadie at Middleborough, came to meet him, speciallie his gard of Frenchmen and Swisses. A good waie out of the towne the magistrate of Middleborough came to meet him, as it were, about a third part of the waie, and there making an oration to him, told him of the great and long desire which all the people had of his comming, and that the people of Middleborough for their owne part thought themselves greatlie honored, in that he had vouchsafed to come to their citie, offering all dutifullnesse vnto him. His gard also met him in the same place, & then began the Swisses to march on in their order, striking by their drums after their manner. Moreover, six companies of the citizens well armed and well araied stood in battell without the towne, who kept their place till the monsieur was past, and then they followed after leisurelie behind.

The deputies of the states of the earldome of Zelant waited his comming at the towne gate; who hauing declared the gladnesse which they conceiued, reioissed at the happie successe which his highnesse had had in making the peace in France, and in reducing the citie of Cambray by his armie and in his owne person, and in his passing into England, which they knew he had taken vpon him for no other cause than for the furtherance of the affaires of those countries; and finally for that hauing put his person in danger of that passage, he was now happily arrived in Zelant, most humbly thanking his highnesse, and declaring what hope they had conceiued of his presence, and therewithall offering right humbly whatsoever their dutie required. At the entrance of the gate one brought him a courtois of Flanders, but he determined with himselfe (seeing that

English lords  
and their re-  
tinue.

The  
Lice  
other  
bys.

The  
waies  
to  
Middlebo-  
rough.

Burn  
crosse  
each

The monsieur  
is met going  
to Middlebo-  
rough.

The  
Car-  
crosse  
can

3 fol  
leaf  
the 1

The deputies  
of the states  
of the earldome  
of Zelant.

The monsieur  
would t as  
the companie  
of Flanders  
was

The earle of  
Leicester and  
other English  
lords.

Burning  
cressets on  
my side.

The monsieur  
Cardinal re-  
corder of  
Gant.

A solemn  
feast held in  
the towne hall.

stee-  
res of  
dome  
D.

onsene  
cas as  
paine

the princes and lords had not their houses there) to go through with his traine on foot, and so entered into the citie of Middleborough in this order. First went the magistrates of the citie with their vnder officers and ministers of iustice. Next went the deputies of the states of Zeland. After them followed diuerse gentlemen of all the three nations, with the deputies of the cities of Zaband, and of the four members of Flanders. Then marched the Swislers after their accustomed fashion; in whose traine were a great sort of noblemen and also gentlemen, of whom the most part were Englishmen of the retinue of the three lords sent thither by the queene. Behind them ensued as it were in one troope together, the prince Dolphin, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lanall, the lord of Hunsdon, the lord Howard, and the rest of the lords. Then came the monsieur himselfe, hauing on his left hand somewhat more than halfe a pace beneath him, the prince of Orange, of whom he alwaies asked some question. After him followed his gard of Frenchmen, and after them the gard of the prince of Orange; and last of all the six ensignes that stood in battell rate without the citie, and ten others which had marshalled the streets vnto the market place, where all the rest of the citizens were imbattelled. Throughout all the streets from the gate to the monsieurs lodging, there were railles, and at euery tenth pace on either side were burning cressets. And so his highnesse and all the nobilitie which accompanied him, passed on, marvelled to see so goodlie a citie in so little an Isle, and so nere to three other good towne, not distant one from another about one league. But most of all they wondered at the beautie of the marketsted, and of the common hall of the citie. His highnesse lodging was verie well and richlie hanged and furnished, considering the small respite that the inhabitants had, so as he was verie well and commodiously lodged, both he and all the princes, noblemen, and gentlemen of all nations that attended vpon him. That euening was passed in feasting, in making of bonfires in the streets, in artificiall fireworks vpon the towers and steeples, and in sounding of trumpets. The next morning the twelve deputies of the four members of Flanders speaking to his highnesse by the mouth of monsieur Maard the recorder of Gant, declared at large the great goodwill of all the people of Flanders towards him, and that like as they had bene of the first that had sent vnto him, so they hoped to be of the first that should yield all humble seruice and subiection vnto him. Wherevnto his highnesse answered verie discretlie, as his custome was. He passed the rest of the time in plaieng at tennis with the prince of Orange, and after with other lords.

The thirtenth daie he had a solemn feast made him in the towne hall, where his highnesse commanded the tables to be prepared of purpose, that he might haue the compaignie of the prince Dolphin, the prince of Orange, the earle of Leicester, the prince of Espinoie, the countie de Lanall, the lord of Hunsdon, and the lord Howard. For the lords of England were highlie regarded & honored euery where, both in respect of his maiestie which sent them, and also for the worthines of their persons. The feast was excellentlie well furnished of all things, & speciallie of tapistrie worke & other deuises of sugar; insomuch that both the Frenchmen and Englishmen confessed, that they had not bene wont to see such manner of seruices in their countries. The fourteenth daie the prince of Orange would needs go see the putting of the ships in a readinesse, which should carrie the monsieur and his traine, which were in number foure and fiftie, and therefore he would haue gone to the foreland of Middleborough. Whereof the monsieur heard

ring would needs go with him. On thursdaie the fiftenth of that moneth, his highnesse went to see the towne of Crimwiden, which is about halfe a league from Middleborough. And vnderstanding that the English lords were gone to see the towne of Ware, (called by strangers Camfer by reason of the passage that was sometime in the towne of Campe which is now drowned) he also took bote and went thither, where all the compaignie was verie well receiued by the inhabitants, notwithstanding that they were taken vnprovidend. The sixteenth daie his highnesse was determined to haue taken ship, but there arose so great a storme, that the mariners councelled him to forbear the sea for that daie: by reason whereof his imbarcking was deferred till the next morrow, at which time his highnesse with all his traine sailed astate. He himselfe was caried in a ship painted all ouer with his owne colours beset with a number of flags and pennils of the armes of Antou. The residue had their accustomed flags so greatlie feared of the Spaniards, belaid with the colours of the prince of Orange. This fleet came that daie against Beerland in the Ile of south Beuceland, where they cast anchor and spent that night there. The next daie being arriued luckilie at Lillo, after manie shot of ordinance from the fort and from the ships of warre which accompanied his highnesse, they did cast anchor againe. He himselfe went aland, and laie that night in the capitains lodging longing for the morning. This fort of Lillo is builded a three leagues beneath Antwerpe vpon the point of a dike or causeie in the parish of Lillo. The place is so commodious, that with a musket a man may easilie shot from the one banke of the riuer Scheld to the other; and by reason that the streame of the riuer and the tide of the sea, which passeth that waie twise a daie, doe make it crooked, that place being occupied by the enimie, might greatlie hinder and annoie the sailing thereof. And therefore the citizens of Antwerpe following the aduise and platforime laid forth by the prince of Orange, bestowed great cost in fortifying that place, which hath a great tower with great bulwarks rampires, and ditches, and is so well strengthened and flanked to the purpose, and hath the water so at commandement, that as now it is not to be wone by any force. The next daie being mondaie, the nineteenth daie of Februarie, his highnesse departed thence to make his entrie into the renowned citie of Antwerpe.

The monsieur  
ships  
painted with  
his owne  
colours.

The fort of  
Lillo.

The monsieur  
preparly to  
make his  
entrie into Ant-  
werpe.

The roiall interteinement of the right  
high and mightie prince, Francis the French  
kings onelie brother, by the grace of God  
duke of Brabant, Aniou, Alanson,  
Berrie, &c, into the citie of  
Antwerpe.

**A**ll great and statelie shewes and assemblies, they that are the authors and setters forth of them, indoeuour to beautifie and commend as much as they can the things which they offer to the sight of those whom they intend to honour, and of those which resort thither from strange places, to delight themselves with the beholding of them. The ancient historiographers describe vnto vs manie great triumphes, and statelie interteinements of emperours, kings, and great capitains, and they forget not to put into their writings the great costliness and charges, and what former else was set forth to the shew, to content the eyes of the beholders. And albeit that neither gold, silver, pretious stones, tapistrie, cloth of silke, fine linnen, diuersities of vessels, nor varietie of paintings were spared, but all such things haue enriched those shewes: yet notwithstanding,

The finest  
show that  
can be made  
what it is.

ding, there is not anie thing that hath yelded greater grace, beauntie, and contentment to such assemblies, than the multitude and brightnesse of armorie and of things pertaining to martiall affaires, as engines, artillery, and shewes of cities and castles beaten downe or taken by force from the enimies. And therefore in the Romane empire (which excelled all the other not onlie in conquests, martiall discipline, and politike order of government, but also in sumptuousnes and roialtie) although infinit numbers of publike games and exercises were exhibited by them being the greatest ioyes of the world, who not onelie spared not anie thing that was in their owne power, but also made the cities and countries, which were anie waie bound vnto them, to send vnto them what soeuer rare and exquisite things they could come by, to serue their turnes in the shewes which they exhibited to the people: yet notwithstanding their triumphes haue so bozned the bell about all the rest, that the word triumphing which cometh thereof, hath bene applied to all high, great, and statelie doings. Not that in their other shewes anie thing was spared, which might content the eyes euen of couetous folke, or satisfie the bloudthirstie harts of such as take no pleasure but to behold the sheading of blood, yea oftentimes of mans blood before their eyes: but in their triumphings nothing was so glorious as the armorie and personages of the great capitaines that had bene conquerors, which thing contented the beholders far more without all comparison. And therefore when men intend to betoken the exceeding huge greatnesse of Rome, they terme it the triumphant Rome, which importeth as much as the rich, wealthie, and victorious Rome, replenished with great numbers of noble capitaines, and valiant souldiours. And this terme is come of the great numbers of triumphs, which were scene there in the times of the Scipios, Paulus, Claudius, Metellus, Pompeius, Celsus, and others. True it is that the other shewes also were verie glorious and beautifull to behold, and did (I wrote not how) tickle the harts of such as were fed with the beholding of their riches and of the infinite numbers of lions, tigers, panthers, beares, and swordplayes incounting one another to the death: but yet the beholding of a goodlie company of men armed in goodlie armour, marching in good order (besides the contenting of the sight, which is far better than to see riches) doth also wonderfulie rauish mens minds, and vnto the beholder into an astonishment, setting him after a sort besides himselfe; and yet neuertheless filling him with a ioy and contentation surmounting all others. For as in the pleasures of the bodie, those seeme greatest which do most alter the senses with their pleasantnes: so fares it also with the delights of the mind, which become so much the greater, when admiration being matched with them, doth also moreouer rauish the vnderstanding, and set a man as it were out of his wits. And therefore when great personages (who can better indige of matters than plaine simple folke) do make discourse of things that are beautifull and desirable to behold: they speake of gold, silver, precious stones, pictures, vessels, tablets, and diuers other exquisite iewels: but yet they passe ouer those things & stand not vpon them. But when they come to talke of faire armour, good horses, and such other things as belong to knightshood and chivalrie: then they make such tariance vpon them, as they hold it for a thing fullie agreed vpon & granted, that in beauntie and glorie nothing is comparable to a goodlie armie.

The triumphs of the  
Romans excelled all their  
other shewes.

Other shewes  
of the Romans  
were gallant.

A comparison  
betweene the  
pleasures of  
the bodie and  
delights of  
the mind.

A question  
undecided touching  
gallant

pointed in bright armour, well flanked with small shot, and with their great ordinance before them: or to see as manie squadrons of horsemen, or else two or three hundred ships furnished with their flags and banners, and ranged in order as if they were ready to giue battell. But as for the rest of all goodlie things, all men are fullie agreed that they come nothing nere to anie of those three, and much lesse do they all at once: as it is reported that at one instant a man might haue scene the great armie of Perres both footmen and horsemen ranged in battell raie: and also the two fleets of the Persians and of the Greeks fighting vpon the sea by Salamine, where by the wisdomme and valiantnesse of Themistocles, the Greeks got that famous victorie of the Persians. In mine opinion that is the cause why the glad receiving and soisall entering of Francis duke of Brabant into the citie of Antwerpe seemed so goodlie and roiall to all such as saw it: in somuch that there hath not bene anie of them which hath not confessed that he neuer saw the like. And yet were there verie manie present at it, as well of the same country as of strangers, which haue scene manie statelie and roiall meetings, both in the same citie and in other cities of the low countries, and also in other great cities of other countries, as Paris, London, Rome, and Lyons: and yet neuertheless the common voice is, that this last hath passed all the rest. And trulie the citie had no more but six daies respite to prepare for it, as I said before: in somuch that they could not put to making anie worke of silke, nor of gold and silver beateh or woven, nor anie imbroderie: no nor in so short time make anie meane apparell new, nor anie rare costlinesse of imageries, pillars, triumphall arches, or other pageants: but were constrained to make a shift with such things as they had in a readinesse aforehand of their owne store.

In other interteiments there haue in deed bene scene great plentie of riches and roialties in attires of kings and queenes, princes and princesses, lords and ladies, citizens and their wiues; but in this interteiment no such were scene: howbeit there was not anie grosenesse, nor ought that might not well become the neatnesse and finenesse of that people, although it came nothing nere the sumptuousnesse of other interteiments. As touching triumphall arches, chariots, portraictures, and such other shewes; although there were manie wittie inuentions and agreeable to the time: yet haue men scene of them in other places, which might match these. And as touching the number of their people, although it was great: yet it is well knowne that Paris exceedeth them in that behalfe. But the onlie reason of this contentment cometh chiefly of the great number of people in armour, being not fewer than twentie thousand, in so good and so faire armour: and of that huge multitude made: in somuch that if it had not bene for the thundering of the canons, and the sounding of trumpets, clarions, halboies, and other instruments, there was no more noise than is among a councell of graue men. What then was in mine opinion the onlie verie cause, which was greatly furthered by their beholding of the monseur of Brabant, who representing the statelinesse of old time, was clothed in a large mantell, with the bonnet of his dukedome vpon his head: so that among that great number of people (which were so well armed, that three of the best cities in chiffer-borne could not shew so manie faire armours of their owne) his highnesse resembled a precious stone or iewell set in fine gold. And because that they which were the beholders thereof (for they could not be curie there,

The report  
that Antwerp  
had so  
wide for this  
triumph  
shew.

Paris for  
multitude of  
people gallie

Monseur of  
Brabant his  
attire and his  
bit.



The cause  
why this re-  
port was  
published in  
print.

The mon-  
sieur  
ledly toward  
Antwerpe.

The reight  
that Antwerpe  
had to pro-  
uide for this  
triumphand  
shew.

The mon-  
sieur  
ledly toward  
Antwerpe.

Parts for  
multitude of  
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The theater  
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ned for the  
mon-  
sieur to  
show himselfe  
vpon to the  
people.

Prince Dol-  
phin, the earle  
of Leicester,  
et.

not see euerie thing will be herie glad to vnderstand  
of the things that so escaped them, and delight their  
minds now with the remembrance of the things  
which they saw before, as they delighted their eyes  
and minds with the beholding of them that daie; and  
strange nations, to whom the fame of that so reno-  
med daies worke is come, will take pleasure to vnder-  
stand the same, whereof they could not be behol-  
ders. Therefore is this booke set forth, for the satisfi-  
ing of all men, and also to make it knowne to a  
number of men (who partlie for eninitie, partlie for  
envie, and partlie for other surmises and mistrusts  
will not beleue it) with what mind and affection the  
prince of Orange, and the other lords and noblemen  
of Brabant, the good cities, and the small townes, and  
namelie the most renowned citie of Antwerpe, haue  
received their new prince and soueraigne lord.

The nineteenth daie of the foresaid moneth in the  
forenoone, the monsieur the duke of Anion departed  
from Lillo and sailed towards Antwerpe, hauing  
in his companie but twentie ships, for the rest had  
gotten to Antwerpe afore, as well to put themselves  
in a readinesse as for other affaires. And he came  
about eight of the clocke nigh to the new towne, and  
passing along by the townes side, lest the foresaid of  
Flanders on his right hand and the towne on his  
left, and passed beyond all the towne and the place  
where the castell was. By the waie he heard all the  
cannons shot off from that part of the towne which sa-  
ceth the river, & from a great number of ships which  
rode at anchor there: and he saw all the shuffles sur-  
nised with men of warre of the citie, well armed,  
who welcommed him with their shot, and were an-  
swered againe by the ships of warre that accompa-  
nied him, conducted by monsieur de Tresson and the  
viceadmirals, and diuerse capitaines of Flushing.  
And so the first foot that he did set on land in Bra-  
bant, was at a village called Biell, which is at the  
canon wharfe at Antwerpe. The states of Brabant,  
the magistrats of the citie, and diuers other states,  
comming in like order on horsebacke to the same  
place with their trumpets, sergeants and heralds, ap-  
parelled in cotes of the armes of Lothier, Brabant,  
and Limbourg, alighted there, and waited on foot  
at the wharfe to receiue his highnesse, and to shew  
him the good will and affection of the states and peo-  
ple. But the ptease of people was so great, which re-  
sisted thither to see the prince, whom they looked for  
to be their duke; and againe there were so manie im-  
pediments in his landing; that it was found better  
for them by the aduise of the prince of Orange to re-  
turne backe, and to tarry for his highnesse vpon a  
theater which was prepared for him.

This theater was set vp towards a corner of the  
castell, and opened towards the citie, so as his high-  
nesse being there, might at one time view both the  
citie and the castell, and behold the counterscarres:  
the deepe ditches full of faire water clere to the ve-  
rie bottome of the chanell, inclosed on either side  
with betwene stone: the great and faire buildings,  
the goodlie walles, beautifull to looke on and verie  
thicke: and the broad rampires garnished with trees  
planted by hand, that it resembled a little forest. The  
monsieur was brought vp to this theater accompa-  
nied with the prince Dolphin the onelie sonne of the  
duke of Spontpauiser: the earle of Leicester, and  
other English lords representing the queene of Eng-  
land: the princes of Orange and Espinoie, the countie  
de Auall, the other English lords, the countie  
de Chateauroux, and a great sort of the barons, lords  
and gentlemen, besides the chiefe magistrats and  
maisters of the companies of the citie of Antwerpe.

The lords of the state of Brabant waiting vpon  
the theater, came dutifullie downe to go and meet

his highnesse: which thing he perceiving, did stand  
still. Then the prince of Orange stepped forth to take  
his place among the states, as one of the chiefe lords  
and barons of the duchie of Brabant. As soone as  
they had saluted his highnesse, and with great hum-  
blenesse kissed his hand, they mounted vp the steps  
againe with him, after whom followed the princes  
and lords of France and of England: and when they  
were come vp above, they ranged themselves on ei-  
ther side. There was set for the monsieur a chaire co-  
uered with cloth of gold, wherein he sat him downe.  
And vpon the theater there was likewise a tranche  
of cloth of gold, and all the theater was covered with  
tapistrie. On the front of the theater on the highest  
part thereof were the armes of the marqueship of  
the holie empire: and a little beneath them on the  
right hand did stand the armes of Brabant with a  
wreath of fruits: and on the left hand stood the armes  
of the citie of Antwerpe. Also there were set vp two  
banners of silke azured with the armes of Anion,  
& in one partition were written these same verses:  
O noble prince, whose footsteps saide  
and gentlenesse preferue:  
Receiue thou here the honour which  
thy vertue dooth deserue.  
That these low countries maie at length  
take breath by meanes of thee,  
And thou a father to vs all  
in name and dooings bee.

After that euerie man had taken his place, and si-  
lence was made, the states of Brabant began their  
oration by the mouth of monsieur de Hesselles doc-  
tor of both the lawes, secretarie to the said states,  
and one of their counsell. The summe whereof was,  
that the barons, noblemen, & deputies of the chiefe  
cities, and of the other good townes, representing  
the states of the duchie and countrie of Brabant,  
hauing now the good hap to see among them and to  
behold face to face the prince, in whom next vnto  
God they had wholie set the hope of their deliue-  
rance, and of the establishing of their ancient rest  
and libertie, did highlie thanke the almightie Lord,  
which had shewed them that fauour: taking it for an  
assured warrant, that he of his infinite goodnesse  
and prouidence, had not forgotten nor forsaken their  
sust quarrell: but had chosen his highnesse to be the  
defender of his people and the administrer of his ius-  
tice: to the end that to Gods glorie, and to his owne  
honour and renowne, the stormes of all troubles,  
& of all other things that annoied their estate, might  
by the beames of his princelie maiestie, wisdom, and  
prowesse be chased awaie; and the brightnesse of  
their former prosperitie heretofore knowne to all  
nations, be made to spring vp & shine forth againe.  
In respect whereof they gaue his highnesse most hum-  
ble thanks for the singular loue and good will, which  
he of his owne onelie motion and princelie disposi-  
tion had vouchsafed to continue towards them vnto  
that instant, notwithstanding all the crosse dealings  
and practises that cunning heads could skill to put  
forth to the hinderance of their affaires, for so much  
as they were not ignorant that for their calamities  
and miseries sakes, nothing could haue fallen in,  
which could haue made moze to the fauour and fur-  
therance of their case. Which thing they had esteemed  
and would esteeme for ever, as a peregelle present  
of his incomparable statenes and rare constancie:  
for the which, and for the great number of his other  
benefits and gracions dealings towards them, they  
were & ener should be bound to acknowledge them-  
selves indebted to his highnesse with all faithfull o-  
bedience, and were readie that daie (by Gods grace)  
to submit themselves to him, as his humble vassals  
and subiects. And although they doubted not but  
that

Kissing the  
monsieurs  
hand.

A chaire of  
estate.

Banners  
with the  
armes of  
Anion.

The summe  
of monsieur  
de Hesselles  
oration to the  
monsieur.

The states  
thankfulness  
signified.

They ac-  
knowledge  
themselves  
indebted to the  
monsieur.

The secreta-  
rie unto the  
States falleth  
to the point of  
the matter.

The king of  
Spaines offi-  
cers full of ty-  
rannicall lord-  
lines and vil-  
lanie.

The cause  
why the States  
of Brabant  
made the mon-  
sieur their  
prince & lord.

that his highnesse did well understand, and was fullie satisfied, not onely of the generall causes which had binuersallie moved the States of the provinces of the low countries together, to sue to him for succour, and to put themselves into his hands: but also of the particular causes, which the States of that ourchie and countrie of Brabant had, to renounce their obedience to the king of Spaine: yet notwithstanding, to the intent to put his highnesse in remembrance thereof, and to confirme that sacred resolution and high enterprise of his, builded thereupon, and moreover to yield some reason of all their doings to the princes and noblemen, and unto the rest of that whole companie, who for the honour of his highnesse were come thither of courtesie, to further the sollemnitie of his intertainment: to the intent that at this his repaire thither, which allwaies was called (sofull) they might offer the more good will and gladnesse of heart: they would saie no more but this, that as long as the dukes of Brabant (speciallie since the falling of that duchie into the hands of the dukes of Burgogonie, and other the famous ancestors of his highnesse) gave themselves unto the governing of their subiects by themselves, thereby making it to appere that they loved them, and were not careless of them; they reaped so great commodities and notable services at their hands, that their names and puissances became oftentimes renowned, yea and sometimes deadly to the greatest monarches, kings, and common-wealths of christendome, whereof their warres and conquests made proof: howbeit that of those things, as of matters familiarlie knowne by the histories, it was not requisite to make discourse in that place and time, which were appointed to greater matters. But after that their dukes and princes either by other allurements, or being withheld in their other countrie and seignories, began to leave them for a time, and afterward at length to forget them, abandoning them to the pleasure and will, and sometimes also to the lust and covetousnesse of their under officers, whereof the king of Spaine had lastlie finished and perfected by the worke, leaving them disinaine as husbandlesse and fatherlesse, utterlie destitute of his presence by the space of twentie yeares; it came to passe, that having altered & changed almost all the whole state of the countrie, and committed the offices to such as by the lawes and privileges of the countrie were not capable of them; or rather to such as would give most for them, and yet the unsatiable covetousnesse, malice, and exercising tyrannicall lordlinesse of the Spaniards being not contented therewith: in the end, when they had abused the whole common-wealth after their owne lust, they grew unto so great pride, that they fell to snatching of the privat goods and substance of the inhabitants, to living upon the labour and sweat of the poore: yea and to ravishing the chastitie of mens wives and daughters: and (to fill up the measure of all abomination and crueltie) they fell to taking awaye the lives, & to sucking the blood of those which fought by all meanes to please them. Whereupon in the end the great and righteous God (who hath a care of his servants) being offended thereat, made that people (who had aforesometimes bene of great valour) to call to mind their former state and libertie: and gave them both will and courage to mainteine the same, in such sort as they had received from their forefathers. Which thing they said could not be better done than by the election which the said States of Brabant, united with the other provinces, had made of his highnesse person to be their prince and lord, of purpose to bring all things backe to their former order; having first sought (howbeit in vaine) for all remedies of their mischiefs, and of the disorders of the

estate, from the causes and wellspringes thereof. Declaring that the dukes in old time had bene of great valour, prowesse, and power; and had made manie renowned voyages and exploits of warre, and that amongst others, they had chosen a duke of Antou heretofore, who had bene equall with the rest in chivalrie & feats of armes; as their conquests and dominions witnessed: that they had had their princes gentle, mild, gracious, familiar, and favourable to their subiects: and that his highnesse had in that behalfe already giuen such proofes of his gentleness, truth, and soundnesse, that to their learning, some ancient duke of Burgogonie was tised to againe unto them. Insomuch that in his chiefe highnesse, they themselves beleaved themselves to have recovered whatsoever good renowne the dukes of Brabant, Antou and Burgogonie could have left unto them. Wherefore, in somuch as there remained no more, but to proceed in the performance of the chiefe worke, which it had pleased the sovereigne God to put into the hands of his highnesse, and of the said States to performe that daie: they on their part were ready and resolute to do him the homage, fealty, dutie, and obedience, which to all subiects and good Christians ought to do to their rightfull princes: of which sort they trusted in God without doubting, that his highnesse was, & that he would promise by sollemn oath unto God so to continue.

Whereunto his highnesse answered in effect, that intending not to hold the States with long talke, but onely to be mindfull of the honor and good will which they had bought to yield to him, in that among so manie other great princes, they had chosen him out to deliver them from the oppression and tyrannie of the Spaniards, and to rule them according to their customes, lawes, and privileges: he thanked them hartlie for it, assuring them that the justt neede and equitie of their case, their honourable dealings in his behalfe, and the love which they had shewed him, had made him to resolve with himselfe to take upon him their protection, and the reestablishing of their ancient libertie, and to hazard therein whatsoever abilitie God had put into his hands, and whatsoever else it should please the king his lord and brother, and the quene of England, of their favour to bestow upon him; yea even to the shedding of his owne blood and the spending of his life.

This done the fore said monsieur Hefels told his highnesse, how it was the custome there, to proclaim openlie before the people in the Dutch tongue the points and articles of the sofull entrance, which the dukes of Brabant are bound to promise and sweare at their admission. Whereupon, when as one held the said articles translated into French, ready to rehearse them point by point after the proclaiming of them in Dutch, forsomuch as the daie was farre spent, and communication had bene had thereof already, by the advice of the prince of Orange, that they should be read but onely in Dutch. Which thing was done by the said monsieur Hefels, with a new preface added to the articles, containing byasie the reasons and causes of that dealing. After the reading of the said articles, it was demanded of his highnesse whether he liked of them, and whether he were contented to be sworne to them, or whether it were his pleasure to be further satisfied of them: Whereupon he said to the prince of Orange, that forsomuch as he had seene the articles, and conferred of them with him as they came by ship out of Zeland, he held himselfe well satisfied with them, and was well contented to sweare unto them. Which speech of his was forthwith proclaimed, and with further declaration, that for their better contentation his highnesse was desirous

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desirous to haue them all knowne, that although the said articles were read but onlie in Dutch, yet would he of his owne good mind, with aduised deliberation and certeine knowledge be sworne vnto them.

Then did the said monsieur Hellsels recite vnto the people in the Dutch tong, the first oth which the dukes of Brabant were of old time accustomed and bound to take for the obseruing of the said articles. Which done, deliuering the booke wherein it was contained to messier Thierre de Leiffeld chancelloz of Brabant, he read the same oth againe openlie in French, & the monsieur spake it after him word for word. Then the monsieur Hellsels taking the booke againe, told the people that the dukes of Brabant made an other second oth to the barons, noblemen, cities, boroughs, & all the inhabitants & subjects of the countie, to be to them a good & iust prince, and not to deale with them after his owne will, nor by waie of rigor, but by law and iustice, & according to their priuileges. Which oth was likewise rehearsed in the Dutch tong, & the booke deliuered againe to the said chancelloz, and the monsieur repeated the oth after him as he had done the first. Then were the mantle and bonnet of the dutchie brought vnto him, which were crimson veluet; the mantle was trailed on the ground, and both of them were furred with powdered ermine turned by verie byode. The prince of Orange told his highnesse, that it behoued him to be appareled in those robes. And then he asked whether he must weare them into the citie: It was answered, yea: and that it was the solemne attire of the princes and dukes of Brabant of old time. Wherevnto when his highnesse had agreed, the prince did first put vpon him the said mantle, and fastening the button thereof, said these words; My lord, you must keepe this button fast closed, that no man may pull your mantle from you. And then he set the bonnet vpon his head, and said vnto him: Sir I praye God you may well keepe this attire, for now you may well assure your selfe that you be duke of Brabant.

Then the said Hellsels told him how the custome required that the states should presentlie be sworne to him againe to yeld him fealtie. Wherevpon he uttered to the people the foine of the oth; and then the said chancelloz required it of the barons, noblemen, and deputies, and they pronounced it after him according to the manner of the former othes, renewing againe their homidge, and promising fealtie and obedience. After the taking of the othes on both sides, as well by the monsieur as by the states of Brabant, while his highnesse was yet still in his robes of estate, the magistrates of Antwerpe commanded their recorder and counsellor maister Wanderingerke to come vp vpon the stage, to make him an offer of the marquesthip of the sacred empire, in the name of the citie of Antwerpe, which thing he did as followeth. Most gracions lord and prince, the markegrau, amptman, boroughmaisters, and skopons, the treasurers, and receiuers, the chiefe burgeses, and quartermaisters, the wardens, and aneients of the handicrafts, together with the counsellors, wardens of guilds, and capitains of the citie, were verie glad when they vnderstood of your highnesse hapie arrivall in the Ile of Walcheren, as they haue caused to be verie largele and with all humilitie and reuerence shewed vnto you, by their deputies sent to your highnesse for the same purpose. But now, forsomuch as they see your highnesse not onlie arrived in the countie of Brabant, but also receiued for duke, and for their prince and lord: their fore-conceiued ioie is greaſtie increased and made fullie perfect, trusting that by this your chinning

there will once insue an end of the desolations, calamities, and miseries, wherinto the countie hath bene brought by the vniust gouernement past, and by the more vniust and wrongfull warre which the enemies held yet still to bring the whole countie to destruction, with all maner of calamities and oppressions which they are able to deuise. And therefore they giue your highnesse most humble thanks for the paines & trauell which you haue vouchsafed to take to come into this countie: yelding infinitelie like thanks vnto God, for that he hath giuen & sent the such a prince, as not onlie is of abilitie and power, but also is verie willing, and well disposed to defend them from all enemies, & to rule and gouerne them with a god policie & iustice, according to the priuileges, lawes, and customs of the countie. For although they be ioined in leaguer with the rest of the states of Brabant, and generallie with all the states of the low counties, & that they haue all entred into armes iointlie together; yet their so doing hath not bene to exempt and withdraw themselves from the iust gouernement of their lord and prince, but onlie to mainteine their ancient liberties, lawes, and priuileges, that being gouerned according to the same, they might liue with all dutifull obedience in god rest, peace, and tranquillitie. The full accomplishment of which their desires, they thinke themselves to haue most hapilie obtained, with it hath pleased God of his infinit grace & mercie to put into your highnesse heart, to take vpon you the soveriegnitie of these low counties, the dukedome of Brabant, the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquesthip of the sacred empire. For seeing that God hath stirred them up so great a prince, the brother of a mightie king; they haue no doubt at all, but that your highnesse will, by Gods grace, find some means to deliuer these counties from the wretched warres wherein they haue bene so long plunged.

The markegrau, amptman, boroughmaisters, skopons, and other members of this citie, thinke it not expedient to repeat the causes of the warre, and the equitie of the case whereon they stand; forsomuch as it hath diuerse times heretofore bene discussed largele enough by the generall estates: and moreover bene notable knowne to the world, and manie waies allowed by your highnesse. Yet againe therefore with all humble submission and reuerence, they thanke your highnesse, that it hath pleased you to agree vnto them, and to promise the maintenance of their priuileges, lawes, and customs: yea and of the articles compiled in the principall composition, and in the totall entrance into the dutchie of Brabant, assuring your highnesse, that the people of the citie of Antwerpe, and of the marquesthip of the holic empire shall be, and continue right humble subjects to you, euen to the spending of their bodies & goods, and what soeuer else they be able to make for the increasing of your honour and glorie. Wherevnto his highnesse answered verie gracionslie, that he thanked those noblemen for their good will and affection towards him; and that he meant to shew them by his doings how desirous he was to gouerne and rule the countie with god policie and iustice. And all this he did at large and with verie great grace. This done, the said Wanderingerke turning himselfe to the people cried with a loud voice, that his highnesse, as duke of Brabant, Alanson, Armoa, Berreie, &c: would be sworne to the citie of Antwerpe, and the marquesthip of the sacred empire, desiring them to praye vnto God, that by that so god and solemne be Godd name might be sanctified, the libertie and prosperitie of the countie procured, and the honour and glorie of the said duke increased.

Then was the oth, which his highnesse should take,

Prunnnn.

read

Two othes  
made by dukes  
of Brabant  
were accus-  
tomed to  
be.

The states  
of Antwerpe  
and other  
places  
were accus-  
tomed to  
be.

The mantle  
and bonnet  
of the dutchie  
of Brabant.

The mon-  
sieur answered  
to the foresaid  
nation.

The mon-  
sieur created  
duke of Spa-  
nia.

The mon-  
sieur promised  
certain to the  
shedding of  
his blood.

The states  
promised their  
fealtie and  
obedience.

An offer of the  
marquesthip  
of the sacred  
empire made  
to the mon-  
sieur.

The monsieur  
is content to  
swear to the  
articles as  
agreed vpon.

The magi-  
strates of  
Antwerpe  
thanked him  
for the mon-  
sieur's giuings.

The sove-  
reignitie of  
what places  
the monsieur  
had vnder his  
ben.

Antwerpe  
and the mar-  
questship pro-  
mised humi-  
ble submission.

The oth that the monsieur should take openlie read to the people.

read openlie to the people in the Flemmish tong by the same Wanderingwercke. Which being done, monsieur the amptman read the same oth to his highnesse in French, and his highnesse made and performed the same in his hands, which the boroughmaster of the towne of Antwerpe held vp, because the receiving of the oth at his hand belonged unto him. Also the said boroughmaster, whose name was sir Philip of Schonehouen, kneeling downe before the dukes highnesse, at the same time gaue him a gilt keie in token of subiection, and that he might dispose of the citie as of his owne: which keie was deliuered againe by his highnesse to the boroughmaster, to whom he said verie graciously, that he assured himselfe, that the said boroughmaster and all the burgeses and inhabitants of the citie, would keepe the citie faithfullie for him, as they had done untill that instant.

A largesse cast among the standers by.

After the finishing and accomplishment of all the said solemnities, the heralds of Brabant and Lothricke (or in the vulgar Brabant, Mallon, Lothier, that is to saie Lotharing, or the true Lorraine) cried with a loud voice, God saue the duke of Brabant. And then sounding the trumpets, they made a largesse, casting a great sort of peeces of gold and siluer among the standers by. These peeces were of two sorts: the one sort had on the one side the image of the monsieur then duke of Brabant: the other sort had on the one side the armes of Anjou & Brabant, and about the verges was written; Francis of France duke of Brabant. On the other side of them all was a deuise of the sunne, with the monsieurs owne inscription, Cheriseth and Chaseth, which is the monsieurs ordinarie posie. Without the towne were three regiments of the citizens, to the number of a three thousand men in order of battell, who made a goodlie shew with their faire armours and their ensignes displayed. And they neuer went out of their place untill all the ceremonies were dispatched, and that his highnesse was gone into the citie. Besides these, there was an infinit number of people in the citie, whereof manie were strangers, who marvelled greatly at these sights, and especiallie the French men, who wondered to see their master in that apparel, and spake diuerslie of it, as to want to be done in matters that are new and erst vnsene. But when they understood how it was the dukelie apparel, and that he wore it as a representation of antiquitie, the like whereof is worn yet still by the electors of the sacred empire in their great ceremonies; they were astonished, and thought him to be a prince of more statelike countenance and maiestie than afoze. In so much that it was said aloud among them, that seeing it was the mantell of the duchie, it should cost the liues of fiftie thousand Frenchmen, before it should be plucked from him againe.

The Frenchmen marvelled at the monsieurs strange habiliments, &c.

The order of the monsieurs entering into Antwerpe.

As soone as the ceremonies were ended, his highnesse came downe from the theater, and mounted upon a white courser of Naples, covered with a cooperison of velvet richlie imbroidered with gold. And so he began to take his waie towards the right renowned and rich citie of Antwerpe, and was conueied along by the counterscarfe, unto the sumptuous and statelike gate, called Heisers gate, or S. Georges gate, whereat he entered into the good citie of Antwerpe in this sort. First marched the two legions of two pursuants with the armes of the citie, after whom followed the trumpets with the armes of Brabant. The first companie was of Almane merchants commonlie called Casterlings, well mounted and well apparelled after the manner of Almane. Next them followed the English merchants in excellent good order, all apparelled in cassocks of blacke

veluet all of one fashion. Then came the coronels and capteins of the citie: after whom followed a great number of gentlemen, as well of the same countrie as of other nations. Behind them went the bodie of the citie, that is to wit, the wickemasters, the wardens, the ancient magistrate, the masters of the wardes, the boroughmasters, deputies, and wardens of the halles, the vssers, the secretaries, the registers, the receiuers and treasurers, the schepons, the amptman, & the two boroughmasters, all apparelled in clokes of blacke veluet, and all of one fashion. After them came the trumpets of the states of Brabant, Lembourg, and Lothier, & after them the states themselves in this order. First went the deputies of the vnder cities. The deputies of the citie of Antwerpe. The deputies of Brussels. Then succeeded the noblemen of Brabant, as the chancellor of Brabant, and about him Lamozaill Egmond brother to the countie of Egmond, baron of Catebecke. A great number of lords of the same countrie, of France, and of England well horsed and richlie apparelled. The Swissers with their drums and fifes. The monsieurs owne household, among whom were intermingled certaine lords of England. Next came the countie de Lauall, hauing on either hand an English lord. The prince of Espinote, hauing on his right hand the lord of Buntodon, & on his left the lord Holward: the prince Dolphin, hauing on his right hand the earle of Leicester, & on his left the prince of Orange: the markegrau of Antwerpe bareheaded, bearing the mace of iustice: the lord Peterston baron of Sperode, taking upon him that daie as marshall of Brabant, and bearing the naked sword before the dukes highnesse: then came the duke himselfe, mounted and apparelled as you haue heard afoze. Next behind the duke followed countie Horice of Passau sonne to the prince of Orange, hauing on his right hand countie Philip of Passau nephew to the said prince, and sonne to countie John of Passau, and on his left hand the lord Schelfeld. His highnesse was guarded by the companies of the guilds, that is to saie, by the ancient brotherhoods of the archers, crossbowes, and harquebussers in goodlie armour, as farther could not be found: these went afoze him and about him on a cluster without order, like snowe deluces upon a roial robe.

Lords of England and France well horsed.

The earle of Leicester on the right hand of prince Dolphin.

The companies of the guilds.

After them followed the gard of Frenchmen on a like heape, and after them the prince of Oranges gard on foot. Then lastlie in verie good order came the twentie ensignes of citizens, which had stood in order of battell without the towne. Over the gate where his highnesse entered, there was a compartement of double worke, wherein was written this title. To Francis the sonne of Henrie the second, and onelie brother of Henrie the third king of France, called by Gods singular prouidence to the souereigne principallitie of the low countries, and to the dukedome of Brabant, and the marqueship of the sacred empire, which God grant to be most happie and luckie vnto him, as to their inuested prince whom they haue most earnestlie wished for, and who as now is, happilie come into this his most serueable citie, his most hartie fauourers. The senate & people of Antwerpe. The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe could not go out of the citie for want of roome to turne in: and therefore it tarried for his highnesse at the gate within the citie. This chariot was called the chariot of aliance: wherein sat a damosell apparelled in satin red and white, which are the colours of Antwerpe: who had in hir left hand a branch of baiera, & on hir head a garland of laurell, in token of victorie against the tyrannies of the king of Spaine, and in token of the deliuerance which the people hoped for by means of their new prince, through his gracious goodnesse.

An inscription congratulatory to the duke.

The chariot of the maiden of Antwerpe described.

The arms of  
the  
marque  
ship of the  
duke of  
Burgundy

On the  
left  
hand

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right  
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Lordes of  
England and  
France well  
offered,

The castle of  
Leicester on the  
right  
hand of prince  
Dolphin.

The compan-  
ies of the  
gambols.

An inscriptio  
congratula-  
rie to the mo-  
narch.

The chariot  
of the maiden  
of Antwerp  
described.

A sample  
carried over  
the mountains  
head.

gambols, faithfulness, discretion, and defense:  
to whom with her other hand she presented the keys  
of the towne, according to the verses written over  
her head, which shall be set below hereafter. Before  
her were the armes of the marqueship of the duke  
emperor. In her right hand was a religion appeared  
like one of the Sybils, holding in her one hand an  
open booke, named the Law and the Gospel: and in  
her other hand a sword: named Gods word: and on  
her left hand was Justice holding a balance and a  
sword in her hand, and over the balance was writ-  
ten, *Veritas* and *Libertas*.

Before the damozell late Concorde, clothed in  
white, purple, and orange taboret, bearing a fan-  
get upon her arme, wherein was painted a crowned  
scepter, with two little snakes; and under them, two  
doves, all closed in with a garland of olife, betoke-  
ning commendable government with providence.  
Upon her head she had a helmet, betokening Wis-  
dome. In her hand she carried a lance, with a pennon  
upon it, on the one side thereof were the armes of  
Antion crowned with olife, and on the other side a  
lambe with a wolfe, and a lion with an ox, to beto-  
ken the great peacefulness that is looked for under  
this prince, as well in religion as in matters of  
state. At Concorde's right hand sat Misfortune, and  
at her left hand Force. In the middle of the chariot  
was a pillar richly made of Corinthian work, upon  
the top thereof was a Hart held betwixt two ar-  
med hands, which hart had two wings, betokening  
Antion, Faith, and Force: and a sword with two  
serpents twisting about it, and holding their tails  
to their eares; signifying Discreet government, and  
eares stopped against flatterers. At the foot of the pil-  
ler was a compartement with the armes of Antion  
and Babant. On the breast of the lion of Babant,  
were the armes of the marqueship of the sacred em-  
pire, and of the citie of Antwerpe. Upon the armes  
was written Attenuement. Upon the corners of the  
chariot were two armed images with mortars on  
their heads, attired in orange white and black. The  
one of them was named Faithfulness, and the other  
Watchfulness. In their hands they had each of them a  
shield, wherein were painted two swords acrosse,  
and two doves with a sheaf of arrowes, betoke-  
ning Union. Upon one of the shields was written,  
Defense: and upon the other, Offense; each of the  
images had a pennon of azure silke: in one of the  
images there was a pelican killing himselfe for his  
young birds: and in the other a hen brooding her chick-  
ens. Over the maidens head were these verses set:

My rulers outrage, wickednesse,  
and furious tyrannie,  
Hau cast me backe these keyes, which I  
had giuen obedientlie,  
Vpon conditions neuer kept,  
O prince of noble fame,  
With better beed of lucke and lot,  
receiue thou now the same.  
Thy godlines and prowesse haue  
of right deserued it.  
O treble happie prince to whom  
these countries doe submit  
Their state! O happie Belgike, O  
most happie like to bee,  
Which vaderneach so great a prince,  
maist now liue safe and free.

Six gentlemen of the citie waited at the gate  
with a canopie of cloth of gold frized, which they af-  
terward unfurled & carried it over the dukes head,  
who went under it into the towne in the foremen-  
tioned order. All the streets from the gate to his lod-  
ging were set on either side with armed men under  
their ensignes with their fifes & drums. The officers

carried gilt targets and speares in their hands: and  
all the rest were armed after the best and goodliest  
manner that could be found. His highnesse proceeded  
forth on to the corner of the street called Galtboois  
street, that is to say, the Spittlehouse street: there  
into came Georges church where was a stone made  
in the likeness of a table, very great and high, which  
was made by one of the companies of their tragi-  
call and comical poets, commonly called amongst  
them rhetoricians. The companie was called Carr,  
or as some others terme it, the Fokeloum, after the  
name of a flower which followeth the sun, & the speech  
of the deuise was, Growing up in vertue. The table  
on table had three compartements or partitions. The  
first was the first booke of Samuell the fifth  
chapter, where Samuell charged Saule with his  
disobedience, & hath a piece of his garment rent off  
by him, in token that the kingdome should be plac-  
ked from Saules house & giuen to a better. Whereby  
was meant, that the sovereignty of those low coun-  
tries was taken from the king of Spaine for his  
abominable perreries, tyrannies, & cruelties. In  
the second compartement was set forth, how Sa-  
muell commanded Ishaie the father of Dauid to  
bring forth his sonnes: of whom God would make  
one the prince of his people, that is to wit, the pong-  
est, which was Dauid. In the third was shewed how  
Dauid being anointed fought with Goliath, and o-  
uercame him. The title or superscription was a he-  
brigan worke, wherein were written these verses:

As God bereauing Saule of crowne and mace,  
Did dispossesse him of his kingdome quight,  
And after set vp Dauid in his place:  
So now likewise dispatching from our sight,  
The tyrans which oppressed vs by night,  
He giueth thee (O noble duke) the reine  
Of these our countries, ouer vs to reine.

The front and crest being garnished with banners,  
scutcheons of armes, crests and torches, carried the  
dukes deuise, Cherisheth and Chasteth. And at the foot  
of the table late Discord closed up in a prison of lat-  
tisswooke, where she was tormentted with belhounds  
and serpents; and there were these verses following:

Alas! when God Cherisheth aie,  
Doth Chasteth all ire and wrath awaie.

His highnesse passing forth still beyond the place  
called the Akerwaistlet, came to the street named  
Bywetter street, that is to say, the chandeliers street,  
where was an other stately pageant with armes,  
torches, and crests, made by an other companie of  
the rhetoricians, called pair fetts or violers, who had  
for their deuise, knit together by singleness. In this  
pageant was painted the neere alliance of Dauid  
and Ionathas: to betoken the firmnesse of the oth  
mutuallie made by his highnesse & the states of Ba-  
bant; and the magistrats, members, colonels, and  
captains of the citie of Antwerpe. In this table was  
written in a compartement of hebrigan worke:

Like as the faithfull Ionathas  
did promise to defend,  
Good Dauid from the harmes which Saule  
against him did intend:  
So keepe thou vs (O gracious prince)  
which loue to liue in rest,  
Against the tyrans by whose force  
we haue bene fore oppress.

Then went he further to the end of the street, where  
the byholders thops are, which part was full of bur-  
ning torches & barrells of burning pitch, and so came  
to the Sperebridge. At the entering thereof stood an  
oliphant bearing a castell of stone with soldiers and  
artillerie. Before the oliphant were painted the  
armes of the marqueship and of the citie, and be-  
hind, a speare with a banner of taffete, with the  
P n n n n n g. armes

There is the  
likenesse of a  
table borne  
great and  
high, &c.

The signifi-  
cation of the  
dukes com-  
pany: the  
king of Spaine  
and the re-  
gents.

A stately pa-  
geant made  
by the  
present pair  
of violers.

An oliphant  
bearing a cas-  
tell of stone  
with soldiers  
and artillerie.



armes of Antou in a wreath of laurell, and foure o-  
ther bannerets of crimsin taffeta, pulled out, wherein  
were painted the hands of Antwerpe, with this poe-  
sie: Cheritheth and Chafeth. And vpon his side of  
his bellie were these verses manifestlie written:

Whome light of Phebec heretofore did lead,

I now am drawne awaie,

Her brothers beames to follow in hir stead,

A farre more certeine staie.

I thinke my change right gainefull, sith I see,

These lower countries vnder him to bee.

From the Sperebridge he went along the Spere-  
street, untill he came to the ward, where were foure  
companies ranged in order of battell. From thence  
he passed to the corner of Clare street, where was a  
stage made by a compaigne of rhetoricians called the  
Disse branch, who had for their posie, Behold grace.  
Upon this stage sat a damsell named Antwerpe,  
bearing in hir bosome a pretie daughter called the  
Knowledge of God: who held a coffer wherein were  
priviledges, lawes, franchises and truth: which were  
kept by the Grace of God, and by Providence, Wis-  
dome, Faithfullnesse, Diligence, Loyaltie, Per-  
seuerance, Unitie, God heed, and Order. And aloft  
was a compartement of Hyppitan worke (verie  
artificiallie handled) wherein were these verses:

O prince, our father, hope of helpe and staie:

Dame grace, Gods impe, whom here thou seest to

From top to toe faire clad in white araie, (stand,

With branch of olife in hir heauenlie hand:

Hath willed thee to harbor here within

The statelie walles of ladie Antwerpe, and

The loue of hir with endlesse fame to win,

By curing of hir griefes with law and right,

And ecke by putting of hir foes to flight.

Somewhat lower towards the midd, was Peptu-  
ne with his threethimed mace, riding ouer waues  
vpon a dolphin, & on his left hand were these verses:

Gods heauenlie grace, and soothfull skill,

reuiuing Antwerpe new,

Through chare defense of faithfull leaguc

haue kept hir safe, as dew

To thee hir duke innobled both

by father and by brother,

Both kings of France, tone gone to God

long since, still reigning tother.

And therefore bend thou now thy wits,

by rightfull force to wreake

Hir cruell foes, which did so oft

their leagues through falshood breake.

He passed from Clare street thorough long Slew  
street to Saint Katharins bridge, right ouer against  
Crosse street, where was a triumphall arch cunning-  
lie painted and builded of white stone, which was  
garnished with his highnesses armes, and with tor-  
ches and cressets, and with musike of holbotes and  
clarions. And on the top of it was written: To the  
happie comming hither of Francis, onelie brother  
to Henrie the third, sonne to Henrie the second,  
grandchild to Francis the first, now inuested duke  
of Brabant, the prince that hath most depelie deser-  
ued of this their countrie, as a father of the same:  
The senat and people of Antwerpe. Underneath this  
in an other compartement of Hyppitan worke, was  
written this: At length yet hinder not this impe to  
bring the wrooping world againe vnto some re-  
dresse. In passing thorough the short Slew street, & by  
the marketstee, he turned toward the Copers street  
in the street called Chafelane to the great market  
place, which was full of torches of war, and of barrels  
of pitch vpon long poles vp to the highest win-  
dowes, which commonlie are five stories high. In  
this market place were imbattelled six ensignes,  
with the ensigne of the youth which was vnder a

greene standard, all in the best armor that was to be  
seene in anie place of the world. In the middelt of the  
citizens was the great giant the founder of the citie  
of Antwerpe, whose curace was azure, and his ap-  
parell tawnie white and graie. He bore banners of  
azure with the armes of Antou, & had these giantlike  
speeches cōteined in these verses, written before him:

Fierce furie, moodie rage, vnbrield ire,

Stout force, hot violence, cruell tyrannie,

Nought booted me, ne furthered my desire:

In keeping of my wished souereignie.

The surest waie for kings to gouerne by,

Is mildnesse matched with a prudent mind,

To vice seuer, to vertue meeke and kind.

For oft the calme and quiet gouernance,

Brings things to passe which violence could not win:

Fierceneesse that caie will nought at all aduance,

By mildnesse shalt thou better hold folke in:

Outragious storming is not worth a pin,

By mine example therefore haue a care,

All cruell dealings vtterlie to spare.

Behind the giant were written these verses:

See you this orped giant here,

so huge of limme and bone?

Fame saies that Antwerpe was sometime

athrall to such a one.

This giant was made by cunning to turne his  
face towards the duke as he passed by, and to let fall  
the armes of Spaine which he held in his hand, & to  
put by the armes of Antou. Also there was a stage in  
the same market place before the towne house, full of  
nymphs & vertues. But forsomuch as it serued chief-  
lie for the daie of his taking of his oth in the citie of  
Antwerpe, which was the 22 daie of that moneth: it  
shall be spoken of more at large hereafter. His high-  
nes departing out of the market place, toke his waie  
towards the street called the High street, and when he  
came to the street called the old Conemarket, there  
was a whale carieng Neptune naked with his thre-  
forked mace in his hand, which betokened the great  
commodities which the citie of Antwerpe receiued  
by the sea and by the river Schelt. Before this mon-  
ster was an other naked man, and by him two other  
portraictures, the one of nauigation, and the other of  
merchandise, with a booke of accounts, and a purse,  
such as the factors doe carie with them when they go  
to receiue monie. Before this Neptune, in a com-  
partement, were written these verses following:

The lordship of the seas to thee

the destinies behigh:

In signe whereof I Neptune yeeld

this mace as thine of right.

That Antwerpe hauing rid all lets

by thee on sea and land,

Maie once inioie hir wished fruit,

and safe from perill stand.

His highnesse kept on his waie through the High  
street, to a place where sometime was the gate called  
St. Johns gate, which was beaten downe the yere  
before: in stead whereof there was a triumphall arch  
of Ionian worke. This arch was whole applied vnto  
his highnesse owne posie Cheritheth and Chafeth.  
On high ouer it was strained a couering after the  
maner of a round vault, wherein was painted the  
sun: & vnder the sun was painted the sea with ships,  
and the earth clad with hir verdure. Also there ap-  
peared a cloud on both sides: so as the light of the  
sun shined forth and yeld out his force to the earth.  
On the outside of the bowling of the arch were pain-  
ted three goddesses: namelye Flora, who held hir  
soutes in hir hand: Ceres, who had hir cornes: and  
Dionia, who held a home stozed with abundance  
of all things. Likewise the earth was clad with  
greene trees, fruits, and fields, replenished with all  
fruitfullnesse: which thing came to passe by the heat  
and operation of the sun, which was betokened by  
this word Cheritheth. On the other side being the left  
hand,

A damsell re-  
presenting  
Antwerpe  
holding a cof-  
fer of priuile-  
ges, &c.

A cunning  
device of a  
giant turning  
his head.

A whale cari-  
eng Neptune  
tune & what  
betokened.

A triumphall  
arch diuerslie  
garnished.

An arch whole-  
lie applied to  
the monie  
owne posie.

Cheritheth  
hand,

Chafeth.

The mon-  
strous polie  
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other.ing  
if a  
urning  
d.ale cat-  
p-  
what b  
ined.The ome-  
ments of the  
my aloft.A monstrous  
lozholle of  
twentie foot  
high, & what  
signified.arch whow  
plied to  
nonleues  
ie polie.

herifeth.

hand, were drie and barren fields, the aire enerie  
where lowing and cloude, and the trees and plants  
withered: which thing was done by the three hel-  
bonds, Discord, Violence, & Tyrannie, who fled a-  
maie at the sight of his highnes, according to the sig-  
nification of his other word, Chafeth. On an other  
side stood the same polie againe, Cherifeth and Cha-  
feth, by an other meane.

At the right hand ouer the word Cherifeth was  
a great field well tilled, with a husbandmans house  
upon it. The husbandman himselfe being apparelled  
after the French fashon was sowing of corne, and  
an other by him was spreading of mucke. At the  
left hand was written the word Chafeth, on which  
side also was painted a French capteine in armoz  
following his allies, confederats, and souldiours: to  
do men to vnderstand, that by the treaties, leagues,  
and agreements made with the dukes highnesse, all  
tyrannie, violence, and discord should be chased a-  
waie; and that by the beames of that sun, the coun-  
trie should receiue all peace, prosperitie, and abun-  
dance. Upon the forefront were these verses painted:

Like as the rising of the sun  
doth chase the night awaie,  
And with his kindlie heat  
the ground well cherifeth aie:  
Euen so thy comming (noble prince)  
doth chase all tempests quite,  
And folke with cheerefull hope  
offredome much delite.

This arch was imposed aloft with scutcheons of  
the armes of Aniou, compassed about with branches  
of olive, all upon azure. Also there were diuerse o-  
ther scutcheons, whose field was gules bordered with  
argent, and a great number of burning torches. And  
the said arch was furnished with diuerse instru-  
ments of musike, and the musicians themselves  
were clad in the colours of the citie. His highnesse  
passing vnder this triumphall arch, came to a place  
called the Dwure, that is to saie, the banke, where  
were two companies imbattelled, armed like all the  
residue. And so passing by the ward there, he went  
to the place that is right ouer against the mint: be-  
fore the which there was a huge and monstrous sea-  
horse of twentie foot high, upon whom sat a nymp  
called Concord, bearing a shield wherein was pain-  
ted a booke and a rod, which was named, the Rule of  
truth. In hir hand she bare a flag, wherein was writ-  
ten, Faithfull alliance. This monster of the sea was  
named Tyrannie, and he had a byble in his mouth  
with double reines of iron chained called Law and  
Reason. Whereby the dukes highnesse was done to  
vnderstand, that he as a true Hercules was to deli-  
uer that countrie from all tyrannie, and afterward  
to gouerne it by iustice and reason.ouer against  
the mint gate, where the street is narrowest, were  
two obeliskes or round spires, and betwene them  
a triumphall arch with his pillars of Corinthian  
wooke, gilded and enriched with his releefe vnder  
him. Upon the forefront were his highnesse arms,  
and likewise on the sides were other armes, with  
banners, torches, and crests. Under the armes of  
his highnesse were written these verses following:

Full mightie is that common weale,  
and in a happie case,  
And blest with all commodities  
through Gods most heauenlie grace,  
Where prince behaues himselfe as head,  
and commons him obeie  
As members, either carefullie  
regarding others staie.

From this triumphall arch vnto the palace, that  
is to wit, all along saint Michaels street, which is a  
mile in length, stood on either side thre score and ten

pillers, with a space of tno and twentie foot betwene  
piller and pillar. Euerie pillar was twelue foot high,  
and upon the pillars was a continuall tartar, & on  
enerie ech other pillar was a crest: and on the pil-  
lers betwene were the armes of Habant, Anio, and  
Antwerpe, diuided according to the spaces be-  
twene the said pillars. And the pillars were crested  
about with garlands of iuie. On the side of the street  
towards the palace was a pageant with banners,  
torches, and pyramides; upon the uppermost part of  
one of the sides thereof was a crane, and upon the o-  
ther side a cocke: giuing knowledge as well to the  
heads as to the members, that watchfulnesse is  
needfull. A little spantell betokening faithfulnessse,  
& a little lambe betokening peace, were painted ac-  
companyed with the symbols, which represented wise-  
dome, loue, faithfulnessse, obedience, vertue and ho-  
nor, without the which no true peace can continue.  
And all these were guided by the light of the holie  
ghost, which was resembled by a certeine brightnesse  
that discovered the chiefe instruments of discord,  
namelike Enuie and Slander, who peered out behind,  
Enuie gnawing hir owne heart, and Slander ha-  
ving double heart, double tong, and double face,  
howbeit with small effect. For on the two sides of  
this pageant were two counterfets, on the one side  
Hercules, & on the other Dauid, as it were in copper,  
having gotten the upper hand of Goliath, betokening  
strength and stoutnesse: and vnderneath was Con-  
cord, who held Discord in a chaine with collars about  
his necke: which Discord offering with his one hand  
an apple of gold, and with his other hand threatening  
men with his force and tyrannie, was yet neuer the-  
lesse dyuen into the dungeon of sorow, where he is  
kept prisoner by Concord, who keepeth the doze fast  
shut: betokening the same thing which the countrie  
looketh for at his highnesse hand according to his po-  
tie Cherifeth and Chafeth. Upon the forefront of the  
compartement made of Hygyian wooke were these  
verses following painted out in most liuelie forme:

O let the earth the kissings sweet  
of peace and iustice see,  
And let hir powre hir riches forth  
in all mens bosoms free:  
Let godlines and faithfulness  
go matched arme in arme,  
And let the bond of endles loue  
keepe all things knit from harme.

Before the duke came at saint Michaels, where  
the palace was prepared for his highnesse, the daie  
was so farre spent, that they were faine to light vp  
their crests & torches, which cast so great and cleere  
a light through the whole towne, that the dukes high-  
nesse, and the princes and lords which accompanied  
him, and likewise the souldiours with their glistering  
armoz, were seene more cleerlie than at anie time  
of the daie. And as the multitude of people was ve-  
rie great in the citie, so the nener that his highnesse  
drew to his palace, the greater still did the number  
grow. So at length the duke of Habant and An-  
iou entred into his palace in the order afore mentio-  
ned, hauing mozeouer a two or thre hundred as well  
of offenders as of banished folke which followed him  
bareheaded and fettered, craving mercie. The he-  
raids did cast peces of gold and siluer abroad, as  
they had done at the meetings of all the streets as  
they passed through them. At the entrie of the pa-  
lace was an arch of twentie foot high, resting upon  
thre pillars of Hygyian wooke; and upon the top  
thereof was a compartement where in were the thre  
graces, that is to wit, Vertue, Glorie, and Honor,  
who offered vnto his highnesse an olive branch, in to-  
ken of peace, a laurell bough in token of victorie, and  
a crowne which was sent him from heauen. And  
p n n n n. ly. vnder

Thre score  
and ten pil-  
lers, with a  
space of two  
and twentie  
foot betwene  
each.

Proper em-  
blems and  
their mean-  
ings.

Enuie and  
Slander.

Concord hol-  
ding Discor-  
d in a chaine, &c.

Light with  
torches and  
crests as  
cleare as the  
mone daie.

Thre graces  
Vertue, Glo-  
rie, and Honor  
in a compara-  
tment.

under the compartement were written these verses:

O prince whose merits passe his praise,  
whose vertues haue no peeres,  
Whose mind surmounts his fortune far,  
whose thews exceed his yeeres:  
Take gentlie heere this oliue branch,  
this laurell bough and crowne,  
Three presents giuen thee by three nymphs,  
and sent from heauen downe.

¶ The oth made by Francis duke of Brabant to the members of the right renowned cite of Antwerpe, and the oth made by them againe vnto his highnesse.

Twentie or thirtie thousand harquebuses shot off.

The duke of Brabant being come into his palace, caused a peale of a twentie or thirtie thousand harquebuses to be shot off, and then all the companies (saying those which were to watch that night) began to withdraw themselves appaile. Which thing was done in such order and with such silence, that in lesse than halfe an houre all the cite was disarmed; after which maner they had also armed themselves in lesse than an houre without ante noise in the morning. The princes also and the lords withdrew themselves to their lodgings, and then was all the great ordinance of the towne shot off twise, as it had bene at the dukes first comming to the cite, that all the towne seemed to be on fire. Crests were lighted and fires made for ioie through all the streets and meetings, waics, and vpon the steeles, in so great number and so continuallie, that all the night resembled the daie: in so much that when they that were without the towne looked vp into the skie, they thought the element was all on fire. These bonafires continued euerie night untill the next thursdaie; on which daie his highnesse took his peculiar oth to the towne of Antwerpe, in doing whereof these solemnities ensuing were obserued. The smytman, boroughmasters, and skepons of Antwerpe came to the said palace of S. Michaell the next thursdaie being the two and twentieth daie of the same moneth: at which place they made humble sute vnto his highnesse, that as he had vouchsafed to giue his oth to the states of Brabant and the marquesdome of the sacred empire, and likewise to receiue theirs; so it might please him to giue his oth that daie peculiarlie to the cite of Antwerpe, and likewise to take theirs at the place of old time accustomed. Wherevnto when the duke had assented, they took their waie in the same order that had bene obserued at his entring into the towne; saying that the lord Edward de Castro ambassadoe for Don Antonio king of Portugall, was that daie in the latter companie of the princes and lords. And so they marched along the said street of saint Michaell to the great market-  
60

The night resembled the daie.

Solemnities used whiles the monseigneur was taking his peculiar oth to Antwerpe.

Two pageants, one of mount Parnassus, and the other a mossie rocke.

sted, where the sumptuous common house of the cite is. And bicause that on the daie of his entrance in, it was not possible for him to take a perfect view of all the shewes, by reason that the night ouertooke them, they were presented vnto his highnes againe, as well in the place before the mint, as in other places. Also there were two pageants more prepared, which were deuised both in one daie; the one was mount Parnassus whereon sat Apollo appaelled like the sun, and accompanied with the nine muses playing vpon diuerse kinds of instruments, and with sweet voice singing a certeine ditie together written in commendation of his highnesse. This pageant was in the street called the High street, ouer against the street named Keiner street. Right ouer against this pageant was an other on the side of the street called the Flar market, which was a mossie rocke overgrown with oxie and withered trees, wherein appeared a caue verie hideous, darke, and dierie to behold, & in the same laie lurking the three hellhounds, Discord, Violence, and Tyrannie: who feeling Apollos beames, and hearing the sweetnesse and harmonie of the voices and instruments, shooke alwaie and hid themselves in the deepest of the dungeon, and afterward peered out againe to harken whether that melodie and harmonie continued still or no, minding to haue come forth againe, and to haue troubled the common wealth, if the same had ceased.

His highnesse passed on, and with verie much adom came to the great market place, by reason of the infinite multitude of people, which could not be put asunder without great paine. As soone as he was alighted from his horse, he went vpon a scaffold which had bene set vp for the same purpose, in the midst of the market place hard by the towne house; before whome went the magistrate of the cite, and a great number of princes, lords, and gentlemen. This scaffold being great and large of the height of fortye foot, was hanged with scarlet. Upon it was a cloth of estate, the backe whereof was cloth of gold frized, under the which was a chaire of the same. The daie of his first comming thither, there had bene presented vnto him on the right side, Wisdom offering him a golden scepter: on his left side, Justice offering him the sword of iustice from about the chaire: and behind him Clemencie offering him the cap of the dukedome. Before the chaire as it were at the foot of it, were Obedience, Faithfulness, Love of God, & Reuerence. And by the chaire sides there were with them, Concord, Sagenesse, Aliantnes, Good will, Truth, Pitifulnesse, Perseuerance, and Reason, of whome two on either side held ech of them a torch of virgin war, & they were all appaelled like nymphes. But on this daie when his highnesse went vp to this stage, the nymphes were auaie; and in stead of them, the chaire was garnished on both sides with pillars. On the right side betwene the pillars was a lion holding a naked sword, to betoken the authoritie of the magistrate. Above the lion was an eagle feeding hir young, and turning hir selfe towards the shining of the sunne, as taking hir force of the prince. On the left side was an ox with a yoke on his necke, and about him a hen brooding hir chickens, and by hir a cocke. The ox with his yoke signified obedience: and the cocke and the hen betokened the watchfulnesse, care, and defense of the supertor. The said scaffold was garnished with banners of azure beaten with the armes of Anjou, and with banners of gewoles beaten with the armes of Antwerpe, and with crests and torches. And about among the armes were written these verses in verie faire & legible letters:

At length thou art come,  
and ioifull we bee,  
Thy presence long look for  
here present to see.

1 Of triumphs, though statelie,  
kings boast but in vaine,  
Vnlesse they by iustice  
vprightlie doo raine.

2 Nought booteth law, authoritie,  
or sage forecast of wit,  
Vnlesse to lawfull gouernement  
folke doo their force submit.

3 God, God is he the harts of kings  
which holdeth in his hand,  
He, He it is that highest things  
dooth make too fall or stand.

When he with gracious looke beholds  
a people: they inioy  
A goodlie ruler, vnder whom  
no troubles them annoy.

A scaffold hōg with scarlet and richlie adorned.

A chaire of estate of cloth of gold frized.

Beantshall emblems about the chaire of estate, & what they signified.

1 A little under, at the right hand under the armes of Brabant, were these verses.

2 On the left hand under the armes of Antwerpe was written thus.

3 This was written somewhat lower.

But

But if misliking make him frowne,  
then makes he them a preie  
To tyrants, vnder whom they tast  
of sorrow euerie daie.

Sanctified and  
condemned  
men in fetters  
drawing mer-  
cie pardoned.

Scaffold hog  
ith scarlet  
id richlie  
orned.

Chair of  
state of cloth  
& gold frized.

All promises  
kept on the  
monseurs  
part, they  
could doe no  
hille.

Beautiful  
emblems a-  
bout the  
chaire of e-  
state, & what  
they signified.

The mon-  
seurs ready  
to take his oth  
of the magi-  
strate & people  
of Antwerpe.

1 A little  
under, at the  
right hand  
under the  
armes of  
Bzabant,  
were these  
verles.

2 On the left  
hand under  
the armes of  
Antwerpe  
was writ-  
ten thus.

3 This was  
written some  
what lower.

God success  
wished to the  
counsell oth-  
ers.

From this scaffold he might behold before him  
an infinit number of people, ready to be sworn vn-  
to him : and also three companies of banished and  
condemned men in fetters, and bareheaded, cra-  
ving mercie at his hand, which was granted vn-  
to them. Whereouer all the houses about the market  
stead had cressets burning on high before them. Now  
then, after that some and silence was made, their  
counsellors and recorder Wandertwerke propounded  
the matter as followeth. Right gracious lord and  
prince, the markegrau, the amptman, the borough-  
masters, the skippers, the treasurers, the receivers,  
the old deputies, the chiefe burgesses, the quarterma-  
sters, the wardens, the ancients of the handicrafts,  
the colonels, the wardens of the guilds, and the cap-  
taines of the citie, your highnesses most humble and  
obedient subiects, are exceeding glad to see that you,  
whome they haue already received for duke of Bza-  
bant, and for their soueraine lord and prince, are  
ready to make your oth vnto this citie, and to re-  
ceive it at the hand of the magistrats, burgesses and  
citizens thereof, in respect of the citie it selfe, and of  
the markegrau of the sacred empire : assuring  
themselves that your highnesses will be vnto them a  
god, righteous, and lawfull prince, to gouerne them  
according to their franchises, lawes, and customes :  
and promising mutuallie on their behalfe to your  
highnesses, to be good, loiall, and faithfull subiects vn-  
to you, to spend all their goods, yea and their liues  
in your seruice, and in the maintenance of your  
dignities, rights and preheminences. And like as  
God hath put into your highnesses mind, to take vpon  
you, first the protection and defense, and secondlie the  
whole soueraintie of the low countries and prouin-  
ces, which haue entered into league with you, vpon  
hope that the same God will of his gracious god-  
nesse and mercie so blesse and prosper your dealings  
and enterprises : as that they shall out of hand see the  
effect of that communication in the best degree, to  
the accomplishment of your roiall and heroicall de-  
sires, both in the generall, and also in the particular  
deliuerance of the countrie from the calamities and  
miseries of war : whereby they shall haue the better  
cause to acknowledge the great good turnes and be-  
nefits receiued at your highnesses hand, and to hono-  
r, loue, and serue you, as the verie protector of the land  
and father of their countrie.

When Wandertwerke had made an end, and the  
dukes highnesses had answered him conformable to  
that which he had spoken without the towne, the said  
Wandertwerke told the people alowd, that the duke  
was ready to take and receiue his oth, at the hand of  
the magistrats, and of all the people and inhabitants  
of the citie of Antwerpe : and that God had vouchsa-  
fed to send them a prince of so rare and heroicall ver-  
tues, of so great puissance, and the onelie brother of  
so great a king; that they might well hope, that the  
same God would enable him to rid these countries  
within a while from the great number of calamities  
and miseries wherewith they were oppressed. And for-  
somuch as his highnesses had bene receiued with so  
lemne deliberation of the states confederate, yea  
and with solemne resolution of all the members of  
that citie, and God had commanded men to loue, ho-  
nour and obey their princes : he exhorted the people  
to yeld him all humble obedience according to  
Gods commandement. To which intent, the oth as  
well which his highnesses should make to the people,  
as which the people should make to his highnesses,  
should be read vnto them; praising God to giue such

grace vnto his highnesses, as he following the same,  
might well rule and gouerne; and vnto the burgesses  
and citizens of Antwerpe, as they might performe  
their obedience, like good, loiall, and faithfull sub-  
iects : that Gods name might be sanctified, to the be-  
nefit, prosperitie, and safeguard of the citie, and to the  
great increase of the dukes puissance, honour, and  
glorie. Then the same Wandertwerke read the oth  
which was to be made by the duke, with the stile of  
the duke of Bzabant, and all his other titles. Which  
oth was read to his highnesses in French, and recei-  
ued by sir Philip Schonehouen, lord of Maneroe,  
boroughmaster without the citie.

Which being done, the said Wandertwerke read the  
oth which the magistrats and people were to make,  
which was repeated word for word by the magistrats  
and a great number of people which were within the  
hearing of it. And this oth was enacted of the ma-  
gistrats and people of Antwerpe by the amptman  
in the name and by the commandement of the duke.  
Upon the finishing of these solemnities, the duke  
himselfe did cast two or three handfuls of gold and sil-  
uer among them, & then the heralds cried A larges,  
and the trumpets and drums were sounded euerie  
where, and manie instruments of musike were plai-  
ed vpon, as had bene done afore at his first arrivall.  
When he was come downe from the scaffold, he  
went to the townehouse with all the princes, lords,  
and gentlemen, which were verie manie : where he  
was receiued by the worshipfull of the citie, and di-  
ned openlie at a verie sumptuous and roiall feast pre-  
pared for him : and so that daie passed in great ioy,  
contentation and admiration, as well of his high-  
ness & his companie, as of all the rest of the people.  
Towards night were shot off two peales of great  
ordnance againe, and the fires of ioy were conti-  
nued much greater, and more in number than afore.

Thus ended the iollull and roiall interteinement  
of the right noble prince Francis, sonne and brother  
to the king of France, by the grace of God duke of  
Bzabant. The rest of the weeke and the daies follow-  
ing, the lords of the priuie counsell, the officers of the  
aides, of the exchequers, of the chambers of the ac-  
counts, and of the other copozations, colleges, and  
communalities came to visit his highnesses, and to offer  
him their humble seruice, promising all faithfulness  
and obedience : all whome he receiued verie grati-  
oullie to their contentation, answering them so ad-  
uisedlie, with so good grace & fitnessse, without omit-  
ting anie point of that which he had purposed : that  
all men not onelie wondered at him, but also were  
inforced to honour and loue him, and to set forth his  
praises among the people. Finally the deputies of  
the reformed churches of both the languages, being  
presented vnto him by the prince of Orange, were  
gentlie heard, and they spake to him as followeth.

Sir, we be sent vnto your highnesses by the refo-  
med churches of this citie, as well of the language  
of low Dutchland, as of the French; to shew vnto  
you with all humilitie, reuerence and subiection, that  
we haue thanked and still doe thanke God with all  
our hart, for vouchsasing to bring your highnesses so  
happilie hither. And this our ioy is matched with the  
ioie of all other folks, as we hope your highnesses  
hath vnderstood by the glad and iollull receiuing and  
interteining of you. Also sir we hope, that as the  
great honour and felicitie which these countries haue  
attained vnto (wherein few countries are able to  
match them) haue bene purchased vnder the soue-  
reignitie and gouernement of the right renowned  
princes, the dukes of Burgognie, which issued out of  
the most noble house of France : so vnder your gui-  
ding and gouernement being of the same house, the  
ancient renowne of the same dignitie shall be reco-  
uered

The mon-  
seurs oth red  
in French.

The mon-  
seurs oth red  
large of  
gold & siluer  
among the  
people.

Two peales  
of great ordi-  
nance with o-  
ther signes of  
iay.

What was  
done by the  
state of  
countrous du-  
tie when all  
the triumphs  
were ended.

Dukes of  
Burgognie  
issued out of  
the house of  
France.

Under whom  
the state hath  
bene auan-  
ced.

Philip duke  
of Burgonie  
furnamed the  
hardie.

Duke John  
the second,  
and Philip  
the second,  
aduancers of  
the state.

Philip the se-  
cond a verie  
rich prince,  
furnamed  
Philip the  
good.

He directeth  
his speech to  
the monseur.

It saie moued  
to the monseur.

Francis the  
monseurs  
grandfather  
commended.

nered by your proffesse, and maintained by your  
wisdom. It is little more than three hundred yeres  
ago, that these countries being gouerned by sundrie  
dukes, earles, and lords, had not attained the re-  
notome which other nations haue since that time so  
much wondered at. The first that began to giue in-  
crease to it was Philip duke of Burgonie, furna-  
med the hardie, who was brother to king Charles  
the first, the sonne of king John, and grand sonne of  
king Philip of Claiols: of which kings your highnes  
is lineallie descended from the father to the sonne.  
For the first duke of Orleans, of whose your high-  
nesse is lineallie descended from the father to the  
sonne, was the sonne of king Charles the first; and as  
now there be no more betres males of the said duke  
of Orleans, but onelie your highnes and the king  
your brother. Whereby it falleth out, that the dukes  
of Burgonie are great vncles to your highnes by  
the fathers side. And therefore we doubt not but you  
will follow the footsteps of their vertues, in restoring  
the state of the countie to hir ancient renomme  
and dignitie: and also mainteine and increase the ho-  
nour whereunto it hath bene aduanced, by those no-  
ble princes your vncles.

The second duke under whom this state hath bene  
greatlie aduanced, was John the second: neuerthe-  
lesse it came not to full perfection, untill the time of  
Philip the second. In which perfection it was main-  
teined by Charles the last duke of Burgonie so long  
as he liued. The said Philip the second, to whom the  
honour of stablishing that state most peculiarie be-  
longeth, was one of the most knightlie and valiant  
princes of his time. He wan the victorie in nine  
foughten fields, in most of the which he was put to  
the triall and hazard of his person, by fighting with  
his owne hands. He was a verie sage prince, and  
such a one as had to deale with the greatest princes  
in christendome: of whose some were his aduersa-  
ries, and yet he behaved himselfe so wisely, that he  
atchiued all things to his honour whatsoever he  
toke in hand. Also he was verie rich: insomuch that  
for all his warres which lasted aboute thirtie yeres,  
he left behind him more substance and readie monie,  
than any other prince of his time, as the writers of  
the histories of that age do witness vnto vs. And yet  
notwithstanding, for all these great vertues & quali-  
ties of his, he was not named Philip the sage, nor  
Philip the valiant, nor Philip the rich, but Philip the  
good. So well do all folke by generall consent vnder-  
stand, which is the vertue that best becometh and  
becometh a great prince, & is best liked of his peo-  
ple: namely, that a prince be good and louing to his  
subiects. Surelie sir, all men hope that your highnes  
will follow the example of that good prince, the first  
binger of the state of this countie to perfection, a  
right noble and renowned prince of the house of  
France. And we praise God, for that as manie as  
haue had the honour to come into your highnes pre-  
sence, yeld record that you haue verie great like-  
hoods of these vertues, which we praise God so to ac-  
complish and make perfect in you, as all his people  
may to your great honour receiue the perfect and ripe  
fruits of them. And this do all the rest of the people  
desire as well as we.

Whereby, we haue a most humble sute to make  
peculiarlie to your highnes, which we most humbly  
beseech you to grant. The thing that induceth vs to  
do it, is that you beare the name of Francis. For as  
oft as we heare that name named: the remem-  
brance of that great king Francis your highnesse  
grandfather cometh to our mind. He was a right  
valiant, couragious, noble and goodlie prince: and yet  
notwithstanding all the nations of the earth did by  
one common consent surname him the father of

learning. For of a truth, since that emperour and  
great king of France, called Charles the great, there  
was neuer any king of France that so highly fa-  
moured learning, as this great king Francis. And  
as the said king Charles was the founder of the fa-  
mous vniuersitie of Paris, so was king Francis  
the restorer thereof againe: and both of them to their  
great costs & charges called men of excellent know-  
ledge thither out of strange countries, to teach the  
languages & all kinds of arts & sciences. The house  
of this great king Francis was as an vniuersitie,  
and his table was a place of conference concerning  
all maner of learning. And like as other great prin-  
ces of his time following his example, enriched their  
dominions and kingdoms with learned men and  
learning: so we most humbly beseech your highnes  
to follow the example of this great king your grand-  
father in doing the like, and to make singular ac-  
count of learning, and to take the professors there-  
of under your protection. True it is sir, that through  
the malice of men, warre is commonlie the over-  
thrower of learning. But if a great prince set him-  
selfe against the mischief, he may easilie stop it. Our  
desire is not that your highnesse should neglect the  
exercise of chivalrie, for to giue your selfe to studie:  
but to followe the one, as the other be not left off  
and forgotten. For as we haue saie manie com-  
monweales flourish so long as they professed chivalrie  
and learning together: and yet haue fallen into the  
hands of their enemies, even in the chief flower of  
their skill in sciences, by reason of their discontinu-  
ing of their former trade of armes, after which man-  
ner it fell to the Atheniens to come into subiection  
to the kings of Macedonie: so the people which haue  
professed armes alone without learning, haue al-  
waies become barbarous, cruel, and bitterlie desti-  
tute of all humanitie, as we see at this daie by the  
Tartars and Moscovites. And therefore to our se-  
ming, a man may well saie, that chivalrie is the fun-  
dation and lineages of a commonweale: and that  
learning garnisheth and beautifieth the bodie there-  
of with liuelie and fresh colours, seruing it for in-  
richments and ornaments. In respect whereof, as we  
meant not to desire your highnesse to forget those  
which make profession of chivalrie, whose you ought  
to embrace as your strength: so we most humbly  
beseech yor to boushase to succour learning, and  
to mainteine learned men with your gracious fa-  
uour.

Sir, verie needfull causes moue vs to make this  
humble petition to your highnesse: for that we be-  
lieue professors of learning, ought to haue learning  
in singular estimation, and to procure (if it be possi-  
ble for vs) that the frute of the things which we haue  
inioied for a time, may be conueied to our posterity:  
and secondlie for the othe sake which we haue ta-  
ken at the time of our proceeding in our degrees,  
which is, to mainteine and further the scholes and  
learning of the vniuersitie, in what degrees soeuer  
we come vnto. And therefore we hope that your  
highnesse will do vs the honour to take this most  
humble request of ours in good part. As touching  
our owne persons, we promise your highnesse all o-  
bedience, faithfulness, and subiection: and that ac-  
cording to our small abilitie, we will do our induties  
towards such as we may haue access vnto, that they  
also may yeld obedience to your highnesse, and to  
the magistrates whome it shall please you to set  
ouer the people. And here to make an end, we parti-  
lie praise God to preserve your highnes a long time  
in happie estate among this people, and to giue you  
the grace to rule and gouerne them iustlie and by  
rightlie, to rid them out of the hands of their eni-  
mies, to mainteine them long in most happie peace,  
and

A good sute to  
the monseur, a  
the like of all  
princes and  
great men to  
be preferred  
and granted.

Learning and  
chivalrie must  
go together.

Causes that  
moued the  
making of  
this sute.

He speaketh  
in the behalfe  
of all the rest  
of the people  
from and for  
cause.



and to restore this state againe to the ancient dignitie, greatnesse, renowne, and felicitie: that after your decesse you maie leaue a most blessed and famous remembrance among all nations. And for the bringing hereof to passe, we yet againe beseech the king of kings and great prince of princes, to make you as valiant as Dauid, as wise as Salomon, and as zealous of his glorie as Ezechias.

The mon-  
arch speaketh  
well to hart-  
er his mea-  
ning was.

good suite to  
: mōieur, g  
e like of all  
ince and  
eat men to  
preferred  
to granted.

Hereunto the duke answered, that he was verie glad to see such a consent of all the people in the receiving of him: and that he hoped so to rust and gouerne them, as they should not be disappointed of the hope which they had conceived of his gouernement, which he would fashion out after the paterne of his predecessors and great vncles, who had gouerned these countries so happilie. And he thanked them for their good will & loue, praying them to continue the same, and promising to take them into his protection together with the rest of the people in general: that as he had heretofore a singular regard of learned men, so would he be willing to continue the same hereafter.

A good begin-  
ning in pynne  
and people.

After this maner began this great prince to gouerne that people with great authoritie and modestie; and the people to yield vnto him verie willing and honorable obedience: and all men hope both generallie and particularlie, that God will giue him the grace so to hold on in that so holie and commendable gouernement, as that by his example he shall shew to all princes and to all others that come after him, how greatlie the just and lawfull gouernement auaileth: and that the people on their side shall shew what manner of obedience, loue, and constancie is due to good princes: in which vertues there was neuer yet anie people that could skill to surmount them, neither shall anie hereafter, by the helpe of the great God, and everlasting father of our saviour Iesus Christ, to whome with the britic of the holie spirit be all glorie for ever and ever, Amen.]

Learning and  
humilitie must  
go together.

John Daine  
recited at  
Chelmsford.

A blasing  
larre.

Causes that  
moued the  
making of  
this suite.

Execution of  
Thomas  
Fowd, John  
Shert, and  
Robert Johnson  
priests of  
the popes  
order.

To persecute  
in wickednes  
was constant  
but obedi-  
ence.

The speaker  
in the behalfe  
of all the rest  
of like profes-  
sion and so-  
cietie.

John Daine priest being indicted of high treason for words by him spoken, was arraigned and condemned at Chelmsford on the last daie of March, and was there executed on the second daie of Aprill, according to the qualitie of his offense, and as law had awarded. In the moneth of Maie, namely, on the sixtenth daie at night, about ten of the clocke, a blasing starre appeared, descending in the north-west, the beard whereof streamed into the southeast.

On mondaie being the eight & twentieth of Maie, Thomas Fowd, John Shert, and Robert Johnson priests, hauing bene before indicted, arraigned, and as well by their owne testimonie, as also sufficient witnesses produced to their faces, found guiltie, and condemned for high treason intended, practised, and appointed against hir maiesties most roiall person, as also for the vtter ruine, overthrow, and subuersion of hir peaceable and well gouerned realme, themselves being sent as instruments, to deale for and in the behalfe of the pope, in this dissolall and traitorous cause; according as iustice had before determined, were drawne vpon hurdles from the Tower of London to the place appointed for execution; hauing ben so long time spared, by hir maiesties most roiall and princelie regard of mercie, to trie if either the feare of God would take place in them, consideracion and respect of their owne duties moue them, or the mere loue and accustomed clemencie of hir maiestie might win them, to acknowledge hir to be their lawfull soveraigne, and themselves hir subiects bound to serue hir, notwithstanding any pretence of authoritie to the contrary, & not for matter of their popish superstition. All this notwithstanding they remained giuen ouer to their owne wickednes, and

swallowed by in the gulfes of their vndutifull affecti-  
on, which caused iustice to step before mercie, com-  
mitting them to the reward of their lewd and vnu-  
surall dealing.

All the waie as they were drawne, they were accompanied with diuers zealous and godlie men, who in mild & louing speeches made knowne vnto them, how iustlie God repaileth the reprobate, how fatherlie againe he receiueh the obedient, how he ouerthroweth the vngodlie in their owne deuises, and protecteth his chosen in all stormes and afflictions. In remembrance of all these, to bethinke themselves of their wickednesse passed, and to shew such hartie and zealous repentance for the same, that albeit they had so greivouslie trespassed, yet in contrite and humble sorrowing they might be grationlie receiued into his heauenlie fauour, whome they had moued and stirred by their vnnuement regard, to smite and chasten with the rod of his furie. Among which godlie persuasions, maister Shirrke himselfe, both learnedlie and earnestlie labored vnto them, mouing all good occasions he might deuise to change the obstinacie he perceiued in them, into a christianlike humilitie and repentance; but these good inducers toke no wished effect, their owne euill disposition so blinded them, that there was no waie for grace to enter.

Consolation  
ministered to  
them as they  
went to their  
execution.

The Shirrke  
himselfe trieth  
what he can  
do to conuert  
them.

When they were come beyond saint Giles in the field, there approached vnto the hurdle one of their owne sect, and a priest (as himselfe had confessed) who in this maner spake vnto the prisoners: O gentlemen be sofull in the blood of Iesus Christ, for this is the daie of your triumph and ioie. Being asked whie he used such words, he said vnto the prisoners againe; I pronounce vnto you; yea, I pronounce a full remission and pardon vnto your soules. Using these and other traitorous speeches, hold was laid on him. When as maister Shirrke demanded what he was, he answered; He was the voice of a crier in the wilderness, and that he was sent to prepare the Lords waie. And notwithstanding such meanes of resistance as himselfe used, he was deliuered vnto Thomas Foxris purseuant, who brought him vnto Newgate, where he confessed vnto him that he was a priest, and that he had so long dissembled, as he would now leaue off and do so no more.

He was the  
echo of a false  
and antichri-  
stian voice.

Being come to the place of execution Thomas Fowd was first brought vp into the cart, when as he began in this maner. Whereas I am come hither to die, for matters laid vnto my charge of treason, which should be conspired against the queene, within these two yeares or somewhat more: I giue you to vnderstand, that of ante such matter I am innocent & free, for that I can proue my coming into England to be five yeares since. Whereupon maister Shirrke spake vnto him and said; Fowd, haue mind on God, and aske him and hir maiestie heartilie forgiveness, whome thou hast so highlie offended; thou dost but delude the people, for it is manifestlie known how thou art guiltie of the matters laid to thy charge, here be thine owne answers to shew, affirmed vnder thine owne hand, and other witnesses to reprove thee. Whereupon I my selfe was called forth, who iustified the causes to his face, that at his arraignment was laid to his charge, and he euidentlie and plainelie found guiltie thereof. Then were his answers whereto he had subscribed read vnto him, which is in the booke latelie set forth by authoritie. Whereupon he toke occasion to tell a long circumstance of a certeine question moued at Driford, as concerning taking armes against hir maiestie, which horrible treason he seemed to approve thereby. When maister Shirrke willed him to aske hir maiestie forgiveness, offering him to stand his friend

Thomas  
Fowd his  
words touch-  
ing his inno-  
cencie.

\* The writer  
of this pam-  
phlet, who se-  
med to be ac-  
quainted with  
all their bea-  
lings.

Thamelesse  
negative  
voice to a ma-  
nifest charge  
of offence, and  
evident con-  
fession.

John Shert  
his baine spee-  
ches at the  
sight of Com-  
fords dead  
bodie disfigure-  
d.

Sherts ora-  
tion to the  
people iustifi-  
eng the forme  
of a godlie  
martyres  
death.

Note Sherts  
obstinacie.

Shert is pre-  
cipitous in  
his speech to  
iustifie his re-  
ligion.

in attaining his graces mercie, if he would change his former traitorous mind, to become a true and faithfull subiect, acknowledging him to be his lawfull soueraigne lable, notwithstanding anie thing that a nie pope could saie or do to the contrarie. Where to he answered; I haue not offended his maiestie, but if I haue, I aske his forgiveness and all the world; and in no other treason haue I offended than my religion, which is the catholike faith, wherein I will live and die. And as for the queenes maiestie, I do acknowledge his supremacie in all things temporall, but as concerning ecclesiasticall causes, I denie him; that onelie belongeth to the vicar of Christ, the pope. In briefe, he granted to nothing, but shewed himselfe an impious and obstinat traitor, and so he remained to the death, refusing to praise in the English tongue, mumbling a few Latine prayers, desiring those that were *Ex domo Dei* to praise with him, & so he died. In the meane time that behanged, which was till he was dead, so great is the mercie of our gratious princeesse, John Shert was brought from off the hurdle to the gallows, where seeing Jfowd hanging, he began with holding vp his hands, as the papists are wont to do before their images; O sweet Com, O happie Com, O blessed Com. Then being staied, Jfowd was cut downe & caried to the place where his bodie should be quartered. In which time Shert was brought vp into the cart, where looking towards the dead bodie of Jfowd, he fell downe on his knees, and held vp his hands vnto it, saieing againe: O happie Com, O blessed Com, thy sweet soule praise for me; O deare Com, thy blessed soule praise for me. For which words being rebuked, the executioner lifted him vp on his feet, when as he prepared him to his confession, saieing; I am brought hither to this place, to die a death which is both shameful & ignominious, for which I thanke thee my Lord God, who framing me to thine owne similitude and likeness, hast blessed me to this good end. There being staied, because he seemed to prolong the time to small purpose, the shiriffe willed him to remember himselfe, for what cause he was come thither, how he had offended the queenes maiestie, and that he was now to aske his forgiveness. Besides, he might receiue his princelie mercie; whereto with an hypocritical outward boldnesse, but an inward fainting feare (as afterward euery one plainelie beheld) he gaue this answer: What (maister shiriffe) shall I saie this while and while carcasse, and damne mine owne soule? No, no, I am a catholike, in that faith I was borne, in that faith will I die, and here shall my blood seale it. Then maister shiriffe spake vnto him, saieing; By the waie as we came you swore an oth, for which you willed me to beare witnesse that you were heartilie soie: now I praye you let me be a witnesse, that you are heartilie soie for offending the queenes maiestie. Whie he (quoth he) I haue not offended him, without it be in my religion; and if I haue offended him, then I aske his forgiveness. Maister shiriffe vpon this said vnto him; Is this the fruit of your religion, to kneele to the dead bodie of thy fellow, and to desire his soule to praise for thee? Alas, what can it either profit or hinder thee? Pray thou to God, and he will helpe thee. Maister shiriffe (quoth Shert) this is the true catholike religion, and whosoeuer is not of it is damned. I desire his soule to praise for me, the most glorious virgin Marie to praise for me, and all the holie companie of heauen to praise for me. At which words the people cried; Awaite with the traitor, hang him, hang him. O Shert (quoth maister shiriffe) for sake that whore of Rome, that wicked Antichrist, with all his abominable blasphemies and treacheries, and put thy whole confidence in Iesus Christ. Wherefore he answered; O maister shiriffe, you little

remember the daie when as you & I shall stand both at one barre, and I come as witnesse against you, that you called that holie and blessed vicar of Christ the whore of Rome. At which words the people cried againe; Hang him, hang him, awaite with him. Then he beganne his *Pater noster* in Latine, and before he had fullie ended two petitions of it he fell into the Creed, and then to the *Pater noster* againe, afterward he said the *Aue Maria*, which done, knocking himselfe on the breast, saieing, *Te sum ego mihi Iesus*, the cart was drawn awaite, and he committed to the mercie of God. But then, to manifest that his former boldnesse was but mere dissembling and hypocritie, he lifted vp his hands, and caught hold on the halter: so that euery one perceived his faire outward shew, and his soule inward disfigured nature, also how loth he was and unwilling to die. Whereby he shewed that he was not indued with the audacitie and stout resolution of the heathen, who for morall vertues sake cast themselves into dangers, manie times deadlie; holding opinion, that he beareth but a counterfeit shew of vertue that shyneth at anie torment, at anie hazard, at anie death, & therefore saie;

*Virum  
Per scopulos durum fortis anhelat iter.*

Robert Johnson being brought vp into the cart, maister shiriffe, according as he had before, both declared vnto him his maiesties mercie if he would repent; and also willed him to be soie for his offences against him: wherof he seemed to make small estimation, denieng the treasons according as the others had done, and appealing likewise vpon his religion. Then was the wixter hereof called forth, who gaue him to vnderstand, how notable he was approued guiltie at his arraignment, & euery matter sufficientlie handled, how according as the rest were, he was confounded to his face. Wherevnto he would make no other answer, but said; Well well, (quoth he) calling the partie by his name, God for giue the. Then were his answers read vnto him, as they had been before to the other two, he not yielding deniall, but said he spake them & would do it againe. Then was Athanasius Creed moued to him, which he granted to be the catholike faith, whereof the pope was vicar, and that there was no other catholike faith, but onelie his. Whie (quoth the preacher) the pope is not named in it. I know not that (quoth he againe) I haue not read it. Then maister shiriffe desired him to saie his prayers in English, and he with all the companie would praise with him: which he refusing to do, in his Latine prayers the cart was drawn awaite, and he committed to Gods mercie. And thus was iustice ministered, and that execution to Gods glorie, & the ease of the common wealths grasse dispatched.

On the wednesdaie following, which was the fifth daie of Maie, in the same maner as I haue before expressed, Luke Kirbie, William Filbie, Thomas Coteham, & Laurence Richardson, were committed from the tower of London, to the place of execution; and as the other were on the mondaie before associated and accompanied with diuerse learned and godlie preachers, even so were these, as to saie, maister Charke, maister Herne, and diuerse others, who all the waie applied such godlie and christian persuations vnto them (as had not the child of perdition so maruellouslie blinded them) were of force to haue ioined them into grace and mercie. The speeches they vied to them by the waie were lesse here to set downe, for that they did especiallie concerne causes to root out that wicked opinion in them, and to establish a sound and perfect faith in place thereof; but euen as it was in the other, so it did agree in them. But Luke Kirbie seemed to chalenge

Shertling by  
prayers man-  
gled and pe-  
ced together  
after the po-  
pish maner.

who seemed  
acquainted  
with all this  
practices.

Execution of  
Luke Kirbie,  
William Fil-  
bie, Thomas  
Coteham, and  
Laurence  
Richardson  
priests of the  
popes orders.

A  
\* who  
obser-  
be pr  
of all  
maner

Shert  
saie a  
pau-  
ber  
more  
to the  
stra

Shert  
was  
with  
as by  
the

One  
two  
more  
whole  
for  
long  
more  
speech

who was an  
adverser (as  
he pretended)  
of all their  
kingd.

lenge the writer hereof as sufficient to proue no-  
thing against him, which he did because it was suppo-  
sed he was not there present: but what passed be-  
twene him & the said writer, you shall heare hereaf-  
ter. They being come to the place of execution, Will-  
iam filbie was brought vp into the cart, where  
conforming himselfe vnto the death, his wicked trea-  
sons were moued vnto him, which obstinatelie and  
impudentlie he denied. Then was he demanded if  
he would acknowledge the queenes maiestie his so-  
ueraigne princeesse, and supreme head vnder Christ of  
the church of England: So (quoth he) I will acknow-  
ledge no other head of the church than the pope onlie.  
Whereupon his answers were read vnto him, and he  
not denying them in anie point, euen as they were  
wicked and impious, euen so he remained in them,  
still appealing that it was for his religion that he di-  
ed, and not for anie treason. But the contrarie was  
proued vnto his face, as well by sufficient proofes, as  
also by the traitorous answers, whereto he had sub-  
scribed with his owne hand. At last, as he was desi-  
red, he praised for the queenes maiestie, that God  
might blesse hir, and incline hir heart to mercie to-  
ward the catholikes, of which societie he was one.  
Then they opening his bosome, found there two  
crosses, which being taken from him were held vp,  
and shewed to all the people, beside his crowne was  
shauen. So after a few silent Latine prayers to him-  
selfe, the cart was drawne awaie.

that meant  
it and in-  
cluded to-  
wards a refo-  
rmation  
the pope his  
that.

The next was Luke Kirbie, who being brought vp  
into the cart, offered long circumstance of speech, as  
concerning that he was come thither to die, hoping  
to be saued in the blood of Christ: and much matter,  
which were needlesse here to rehearse. Afterward, he  
began to saie, that there were none could approue  
him to be a traitor: neither had he at anie time at-  
tempted anie thing prejudiciall to hir maiestie,  
and that his aduersaries, naming them by speciall  
name, could not vpbraid him with anie thing. Where-  
upon master Shirriff told him that one of them was  
there, and asked him if he would haue him called to  
him. I see him (quoth he) ponder, and let him saie  
what he can against me. Then was the partic bid-  
den come somewhat nere him, to whom he began in  
vehement sort to saie, Consider with thy selfe how  
vntuallie thou hast charged me, with that which I ne-  
uer said nor thought. Besides, thou knowest that  
when thou camest to the Tower to me, before master  
lieutenant, & an other who was there present then,  
thou wast demanded what thou thoughtest of me,  
and what thou couldest saie against me: When as  
thou madest answer, thou knewest no harme by  
me, neither couldest thou at anie time saie otherwise  
of me than well: whereupon thou wast asked, where-  
fore thou reportedst otherwise at my arraignment:  
Then the Shirriff said vnto him; Who can heare thee  
witnes of this: Dooth he againe; He spake it before  
master lieutenant, and an other was by then. Then  
was he demanded what other he was that was pre-  
sent: Which (after long trisling) he said was a heper,  
& named him. Whereto the said writer made answer  
as followeth. After Kirbie, I with and desire you,  
in the feare of God, to remember your selfe: for this  
is not a place to report an vntuallie, neither to flau-  
der anie man otherwise than you are able to proue,  
Whin as I came vnto the Tower, & made knowne  
to master lieutenant for what cause I was sent, to  
speake with you, you were brought into a chamber  
by your keeper: and what I then moued, your selfe  
verie well knoweth, as concerning my allowance  
being the popes scholer: where what answer you  
made, I haue trulie, and according as you answer-  
ed, already set downe in print. After lieutenant  
neither moued anie such words to me, as here you

Profferer  
my writer of  
their plots  
and treasons,  
the Shirriff  
in

One of these  
was made  
in a  
great error:  
which hol-  
ly contra-  
dicted could not  
be truely.

on of  
Kirbie,  
if it is  
possible  
in, and  
ce  
son  
of the  
poets

reported, and I call God to my witness, that not a  
motion of anie such matter was once offered to me  
by master lieutenant, or by your keeper. Your selfe  
then uttered, that at sundrie times in the seminarie  
there were diuerse lewd words spoken, which might  
better haue bene spared; and denied that you were  
not in my chamber, when as I lieng sick in my  
bed, the traitorous speeches were moued by them,  
which were then present, wherof your selfe was one,  
with diuerse other matters which you spake vnto  
me, which master lieutenant himselfe heard, and  
your keeper being present. But if this be true which  
you saie, that it may be proued there were either such  
words moued vnto me, or anie such answer made  
by me, I offer to susteine what punishment the law  
shall affoord me. Then falling to an other matter,  
for that this redounded to his owne confusion (as  
master lieutenant can well witness) he began to  
talke of my being at Rome, what friendship he had  
shewed vnto me, and had done the like vnto a num-  
ber of Englishmen, whom he well knew not to be  
of that religion, both by his owne purse, as also by  
friending them to some of the popes chamber, he  
made conuetance for them thence sometime going  
fortie miles with them: when (quoth he) had my dea-  
lings bin knowne, I should hardlie haue bin well  
thought of: and I knew well enough that you were  
neuer bent to that religion, albeit they thought the  
contrarie. For I knew well enough when you de-  
parted thence, that your disposition was contrarie to  
ours, and concealed it to my selfe.

Repetitio bene-  
ficio est expro-  
bratio

After Kirbie (quoth master Shirriff) this is verie vn-  
like, that you could affoord such fauour to anie, who  
were contrarie to that religion that you professed.  
So, no, if you knew anie such there, you would ra-  
ther helpe to persecute them than pitie them, as it is  
the nature of you all. After Kirbie (quoth the writer) it  
is verie unlike that you had anie such secret know-  
ledge of me, either of my religion, or how I was se-  
cretlie bent as you seme here to profess: for had I  
bene such a one as you would persuaade these here  
you knew me to be, would you haue deliuered me  
those silken pictures hallowed by the pope which you  
did: and moreover, make knowen vnto me sundrie  
of your friends here in England, to whom I should  
conueie them? After Kirbie (quoth the writer) I  
deliuered to thee such pictures, but thou knowest I  
gaue thee two Julies to go buy them with, I did it be-  
cause I knew thee to be such a one, and therefore I did  
misgouert thee, for I would not credit thee with my  
hallowed pictures. After Kirbie (quoth the other) to de-  
nie your owne doings is marvellous impudentie:  
did not you in your chamber deliuer me certeine  
silken pictures, which you told me at Stukleis being  
there, were hallowed by the pope, and what indol-  
gences were allowed them: One of them, which was  
a crucifix, you gaue me; the other you willed me de-  
liuer to your friends at Rheimes and in England.  
And because they were so few (as in deed I thinke  
they were no more but five) you gaue me two Ju-  
lies, to go into the citie to buy more, which I did: and  
having brought them to you, there or foure of the said  
rest you took from me, promising to get them hal-  
lowed at the next benediction: the other in deed you  
gaue me, and I took them with me. How saie you  
now Kirbie (quoth master Shirriff) would you haue  
credited him with such matters, had you not suppo-  
sed him to be one of your owne sect? After Kirbie  
(quoth he) what I haue said, I know verie well. And  
after he was gone from Rome I sent sicke shil-  
lings to Rheimes to be deliuered to him, but he was  
departed thence towards England, before it came.  
Then master Shirriff said to him againe; You stand  
vpon these points verie much, which there is none  
that

After the  
rites words  
bittered by the  
suaue of inter-  
ception.

This was  
great & verie  
mercifull for  
bearance to  
let all this  
talke passe to  
and fro at the  
place of exe-  
cution.

Then indeed  
use to repose  
their trust in  
such, whom  
they suppose  
to be like  
themselves.

Mercie offered to Kirbie notwithstanding his confession of treason.

that are here, but will iudge to be untrue: thou hearest what he hath said unto thee, and we haue heard that thou deniedst euerie thing. What saiest thou to thy treasons, wherefore thou art come hither to die? Wilt thou be soze for them? aske God and his maiestie for giuenesse, for she is mercifull, and we will carrie thee backe againe if we shall perceiue in thee any such motion, that thou wilt forsake thy former wickednesse, and become a god and faithfull subiect. At these words the people among themselves almost generally said: O exceeding mercie and fauour! what a gracious pynesse haue we, who afforde such mercie vnto those that haue so ill deserued: Can there be a pynesse of greater pittie, of more clemencie or tenderesse to be found in all the world? *Principe nil ista mitius orbi habet.*

Then field the preacher in the booke read his answers to him, whereto he had subscribed with his owne hand: Whether the pope might lawfully depose his maiestie, or had anye authoritie to take the title of his crowne and dignitie awaie from him? Wherto Kirbie answered: This is a matter disputable in scholes, and therefore I may not iudge of it. I thinke this with my selfe, that if anye pynce fall by infidelitie into turcisme, atheisme, paganisme, or anye such like, that the pope hath authoritie to depose such a pynce. And being asked, if his maiestie were in anye such? He said, he knew his owne conscience. An other preacher being by said vnto him, that the pynce receiued his authoritie from God, and that he was to be suppressed by none, but onelie by God. Againe, that Salomon said: By me (meaning by God) kings reigne, and pynces decrea iustice. By me pynces rule, and the nobles and all the iudges of the earth. Againe, S. Paule saith: Let euerie soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordeined of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, they that resist, shall receive to themselves iudgement. For pynces are not to be feared for god works but for euill. Wilt thou then be without feare of the power? do well, so shalt thou purchase praise of the same. For he is the minister of God for thy wealthe, but if thou do euill, feare, for he beareth a sword not for naught, for he is the minister of God to take vengeance on him that doth euill. If then the pope be a soule, he is to be obedient to the higher powers. And being a subiect vnto God, as all other pynces be, he must not take vpon him what belongeth to God. As for the authoritie that his maiestie hath, she hath receiued it from God; neither is the pope, or anye earthlie pynce to depriue him thereof, but onelie God. Againe, when Iesus was brought before Pilat, Pilat said vnto him; knowest thou not that I haue power to crucifie thee, and haue power to loose thee? To the which Iesus answered: Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thee from aboue. Thus maie you see, that what pynce soeuer ruleth vpon earth, hath his power and authoritie onelie from God: and not that anye mortall man can vse the authoritie of a pynce at his pleasure. How saie you to this? Wherto he would make no answer, but seemed to demand of them, if they would denie, that if a pynce were in paganisme, atheisme, or gouerned by infidelitie: that such a pynce might not lawfully be deposed? Which the learned preachers answered in learned sort, approuing that as the power was of God, so pynces were not to be deposed by anye, but onelie by God.

So (quoth Kirbie againe) hath it not bene disputed in scholes for these five hundred yeares, and will you denie it? O maister Cropleie, maister Cropleie; and there paused: as if that maister Cropleie had agreed with him in such a monstrous error.

What maister Cropleie himselfe gaue one to understand, that at such time as he conferred with the said Kirbie in the tower, about the same argument, that his answer was vnto him: If anye pynce fell into anye such kind of error, that pynce were corrigible, but of whom? Not of anye earthlie pynce, but of that beauenlie pynce, who gaue him his authoritie, and seeing him abuse it anye waie, correcteth him in his iustice. For by his attributing to the pope this authoritie, he witnessed him to be antichrist, in that he will depose pynces at his pleasure, and exalt himselfe aboue all that is called God, and forgive men their sinnes at his pleasure likewise. All this was not sufficient to mollifie the obstinate mind of Kirbie, but he would persist still in this diuelish imagination. Maister Thirrisse and the preachers, seeing him wauering, and not able to yeild anye reason for his arrogant opinion, laboured as much as in them lay to change it: when all would not serue, they desired him in hartie and humble maner to praise vnto God, to aske his maiestie for giuenesse, for the treasons wherein he had offended him. Wherevnto he answered, that he had not offended in anye treason, to his knowledge. Whereupon they shewed him his treasons, which were adiudged by the people worthy of greater punishment, than he was at that time to suffer; yet would not he acknowledge them, but praised to God for his maiestie, that he might long rule in his authoritie, to confound all his enemies; and that his hart was free from anye treason to his maiestie. Then preparing himselfe vnto his prayers, the preachers desired him to praise in English with them, and to saie a prayer after them; wherein, if he could find anye fault, he should be resolute thereof. O (quoth he againe) you and I were not one in faith, therefore I thinke I should offend God, if I should praise with you: at which words, the people began to crie, Awaie with him: so he sateng his *Pater noster* in Latine, ended his life.

When was Laurence Richardson brought vp into the cart, & to him Thomas Coteham to be executed together. But Coteham seemed to utter such words as though there had bene hope he would haue forsaken his wickednesse, so that the halter was tricke, and he brought downe out of the cart againe. In which time Laurence Richardson prepared him to death, confessing himselfe a catholike, and that he would beleue in all things as the catholike church of Rome did; vnto the pope he allowed the onelie Supremacie. In which traitorous opinion, after certaine Latine prayers, he was committed to God. When was Coteham brought vp to the cart againe, & the good opinion had of him before changed into that obstinate nature that was in them all, sateng to maister Thirrisse, that before he came into England, he was sirned for India, and thither if he might be suffered he would passe with as much conuenient speed as might be. When looking to the bodie of Laurence Richardson, whereon the executioner was using his office, he lifted vp his hands and said; O blessed Laurence praye for me, thy blessed soule Laurence praye for me: for which words both the preachers and the people rebuked him, telling him that he ought to praye to none, but to God onelie; all he spe of man was but in vaine. Wherto he answered, he was assured that he could praye for him. In briefe, his treasons being moured to him, he denied all, albeit his owne handwriting was there to affirme it. He prayed for his maiestie, and said his *Pater noster* & Ave Maria: and as the cart was drawing away he said; *In manus tuas Domine commendo spiritum meum*, and then he died. Thus did the bountie of iustice sweepe awaie these noisome cobwebes, noisome both to church and common

To such as are proditoriously minded it is a matter disputable: but to a god subiect a matter determinable.

20

20

This counsel of the apostle they had not the grace to follow.

John. 19. 10.

This demand implicitly a kind of suspicion or secret charge that his maiestie is such a one.

Not of the pope then, but of the beauenlie pynce, who gaue him his authoritie, and seeing him abuse it anye waie, correcteth him in his iustice.

For people's sake, was sent off.

Laurence Richardson and Thomas Coteham their deaths.

For he was not so furrowed for England as to come to the people's eye.

He should haue said Deum.

commonwealth, as being of the diuels hatching, but nursed and fostered of papperie, to infecte and trapfacke soules, as the spider doth the flie: from whence the Lord God deliuer euery member of his church.

Philip Poyse  
hanged in  
the street  
for killing of a  
burgant.

On the second daie of June, Philip Poyse was hanged in Fleetstreet for killing one of the shiriffes sergeants that had arrested him. This man at his death, as inwardlie touched with sorrow for the offence which he had committed and died, gaue such apparant tokens and notes of a repentant mind; that partly with his speeches which were paticell, and partly with his teares which were plentifull, as also with his vehement sighs and grievous groanes, joined with diuerse other gestures (great signes of inward grace) he so moued the beholders, that manie which beheld him, pitied his wofull end, most pearly in manner all (whereof some were such as a man would haue thought had neuer a teare to shed at such a sight, hauing viewed diuerse like and more lamentable spectacles) with wet eyes beheld him, and yet in heart reioiced that he died reconciled to God.

And with  
the same  
ambassadors  
into Den-  
marke.

On the eight and twentieth of June, Bergrine Bartie lord Willoughbie of Goble appointed ambassador to Frederike the second king of Denmarke with the garter, whereunto he had bene elected & chosen a long time before, took his leaue of the queenes maiestie at Greenwich; with whom sir Gilbert Dethicke alias Carter principall king of armes was joined in commission, for the inueiking of the said king into the order; and Robert Clouer alias Summerfet herald was also present, and gaue his attendance in the same voyage, as likewise did a competent number of gentlemen and yeomen, in all to the number of six and fiftie persons, besides mariners, &c. The said lord ambassador prepared himselfe towards Kingstone vpon Hull, where he imbarked with his whole traine on the fourteenth daie of Iulie, and prosperously arrived at Elsemore in Denmarke on the one and twentieth daie of the same moneth, where he was honorably intertained.

interce  
charleson  
d. Thoug  
them  
ar geth  
d. Thoug  
the  
ath.

The lord am-  
bassadors op-  
eration in Latine  
the king of  
Denmarke, &c.

On the thirtieth daie of August he presented himselfe before the king in his castell of Cronenborough, and made his first speech vnto him in Latine; which speech being ended, the lord Willoughbie deliuered vnto the king his maiesties letters, and withall the commission for the kings inueiking into that honorable order of the garter. Which letters the king opened, and deliuered them to Henrie Kamellis his chancelor for Germanie to read, whom he commaunded to answer my lord's former oration. From the king my lord was conueied to the queenes presence, vnto whom also he deliuered his maiesties letters with salutations. The next daie being thursdaie the fourteenth of August, the king roiallie prepared, received the robes of the order with his owne hands, and with great contentment accepted and ware the garter, the collar, and the George, when as my lord concluded the whole dedication with sundrie wel-wishings. In the end whereof he put the king in mind of the oath and thankfull acceptance of the order to be testified by a publike instrument, as was before promised, whereunto the king answered by his chancelor Nicholas Haas with manie effectfull words: and immediatlie in signe of ioie, a great boie was discharged of all the great shot in his castell, and the lord ambassador with all his traine was roiallie feasted & rewarded. On thursdaie the fiftenth daie of August, the king took my lord ambassador forth on hunting two leagues from Elsemore, and there in the dinner time uttered manie louing speeches. And after, to wit, on the one and twentieth of September the lord ambassador with all his traine imbarked at Copen, and arrived at Wyneholme in Norfolk

The king of  
Denmarke  
was into  
the king of  
Denmarke.

or he was  
or so furni-  
ed for the  
ind as to com-  
miles so call-  
e to papie-  
ric.

he should  
haue said  
Denon.

on thursdaie the seauen and twentieth daie of September.

On the nineteenth daie of Iulie certeine serkins of gunpowder to the number of seauen, and as manie or more serkins of furgeon laden in a car vpon Gallie keie nere vnto the Tower of London, some small portion of the same powder being shed on the ground, the horse in the said carre strooke fire with his foot, and fired all together, where-through the furgeon was blown awaie, some into the Thames, some elsewhere: one serkin was shuten through a home wall that was boarded ouer, but all was spoiled and lost, the crane on the wharffe with the houses nere adjoining shattered, manie men and horses were blasted; the three men and seauen horses died thereof. On the twelue daie of August there arose a great tempest of lightening, thunder, whirlewind, and raine, with hallestones fashioned like to the rowels of spurs two or three inches about in the countie of Norfolk, betwene the market townes of north Walsham and Woxsted (the towne wherein the making of worsteds commonlie called Worsted was first practised and took their beginning) which tempest beat the corne flat vnto the ground, rent by manie great trees, and shiuered them in peces, or wound them like luthies. At Wening more than a mile from Woxsted, the west doore of the church, weighing more than three hundred pound weight, was lifted off the hooks, and throughte ouer the font, within one yarde of the chancel doore; the top of the church was riuen by, and the lead as it were blown awaie; five webs of lead were ruffled by together, like as they had bene clouts of linnen cloth, and blown into the field without the churchyard. Also at east Kissen were manie barnes blownen downe, and houses vncouered.

Shiffordaine  
by gunpow-  
der.

Strange  
tempest in  
Norfolk.

This yeare Michaelmasse terme was resournced from the vtas thereof, vntill the fourth returne of the same called *Menfe Michaelis*, and from the said returne vntill the returne commonlie called *Crasino animarum* next ensuing, & then reioined from *Welf* minister to the castell of Hertford in Hertfordshire, there to begin in the said *Crasino animarum*, and to be continued till the end of the same terme, which was done accordingly, where was plenty of good viands to be had for monie, but lodging hard and scant; besides the long and plachie waie that manie had vnto their houses, and then peradventure sleepe in the chimney corner, or vpon the hard boards with a pillow vnder their heads. Was not this a good amends?

Anno reg. 25.

Terme kept  
at Hertford.

This yeare Peter Poyse fre denison, hauing made an engine for that purpose, conueied Thames water in pipes of lead out the steeple of saint Agnus church, at the north end of London bridge, and so into diuerse mens houses in Thames street, new Fish street, and Gasse street, by vnto the north-west corner of Leaden hall (the highest ground of the citie of London) where the walke of the first maine pipe ran first this yeare one thousand five hundred eightie and two on Christmasse euen: which maine pipe being since at the charges of the citie brought by into a standarde there made for that purpose, and diuided into foure severall spouts ran foure waies, plentifullie seruing to the vse of the inhabitants nere adjoining that will fetch the same into their houses, and also clenched the chanelles of the streets, north towards Bishopsgate, east towards Aldgate, south towards the Bridge, and west towards the Stocks market. No doubt a great commoditie to that part of the citie, and would be farre greater, if the said water were mainteined to run continuallie, or at the least, at euery tide some reasonable quantitie, as at the first it did; but since is much assaked, though whole default I know not, fith the engine is sufficient.

Thames wa-  
ter conueied  
ouer saint  
Agnus  
steeple.



Justice Barn-  
dolph & chas-  
tice.

sufficient to conueie water plentifully: which being well considered by Barnard Randolph esquier, common sergeant of the citie of London: he being alive, gave and deliuered to the companie of the fishmongers in London a round sum to be imployed toward the conducting of Thames water for the good service of the commonwealth in convenient order. Other legacies verie liberallie and bountifullie he gave by his testament to be laid out in works of charitie, as I haue noted more at large hereafter in due place, vpon occasion of recording the daie of his death. The publication of whose acts, as also of diuerse others, if they may moue the rich of this world to part with some small portion of their store to the like christian uses, I shall be glad, and thinke my paines worth the printing: otherwile I saie with one that perswading this age to walke worthe of their calling, and doubting his words should be but wind, concluded with this interrogatiue diffinition:

*Sed quid verba miser non proficientis perdo?  
Quid inuat in vacuos missa loquela notos?*

Publike lecture of surgerie founded in London, & presentie red (as also in the life of the founder) by doctor Fossier, to his high praise & credit.

This yeare 1582 was there instituted and first founded a publike lecture or lesson in surgerie, to begin to be read in the college of physicians in London, in Anno 1584, the first daie of Maie, against that time new recodified in a part of the house that doctor Linacre gave by testament to them, by John Lumleie lord Lumleie, and Richard Caldwell doctor in physike, to the honour of God, the common profit of his maiesties subiects, and god fame, with increase of estimation and credit of all the surgians of this realme. The reader thereof to be a doctor of physike, and of good practise and knowledge, and to haue an honest stipend, no lesse than those of the vniuersities erected by king Henrie the eight, namely of law, diuinitie, and physike, and lands assured to the said college for the maintenance of the publike lesson; whereunto such statutes be annexed as be for the great commoditie of those which shall giue and incline themselves to be diligent hearers for the obtaining of knowledge in surgerie, as whether he be learned or vnlearned that shall become an auditor or hearer of the lecture, he may find himselfe not to repent the time so imployed. First twice a weeke thorough out the yeare; to wit, on wednesdaies and fridaies, at ten of the clocke till eleuen, shall the reader read three quarters of an houre in Latine, and the other quarter in English, wherein that shall be plainlie declared for those that vnderstand not Latine, what was said in Latine. And the first yeare to read Horatius Morus tables, an epitome of vniuersall handling of all the whole art of surgerie, that is, of swellings or apostemes, wounds, vlcers, bone setting, and healing of bones broken, termed commonlie fraxions, and to read Ambrosius of knots and Callen of hands, such workes as haue bene long hid, and are scarce now a daies among the learned knownen, and yet are (as the anatomies) to the first enterers in surgerie and nouices in physike; but amongst the ancient writers and Grecians well knowne. At the end of the yeare in winter to dissect openlie in the reading place all the bodie of man especiallie the inward parts for five daies together, as well before as after dinner, if the bodie may so last without annoie.

The second yeare exercises.

The third yeare, and fourth yeare exercises.

The second yeare to read Tagaulcius institutions of surgerie, and onelie of swellings or apostemes, and in the winter to dissect the trunke onelie of the bodie, namely from the head to the lowest part where the members are, and to handle the muscles especiallie. The third yeare to read of wounds onelie of Tagaulcius, and in winter to make publike dissection of the head onelie. The fourth yeare to read of vlcers onelie the same author, and to anatomize or

dissect a leg and an arme for the knowledge of muscles, sinewes, arteries, veines, gristles, ligaments, and tendons. The fifth yeare to read the first booke of Paulus Aegineta, and in winter to make anatomic of a skeleton, & therewithall to shew & declare the vse of certaine instruments; as Scamnum Hippocratis, and other instruments for setting in of bones. The sixth yeare to read Holerius of the matter of surgerie, as of medicines for surgians to vse. And the seventh yeare to begin againe, and continue still. A godlie and charitable creation doubtlesse, such as was the more needfull, as hitherto hath bene the want and lacke so hurtfull: sith that onelie in eche vniuersities by the foundation of the ordinarie and publike lessons, there is one of physike, but none of surgerie, and this onelie of surgerie and not of physike, I meane so as physike is now taken separately from surgerie, and that part which onelie vseth the hand as it is sorted from the apothecarie. So that now England may reioice for those hapie benefactors & singular wellwillers to their countrie, who furnish hir so in all respects, that now she may as compare for the knowledge of physike so by means to come to it, with France, Italie, and Spaine, and in no case behind them but for a lecture in simples, which God at his pleasure may procure, in mouing some hereafter in like motion and instinct to be as carefull and beneficiall as these were to the helpe and furtherance of their countrie. ¶ At the publication of this foundation, which was celebrated with a godlie assemble of doctors collegiats and licentiats, as also some masters of surgerie, with other students, some whereof had bene academically; doctor Caldwell so aged that his number of yeeres with his white head adding double reuerence to his person (whereof I may well saie no lesse than is left written of a doctor of the same facultie verie famous while he liued,

*Conspicienda erat, sed & arsproneior annis,  
Famæque Paonio non remuenda choro)*

euene he, notwithstanding his age and impotencie, made an oration in Latine to the auditoz, the same by occasion of his manifold debilities unfinished at the direction speciallie of the president, who (after a few words, shortlie and sweetlie vttered) gaue occasion and opportunitie to D. Fossier, then and yet the appointed lecturer, to deliuer his matter, which he discharged in such methodicall maner, that eche one present indured with iudgement, conceiued such hope of the doctor, touching the performance of all actions incident vnto him by that place, as some of them continued his auditoz in all weathers, and still hold out; whose diligence he requiteth with the imparting of further knowledge than the said publike lecture doth afford. When the assemble was dissolved, and the founder accompanied home, diligent care was taken for the due preferring of this established exercise: insomuch that D. Caldwell, and D. Fossier, to furnish the auditoz with such bookes as he was to read, caused to be printed the epitome of Horatius Morus first in Latine: then in English, which was translated by the said doctor Caldwell. But before it was halfe perfected, the good old doctor fell sicke, and as a candle goeth out of it selfe, or a ripe apple falling from the tree, so departed he out of this world at the doctors commons, where his usuall lodging was; & was verie worshipfullie buried. But of his death hereafter, in the yeare 1584: where the daie of his decease being mentioned, matter worth the reading shall be remembered.]

Francis of Malois, the kings onlie brother, duke of Louthier, Brabant, Limbourg, Gelders, Arison, Alanson, &c: earle of Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, &c: marquess of the sacred empire, lord of Friesland, &c: hauing now indifferentlie well (with his

The first and sixt yeares exercises, out to continue with Regem

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curs  
spis  
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Ch  
curs  
spis  
aca

Ch  
curs  
spis  
aca

Ab. Fl. Specie.  
101 & audior.

Doctor Giff  
ford president  
of the college  
of physicians.

Francis of  
Malois at  
comptech die  
uerse exploits,  
the issue  
whereof he  
out to his  
his mustyran.

and  
es ex.  
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The monie  
was ambition  
standing like  
ambition.

his good successes had in the bittelling, and removing  
the sieges of Cambrie and Lochem, and winning  
the townes of Maest and Endenan gotten the hearts  
of the people, and by that meanes placed his French  
men in Dunkirke, Walmerburgh, Wirmide, Wer-  
mond, Wilmond, and other places, thought now (be-  
lieving yong & euill counsell) to make himselfe a more  
absolute prince, as though it were to bafe a thing for  
his highnesse to rule with the aduise of the estates  
of the countries. Wherefore hauing come to him out  
of France the marshall Biron, with great troops of  
Swissers and Frenchmen, he now causeth them all  
at one time; to wit, on the seuenth of Januarie, to  
inuaide so manie townes as they could make them-  
selues maisters of; which with them tooke effect in the  
aboue named townes, but at Bridges they were put  
out. And at Antwerpe on the said seuenth date, vnder  
the pretense to muster his armie without the  
towne, vpon the verie none time of the date, when  
the citizens were at dinner, he causeth two gates (as  
vncertaine by which he would go) to be opened for  
him, and the chaines ouerthwart the streets to be un-  
chained, which (for some suspicion had of the French-  
men without) were locked: then he issued out with all  
his court and a great number of gentlemen, verie  
braue, mounted on great horses about two hun-  
dred, manie of them being secretlie armed vnder  
their garments, and comming to saint James gate.  
At the bridge without met him certeine of his com-  
panies of horsemen and footmen, who staied them-  
selues on both sides the waie, making as it were a  
lane for the duke to passe by with a few of his: who  
being past them, made a token to them with his cap,  
to inuaide the cite: whereupon his men killed the  
watch, with the coronell Hierendell, that stood bare  
headed to see their prince passe. Then entered the gate  
seuentene ensignes of footmen, and foure coronels  
of horsemen, the Swissers following, & the duke cri-  
eng to them, March, march, La ville est gaignee, mais  
me pillon point. Being thus stronglie entred they  
cried, Ville gaignee viue la messe, and toke in on both  
sides the bulwarks, & turned the ordinance towards  
the cite, & came by diuers streets almost to the midst  
of the cite. The citizens at dinner hearing the al-  
larum, verie furiously issued out, with such weapons  
as first came to their hands, and set vpon them, first,  
by the bylanes, other some chained by the streets,  
and so barred them from going any further. They  
turne all against the soldiers that were entred the ci-  
tie with most violent shot. In the meane space the  
citizens nere and about the gate with their harque-  
bussers bestow their small shot as thicke as haile out  
of windowes vpon the gate, where first they killed a  
horse, and then diuers men entring, which troubled  
the other following, that a great number was euen  
in the verie gate killed, and so heaped one vpon ano-  
ther that the gate was stopped; whereby all that were  
entred within the cite, in lesse than in one houre  
space were killed or taken prisoners. Wherein the  
citizens behaued themselves so valiantlie, & so man-  
lie, that manie for lacke of leaden pellets, toke their  
monie out of their purses, bowed it with their teeth,  
and put it in stead of pellets in their harquebussers:

*Sic sese & sobolem charam, cum vxore mariti  
Defendant, Gallis ne prada voracibus essent.*

In this skirmish of so little space were slain about  
1530 Frenchmen horsemen and footmen, told at the  
burieng, and more than two thousand prisoners ta-  
ken, amongst the which were the earle Fernaugus,  
the bishop of Constance, and manie other notable  
personages. And amongst the dead were the earle of  
saint Agnan and his sonne, the earle of Chasteau  
roulle, the sonne of the marshall of France Biron:  
monsieur de Salsonnail gouernor of Wilmond, the

sonne of the lord Spiranbeau, and others. A mar-  
uellous act of citizens in their defense without any  
soldiers, against old soldiers and tried men of armes,  
and number of so great nobilitie. A maruellous con-  
tinencie & clemencie of rough citizens against their  
enimies, in keeping their hands from the killing of  
prisoners whom they had in their power, and surelie  
a wonderfull worke of God.

The prince of Orange with others had refused to  
go forth, and his danger was not small; with other  
gentlemen more, and lords of the religion. The  
prince Dolphin, the earle Lamall and others were  
with the duke lookers on, and intercessors for their  
friends whom they reckoned dead. After that fact, the  
duke with his campe was forced for lacke of vittels  
and necessities, to retire him with his armie toward  
Spachlin, and from thence with great difficultie  
passing great waters, with losse of manie a man got  
to Wermond, where he was kept in by the generall  
sports, with three and twentie ensignes English,  
men and Scots, so that he lacked vittels and neces-  
saries, whereby he was forced, as also to haue his  
prisoners restored, to enter into a treatie with the es-  
tates, to surrender all the townes by his men pos-  
sessed, and to retire him to Dunkirke: where further  
with the estates, by intercession of princes was ho-  
ped a reconciliation to be made. But he seeing the  
countrie unwilling, and finding himselfe sicke (as it  
was thought) of melancholie, he retired from Dun-  
kirke toward France. And so as he was retired, the  
prince of Parma for king Philip, caused Dunkirke  
to be besieged, few Frenchmen left within it. And as  
the states Generall and the prince of Orange would  
haue sent thither to rescue the towne, the marshall  
Biron with his Frenchmen and Swissers, the Flem-  
ings chafie they of Gaunt, partlie for hatred of  
the French, and partlie that manie now were be-  
come Spanishe, would not suffer him to come ouer  
into Flanders, whereby Dunkirke was forced to  
surrender: and this losse being imputed to the duke,  
increased his sicknesse, so that he died at Chasteau  
Mierle the tenth of Iulie 1583, & was totallie buri-  
ed at saint Dionis by Paris.

¶ But before we passe the absolute comemoration  
of the monsieur, sith in some remembrances we haue  
attained to a perfection, it shall not be amisse here  
to annex the manner of his sicknesse, as also the ve-  
rie speeches which he uttered, as they are reported by  
James Werson Parisien, preacher to the French  
king, and to the said monsieur, in a discourse by him  
published, vnder the title of A funerall complaint, &c.  
Wherein whatsoever is spoken, deserueth the grea-  
ter credit, for that the said Werson was vpon his  
owne certeine knowledge able to giue out the truth,  
and therefore intimateth to the readers of his treatise,  
that they are not to loke for either flatteries, or hau-  
tie, proud, and iteng arguments: he being the man  
who assuredlie was able to answer and beare witness  
of the pietie, religion, and departure of monsieur, a  
sonne of France, and the kings onelie brother in the  
fauor of God, as the same vpon whom he reposed  
himselfe concerning his conscience, soule and salua-  
tion taken to go alone to Paris, there to yield him  
selfe to his maiesties armes, a dead to be accounted  
and taken as a strong bulwark against whatsoeuer  
the popular and enuious standers: after his returne  
home he conceiued an extreame contentation in  
dailie hearing of sermons, yea not satisfied with the  
onele

Francis duke  
of Anjou and  
Blanchon re-  
tireth.

Generall  
sports with  
23. ensignes.

Francis duke  
of Blanchon  
and of Anjou  
sickeneth.

Abr. Fl. ex  
lib. cui tit.  
Regret funebre,  
contenant le dis-  
cours de la mort  
de Monseigneur  
fils de France,  
frere unique,  
du roy.

\* Meaning  
Werson the  
monsieur's  
preacher and  
the writer of  
this discourse.

The French  
gentlemen  
were armed  
under their  
garments:  
both good  
meaning no  
doubt.

The monsieur  
was glad  
to retire not-  
withstanding  
his confident  
damp.

Speck-  
allure.

2. Cit-  
ident  
college  
sicians,

icls of  
its at-  
teth dis-  
exploits,  
due  
reof led  
o his  
xtant.

Applauden &  
French  
in prison  
1530.

Applauden of  
France slain

The manner of  
the monseurs  
sickenesse.

onely hearing of them, he greatly delighted to talke of the same, also to haue the same repeated vnto him. Thus did our Lord in conuenient time dispose his soule, which he purposed shortly to visit in his next sicknesse, and that was an ague that continued without equalitie vntill the thirtieth of March, and then he fell into so strange a iudgement, that all euen the physicians began to doubt of him. For a flux of blood issued so continually out of his nose and mouth, that they were still forced to hold him a basen, wherinto he voided the pure and cleere blood. When all men were as it were astonished thereat, himselfe began with a perfect mind and understanding to saie; My friends, helpe me, will you suffer a christian prince thus to die? Now is the time come that God will call me to account: cause monseigneur Berfon to come hither.

Berfons  
words of  
comfort to the  
monseigneur,  
whether his  
disease were  
naturall, or  
proceeding  
from God.

When I came, ha monseigneur Berfon (said this good prince) I am dead, I must acknowledge my God; my friend flatter me not, I will reconcile my selfe. Alas I am a great sinner, will not God haue mercie on me? Will not he forgieue me? I answered, There is no doubt my lord but vpon humbling your selfe before his holie maiestie with contrition, you shall obtaine remission of your sinnes. My lord, you are verie sicke, I will not flatter with you, but your whole life and your selfe resteth in the hands of God. Sicknesse is naturall, or sent by God for a warning; if your disease be naturall there is hope: we will vse all means for remedie. On the one side the physicians are here ready, who shall imploie themselves. On the other side, all the world is in prayer & deuotion for your health. If it proceedeth from God, it is a warning to you for the rest of your life, to the end to draw you nearer to him, either else to aduertise you of your naturall condition: that is, that you are mortall & must once paie this debt, and restore your soule to God who lent it to you, at whatsoeuer time he shall call for it. Now my lord, sith we can not certainly discern the one from the other, is it not best for you to conforme your will to Gods will. Also in case God granteth you to ouerlue this sicknesse, are you not resolved to better your life, and to liue more in his feare than before? Again, if he be determined to call you out of this world, are not you content to go into Abrahams bosome, and there to rest vnder the protection of his mercie? Resolue your selfe my lord, you haue a goodly soule.

The monseigneur  
resolves  
to die.

\* Pamela  
Berfon.

I am (said this good prince) fully resolved in the will of my God, let him do with me whatsoeuer shall please him: onely that he will vouchsafe to haue mercie on me. I would reconcile me but I shall hardly speake: and in trust the blood still belched out into the basen which I held with one hand, whilst with a handkercher in the other I wiped from his face and breast a great cold sweat that euen smelt of death; as also I perceiued his nostrils to be closed vp, his eyes sanke, and heard the rattling and blood that stopped him vp. Querte bodie being gone forth I said vnto him, My lord straine not your selfe to speake much, onely begin with the chiefeest matters, and those that most trouble your conscience, and for the rest I will instruct you. Then joining his hands and lifting vp his eyes vnto heauen, he began to sigh, mourne, and sob with extreame contrition and griefe, which when I perceiued, I still endeouored to assure him in talking to him of God and of the merits of the blood of Iesus Christ, wherein the greater delight that he conceiued, the more did he detest himselfe as a most miserable sinner: then might you haue seene among much sweat which as pearles ran downe his haire and beard, the great feares trickeling downe his eyes, whilst with great paine he accused himselfe.

After this, diuerse speeches passed with certaine actions betwene the monseigneur and Berfon, which to omit is lesse offensive than to publish. So proceeded then, the monseigneur lieng in his agonie, he thought him (amongest other things) of his familie, and said; Alas I none none but my poore seruants, & withall, that I shall die without celebration of mine Easter: will not the Lord grant me that grace? Then I promised him that God would heare so iust a petition, and therefore willed him a while to haue patience, it should not be the first miracle that euer our Lord had wrought. Having thus spoken, certaine ceremonies were solemnly commensed and finished, not without manie speeches interchanged betwene the monseigneur and Berfon; insomuch that (saith he) I can not rehearse all that he said vnto me; but this I dare assure you, that if his health had continued, I was thereby in hope of most profitable effects to all christendome, and to the estate and quietnesse of our France. But we were not worthy, our sinnes crieng for vengeance to God, who as he punisheth nations by giuing them wicked princes, so doth he also chastise them by taking from them the good, euen at such time as they are ready to releue vs, and afterward we haue cause to lament and moerne.

Berfon who  
was then  
basen about  
certaine cere-  
monies incident  
to the time  
and his office.

Great hope  
conceiued  
of the monseigneur  
if he had not  
bene preuen-  
ted with  
death.

His health after this first fit continued a while, but by reason of a crum of bread that stucke in the vula, and thereby procured a violent cough with spitting of blood, he fell into it againe, and from thenceforth kept his bed, sometimes well and sometimes ill, yet eating his meat reasonable well, howbeit gathering no force to the substance of his bodie. Finally, the same daie that the physicians (after the vlew of the operation of a medicine) had conceiued a better opinion of him than before; being saturday the ninth of June about eight of the clocke at night, he was taken with a marvellous shortnesse of wind, and a paine in one of his sides: and seeing himselfe so taken before anie man spake to him, he sent for me, saying; Now is the time that I must die, you haue greatly abused me; howbeit they vsed all diligence. But about midnight, when there was no further hope, they sent for me. When I was come I found the good prince laid in his estate, of whose truelle I had no other opinion but that death was at hand, and therefore was verie importunat to speake vnto him, fearing least he should haue died without the sacrament, which so greatly he had longed for.

The monseigneur  
falling into an  
extremity of  
his malady,  
and past hope  
of recovery.

One commendable matter I noted in the noble little there present, which was; that there was not one but did importunatly vrg to speake vnto him of God: for mine owne part I was verie impatient, & euerie one was in feare to speake first. One there was that willed me to change mine apparell, & to put on a blacke garment, least he should conceiue anie mistrust. Now (said I) can I so doe? He hath sent for me, and knoweth my clothing: if by my speech he should know me, and then find my clothing changed, he will enter a greater apprehension of death than before: therefore consider of it, if anie thing fall out amisse, it will be a perpetuall reproch to vs all. In the end monseigneur I sought his steward a verie wise man so ordered the matter, and with such discretion, that he brake with him of it. At that time was he overcome with a drowsie sleape, and still holden with a short wind, accompanied with continuall sweats, and sometime would aske; Do men die thus? On the tenth daie of June which was sundaie, after diuers ceremonieall actions dispatched, and speeches to and fro uttered, with pittifull sighs on all sides of inward settled sorow; the monseigneur desired that he might sleepe a while: but his sleape was not long per he awaked, when he twist him and Berfon (all the rest being gone) something was said and done, which

Do men die  
thus? saith  
the monseigneur  
drawing to  
his end.

Berfons  
words to  
monseigneur  
the hearing  
whereof ge-  
nerall ge-  
nerall sent.

His will  
(meanin  
Gods)  
done, for  
the monseigneur  
with a fe-  
werth of  
death be

The in-  
struction  
and the  
face of  
the body  
and blood  
Christ.

Wersons  
words to the  
monieur in  
the hearing of  
the gentle  
men pre-  
sent.

I shal  
n ba-  
cer-  
remo-  
ident  
ne  
office.

hope  
en of  
scur  
d not  
queene  
th

his will  
(meaning  
Gods) be  
done, faith  
the monieur  
with a forced  
speech on his  
knee bed.

nonfene  
into an  
title of  
alabre,  
all hope  
pauere.

The insti-  
tution and use  
of the sacrament  
of the bodie  
and blood of  
Christ.

men doe  
s faith  
monieur  
owing to  
end.

which (belike) was not for enerie eare & eie to heare  
or see. In the end, Werson perceiving by manifest  
indications, that death pleased upon him, blessed these  
words to the monieur, some (of likelihood) being  
then within the hearing. My lord, in the beginning  
of your sicknesse, you & I made a ioint promise unto  
God, wherewith I am burdened: and therefore I do  
unburden my selfe thereof, vntil you will helpe to  
burden me againe. We are witnesses that you haue  
loued God: now is the time that you must acknow-  
ledge him, you are verie sicke, but your soule is  
sound in your bodie. If it please our good God to  
grant you life, he granteth it to the end you should  
amend; so should your selfe be happie, and we content  
that you should liue. If he vouchsafe to call you to  
paradise, how blessed shall you be, or wheremay  
you be better? So that whatsoeuer happen, be it life,  
be it death, still shall you be content and happie. Re-  
solue your selfe therefore wholie in the will of God.  
All we here are your faithfull seruants, and those who  
euermore haue desired to be so fortunate as to be ho-  
nored with your commandements; whose eies and  
eares haue alwaies bene open to heare and obeie  
you, and to fulfill your will; neuer did you command  
anie thing, but you were immediatlie obeyed. Now  
know you, that your selfe are Gods seruant; him  
you must obeie, and to his will must you wholie re-  
solue your selfe: whether it be his will you should  
liue, or is his pleasure you should die still saie: His  
will be done.

Then with a forced speech this good prince said:  
His will be done. Take no care my lord said I, for  
anie worldlie matters. Greatnesse, riches, and re-  
notome doe perish. Paradise is to be found and pos-  
sessed. It is a great matter to be a kings sonne, but  
it is much greater to be the child of God. You are  
now as a child new borne, you want nothing but  
the fod of the children of God: you haue no more to  
do, but to communicat in the pretious bodie of our  
Lord: it is here ready, would you not gladlie haue  
it? I will cause you easilie to vse it. He answered  
yes. Then taking the holie sacrament I began to  
saie vnto him: My Lord Iesus the heauenlie word  
and euertlasting sonne of God, in old time inuisible,  
did in the end visible manifest himselfe to the world  
in humane flesh, by taking vpon him our visible and  
passible nature: but because he was not perpetuallie  
to remaine in this humane bale, remiuing and as-  
cending into heauen, we had him no longer to touch  
and handle carnallie and visible. And therefore to  
the end not to faile of his promise, that he would be  
still with vs vntill the consummation of the world;  
he hath giuen vs inuisible his pretious bodie & blood  
vnder these holie signes and sacraments, that by the  
communion in such and so pretious a gift, we might  
be strengthened in his loue, & through his grace be de-  
fended against all temptations & stumbling blocks  
of our saluation: like as Elias, who in the strength  
of the fod for him miraculously ordeined, after his  
sleepe travelled long iournies, euen vntill he did see  
God. Receiue therefore this signe and testimonie  
of the remission of your sinnes, and when you shall  
be presented before the maiestie of God, it shall be  
vnto you a badge and token that you belong vnto  
him.

Then lifting vp his eyes and looking all about him,  
this good prince opened his mouth, which presentlie  
I moistened with his drinke, & so gaue him the holie  
sacrament, and againe poured in some of his drinke  
to swallow it withall, which he did both deuotlie  
and couragiously; in somuch that afterward he did  
eat & speake better than he had done all the night &  
morning before, to the great contentation of all the  
company: in whose presence I did againe exhort

him saieing: Now my lord, behold you are armed  
with the cheefe of all your desire, I beseech you com-  
fort your selfe in the Lord. It is a great fauour  
that he hath shewed you, in making you (as it appea-  
reth) inheritor vnto the faith, pietie, and christianitie  
of the kings of France, whose faith and descent you  
do hold.

Let your soule now resolue, you although you  
should now die. Thinke that a contentation vnto  
you it shall be; to be discharged from so manie  
worldlie affaires, what a pleasure to exchange this  
mortal life for an immortal; glorious and perdnra-  
ble life; cease no lets: the waie is already beaten,  
already are they passed the same, whose greatnesse  
& faith you do inherit. The patriarchs doe saie for you,  
the prophets doe call you: the apostles doe stretch  
forth their armes vnto you: the martyrs doe insult  
you: the confessors doe solicit you: the virgins doe  
giue you place: all the saints doe looke for you. We  
haue discharged all the duties of faithfull seruants,  
and such as loue you hartlie. And hauing thus spo-  
ken, with a demand or twofold made, and their answers  
added: Werson, being the mouth of the residue, said  
of the monieur dialing on; that they (meaning  
himselfe and the companie present) waited but for  
the houre of his death: yet had he one houre and a  
halfe to liue. So soone as we were gone, he desired  
to haue his head laid lower: his chamberleine im-  
mediatlie called to vs for helpe, & suddenlie he gaue  
vp the ghost: my selfe James Werson, at the dissolu-  
tion of his sweet soule from his louclie bodie, vling  
these words: Go and passe on christian soule, and re-  
turne to him that hath created thee, &c.

He went awaie so sweetlie that it could hardlie  
be perceiued, in somuch that some who could not be  
persuaded that he was dead (for his eyes were open  
and cleere, and his countenance no whit changed)  
held a looking glasse to his mouth, but there was no  
signe of life: others feeling his pulses, imagined  
they did beat, but that was because they were strai-  
ned euen to the nailes ends. At this word, he is  
gone, oh what pittie! oh God what tears! what sighes!  
what sobbs! all was dissolued into howling and cries:  
those that in armes were forwardest, were now re-  
diest in teares, sundrie smoned in the chamber, at  
the sound hereof the towne quaked, the castell soun-  
ded most lamentable voices: yea my selfe hauing  
lost all courage was forced to open the pole of my  
head, and to vnstop the gate of my hart, to the end  
with teares and lamentations to discharge that af-  
fection which I bare vnto him.

About foure of the clocke, when all were departed  
I took the linnen wherein he was lapped from about  
the bodie of this good prince, then did I laie and order  
it honestlie and with reuerence handled it, some of  
vs also had so good hap as to kisse his hands & head.  
Oh my god lord and master, neuer durst I haue  
bene so bold, had it not bene for the confidence you  
reposed in me: alas whie was it so late before I did  
know you, to serue you so small a time? Inantlie  
am I forced to print you in my remembrance, in-  
graine you in my soule, and to burie you in my hart,  
for that you vouchsafed to make mine eares gardi-  
ans of that which rested in your conscience. Iourne,  
mourne with me my masters, and all ye the officers  
of his house: we haue lost the best master in the  
world, for euer shall the tenth daie of June beare  
witness of our misgapp: hereafter shall we neuer  
vpon that daie haue occasion to hold merie feast be-  
tweene twelue and one of the clocke, the houre of the  
decease of so desired a prince. The yeare 1584 is in-  
ded a yeare of reuolution. France, France, quar-  
ter thine armes, & in lieu of lions sow in teares: for  
the Lord taketh from vs all our noble & honorable,  
A. 1584.

Wersons ex-  
hortation  
speeches to the  
monieur,  
preparing and  
seeing him-  
selfe to God-  
ward.

The mon-  
ieur. Repara-  
ture out of  
this world like  
a lamp, whose  
light saith  
for want of  
oile.

Wersons  
speech of in-  
mourne with  
me my masters  
to be assured  
the monieur be-  
parted.

These be  
the words  
of the  
chamberlaine  
James Werson.

For he was  
preacher, &c.  
to the moun-  
teur and lost  
dimidium ani-  
mae suae by his  
death.

Ground re-  
moued.

Eight per-  
sons killed by  
the fall of a  
scaffold at the  
beare garden,  
a warning to  
prophaners of  
the sabbath  
daie.

Eob. Haff. in  
Psal. 50.

William Wau-  
lar and Ma-  
rie Bream  
smothered to  
death.

and takest the god to depzue vs of them, for my  
part I will beare the companie. Wherefor his  
trespasses I doe giue him sorrowes, and for his bodie  
in ashes the lamentations of flanders, at the least  
I inherit in his right an example of vertue, accom-  
ting my selfe infinitlie bounden vnto their maie-  
sties, who gaue me to doe the seruice appertaining to  
my ministrie, vnto a prince that loued me so much,  
and in whose house all men honored me, whose orat-  
for: I doe most deuoutlie rest, desiring them to haue  
patience, though for recompense they haue no more  
but my selfe. *Requiescat in pace.* This is all that was  
purposed to saie touching the monseur, hauing o-  
mitted much that is not communicable, & now will  
we turne our pen vpon passage to England, noting  
occurrences of our owne.]

The thirteenth daie of Januarie, in the parish of  
Cernitage in a place called Blache moze in Dorset-  
shire, a peece of ground containing thre acres re-  
moued from the place where it was first planted, 20  
and was caried cleane ouer an other close, where al-  
der and willow trees grew, the space of fortye goad  
(euerie goad containing fiftene fot) and hath stop-  
ped vp an high waie that directed towards the mar-  
ket towne of Cerne; and yet notwithstanding the  
hedges wherewith it was inclosed, inuiron it still,  
and the trees stand thereon bolt vpight, sauing one  
oke tree, that is well nigh twentie goads removed:  
the place whereas the ground had his being at the  
first is left like vnto a great hollow pit. The same 30  
thirteenth daie of Januarie, being sundae, about  
four of the clocke in the afternone, the old and  
brderpropped scaffolds round about the beare garden,  
commonlie called Paris garden, on the southside  
the Thames, ouer against the citie of London, ouer-  
charged with people fell suddenlie doونه, whereby to  
the number of eight persons men and women were  
slaine, and manie other soze hurt and bzused. A friend-  
lie warning to all such as moze delight themselves  
in the crueltie of beastes, to see them rent one an o-  
ther, than in the works of mercie, which are the fruits  
of a true professed faith, and ought to be the sabbath  
daies exercise: and not onelie a warning to works  
of mercie, but a watchword to put vs in mind how  
we violate the sabbath daie, the Lords owne daie,  
which he sanctified himselfe, that we by his example  
might sanctifie the same, and not prophane it with  
such gentilline as we do, as though God would not  
call vs to a reckoning for abusing his holie ordina-  
ces, and falsifying the glorious title of christians in  
our obious actions: for the which God will seuerelie  
erposulat with vs, and with indignation demand of  
vs why we take his lawes in our mouths, & renounce  
them in our minds; why we let them swim in our  
lips, and slip from our liues, as the vaine Iewes did,  
vnto whome God said in displeasure as followeth:

*Quid de lege mea declamas ore profano?*

*Non hoc officij debuit esse tui:*

*Cum tamen & mores & leges oderis aequas,*

*Et verbi officium negligis, omne mei.*

On the third of Februarie being sundae, Wil-  
lain Wauilar habardasher (a man of moze than  
thre score yeares old) being lodged ouer the south-  
west porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with  
a woman named Marie Bream (whome the same  
Wauilar had bailed out of Wydeuwell) were both  
found smothered to death, in maner following. On  
the same sundae in the morning, a marriage being  
solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt,  
which was thought to haue bene the burning of old  
shoes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber  
there about, thereby to suppress the infection of the  
plague. But in the afternone before euening pray-  
er, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of

Wauilars chamber, and thereupon made hast to the  
doze, which they found fast locked, and were forced to  
breake it open, but could not enter, till they had rip-  
ped vp the lead and rose of the chamber to let out the  
smothering stench: which being done, they found  
Wauilar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in  
his apparell, and close trussed) his right thigh & right  
arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire  
of a small part of coales that stood before him, but  
not being cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke  
of aife. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so  
that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether  
part of hir bodie before to hir bzelt, and behind to the  
shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but  
the bottome of the settle wheron Wauilar sat. Of this  
lamentable accident people talked diuerlie, and  
pamphlets were published to make the same moze  
knolune: bothwhet, to leaue the certaine meanes of  
the euent to his knowledge that vnderstandeth and  
seeth all things, let it be a warning to all ages so to  
line, as that an honest report may attend their death,  
& shame sie from them as a cloud before the wind:

*Sic sapient, sic non insipientes erunt.*

On the sixteenth of Aprill about six of the clocke  
in the morning, Thomas Wozth & Alice Shephard,  
were hanged on a gibbet at Sholane end in Fleet-  
street, for killing of a prentice in the same Sholane.  
Also on the same daie about eight of the clocke in the  
morning, a gunpowder house, called the signe of the  
gun in Fetterlane nere vnto Fleetstreet, and di-  
uerse other houses nere adiaining, were blowne  
vp, with the spoire of fiftie hundred weight of pow-  
der: two men and one woman were slaine, & diuerse  
other persons, as well men as women and children  
were soze hurt; some blasted with the flame, some  
bzused with the fall of timber vpon them, &c.

Albertus Alasco, frere baron of Lasco, Maistore of  
palatine of Stradia in Poland, arrived at Har-  
wich in Essex, and on the last of Aprill came by wa-  
ter to Winchester house in Southwozke, where he  
remained for the most part of his abode here: of  
whome moze hereafter at his returne into his owne  
countrie. Elias Thacker tailor was hanged at saint  
Edmunds burie in Suffolke on the fourth of June,  
and John Coping thomaker on the first of the same  
moneth, for spreading and mainteining certaine  
booke seditionlie penned by one Robert Browne  
against the receiued boke of English common  
praier, established by the lawes of this realme their  
booke (so manie as could be found) were burned be-  
fore them. This yeare on the ninth of June decea-  
sed Thomas Katcliffe earle of Souther, lord chamber-  
leine to hir maiestie, and knight of the garter, at  
Wormundseie in the bozough of Southwozke be-  
sides London, and was on the eight of Julie next  
following conueied through the same citie of Lon-  
don toward Petworthall in Essex, there to be buried in  
forme following. First went on foot before him fortye  
and five poze men in blacke gownes, then on horse-  
backe one hundred and twentie seruingmen in  
blacke coats, then ninetie and five gentlemen in  
blacke gownes or clokes, besides the heralds at  
armes and other, which bare his helme, creast, sword,  
coat of armes, and banners of armes, &c. Then the  
deceased earle, couered with a pall of blacke vel-  
uet, in a chariot likewise couered with blacke veluet,  
drawne with foure goodlie geldings; next after was  
led the earles freed couered with blacke veluet, then  
sir Henrie Katcliffe the succeding erle chiefe moun-  
ner, and eight other lordes all in blacke, then the lord  
maior and his brethren the aldermen of London ri-  
ding in murreate gownes, then on foot the gentle-  
men of Greis in, and last of all the worshipfull com-  
panie of the merchant tailors of London in their li-  
ueries,

1583  
A man and a  
woman han-  
ged at Shol-  
lane end.

The gun-  
powder house  
in Fetterlane  
blowne bp.

Palatine of  
Stradia in  
Poland came  
into England.

Elias Thack-  
er, and John  
Coping han-  
ged at Wozth.

Thomas  
Katcliffe earle  
of Souther de-  
ceased.



11. Stow.

ueries, for that the said earle was a brother of their companie, as manie noble men, and famous princes, kings of this realme before him had bene; as more at large is declared in \* the summarie of the chronicles of England, in the eighteenth yeare of king Henrie the seventh. The maior and aldermen, the gentlemen of Greis in, and the merchant tailors accompanied the corps to the barres without Aldgate, and returned. This was the end of that noble man, who (whiles he liued) aduentured lim and life against the enmities of the English commonwelth, and therefore in respect of his excellent seruices, deserued no lesse remembrance than is already extant of him in print, whereof this following is a parcell:

*Satrapas præclarus, fortis & audax,  
Elisabetha tui speciosi corporis acer  
Et fidus custos, discrimen adire paratus  
Quolibet, iniuncto Mauris pectore campo:  
Cui virtus persæpe herbam porrexit Hibernus,  
Quem pugnis fulgens ornat victoria parva  
Sanguineus, sed laus huic maxima iudicii æqui.*

Edmund Grindall doctor of diuinitie archbishop of Canturburie deceased at Croidon in Surre on the first daie of Julie, & was there buried. This good man in his life time was so studious, that his booke was his bedside, and his studie his bryde chamber, whereupon he spent both his eyesight, his strength, and his health, and therefore might verie well not actiuelie but passiuely be named as (he was) Grindall: for he ground himselfe euen to his grave by mortification. Of whome much might be spoken for others imitation (sith the vse of the historie, is to instruct succeeding ages) but this shall suffice, that as his learning & vertue were inseparable companions; so the reward of both is the good name which he hath left behind him as a monument perpetuall, because vertue was the founder of the same: according to the true saing of the late poet importing no lesse:

*Virtutis merces eadem & labor, illa tropheum est,  
Solique dat nigra vincere mortis iter:  
Nam nisi virtutis queratur gloria factis,  
Omnis in extremos est abitura rogos.*

Barnard Kambolfe esquier, common fargeant to the citie of London, deceased on the seauenth of August. This man in his life time, somewhat before his death, gaue and deliuered to the companie of the Fishmongers in London the summe of nine hundred pounds, of good and lawfull monie of England to be imploied towards the conducing of Thames water, ceterning the same in lead, and caskelling with stone in the parishes of saint Marie Magdalene, and saint Nicholas colde abbey, nere unto old Fishstreet, seauen hundred pounds. The other two hundred pounds, to paie for euer yearely the summe of ten pounds, that is, towards the maintenance of a poore scholar in the vniuersitie of Orenford yearelye foure pounds. Towards the mending of the high waies in the parish of Esherhurst, in the countie of Surre, where the said Barnard was borne, euerie yeare foure pounds. And to the poore people of the parishes of saint Nicholas Olue in Bredstreet and saint Marie Magdalene nere to old Fishstreet foure shillings, to wit, twentie shillings to either parish for euer. More he willed and bequeathed by his last will and testament to be bestowed in land or annuities, to the reliefe of the poore inhabiting in the wards of Quenehiue, and castell Baintard in the citie of London, and in the aforesaid parish of Esherhurst in the countie of Surre, the summe of one thousand pounds.

Demons  
Apprehended  
and executed.

This yeare in the moneth of June, were sent to the seas, a ship called the barke Talbot, and a small barke, both manned with a hundred men, vnder the charge of William Brough esquier, clerke of his

maiesties nauie, for the apprehending of cerseine outrageous searouers, who for that they were manie in number, and well appointed (containing the small strength that was set out against them) so boldlie behaued themselves, as that hostilie after it was confidentlie hunted, that they had vanquished in sight the said ship and barke. But within few daies after, beyond all expectation, they were by the said William Brough and his companie discomfited and taken, to the number of ten saile (whereof three were pilles) & some of the chiefe pirats, namelie Thomas Walton alias Purser, Clinton Atkinson, William Ellis, William Valentine alias Bagh, Thomas Beuen and foure more, on the thirtieth of August were hanged at Wapping in the oze besides London. Walton as he went to the gallies rent his benectian breeches of crimsin taffata, and distributed the same pecemeale, to such his old acquaintance as stood nere about him: but Atkinson had before giuen his murrie beluet dabbet with great gold buttons, and the like coloured beluet benectians laid with great gold lace (apparell so sumptuous for searouers) which he had toozne at the seas, & wherein he was brought by prisoner from Corse castell in the Ile of Porbecke to London, vnto such his friends as pleased him, before he went to Wapping.

This Clinton Atkinson (a personable fellow, tall of stature and well proportioned, of acceptable behauiour when he kept shop for himselfe, being a free man of London, and like enough to doe well if he had taken good waies) had his name of the late earle of Lincolne now deceased, who christened him being an infant, & by whose speciall meanes (being growne a proper man) he was not long before saued from the like death, and yet thorough want of grace making relapse, fell within danger of law. He descended of honest parents, his father spectallie being a man of verie honest name, one that loved the truth, for the testimonie whereof he forsoke his owne natie countrie, leading a hard life with his familie beyond the seas in quene Maries daies: & returning to England at the inthronization of our gracious queene Elisabeth in the seat of fall, was made minister, in which vocation he died in Gods fauour, and the good opinion of his neighbors, leuing behind him (among other sonnes) this his eldest, sorted (as you see) to the shame, which malefactors of that qualitie, and so conuined, can not auoid. This auoweth he that knew the man as well as the right hand from the left. Where (to conclude) we are to marke that it is not alwaies true, that good parents haue good children: for here is an example of degeneracion, procured not by euill education (for this Clinton wanted no good bzinging up) but by bad companie and libertie, the verie spoile of many a one that otherwile might liue & thine. Wherein by the way we are to wonder at the counsels of God, who suffereth children so much to varie from their parents in qualitie, as if they had not receiued their birthright, but were bastards & changelings: but to end with the prophet Dauid saing:

*Intima consilij non penetranda Dei.*

On the eighteenth daie of September, John Lewes, who named himselfe Abbot, an obstinate heretike, denieng the godhead of Christ, and holding diuers other detestable heresies (much like to his predecessor Mattheu Hamont) was burned at Norwich. On the two and twentieth of September Alberthus de Alasco, palatine of Siradia in Poland, before spoken of, now when he had well viewed the order of our English court and nobilitie; with other places of this realme, especiallie the vniuersitie of Orenford, &c: taking leaue of his maiestie, and of the nobilitie, he departed towards Poland. But before we make entrance into further occurrents, it shall not be amisse

A briefe description of Clinton Atkinson and his parents.

Compende & libertie bring name to miserie.

In heretike John Lewes burned at Norwich. See pag. 1299.

Palatine of Siradia in Poland returned.

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and a  
house  
terlane  
by.

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Thaco  
id John  
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Berrie,

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lles by

Edmund  
Grindall  
archbishop  
of Canturb-  
urie deceased.

Abt Hartia  
R.L.

Justice Rans-  
wick his cha-  
rice of one  
thousand nine  
hundred  
pounds.

A description  
of Albertus  
his person, ap-  
parell, &c.

" At Dren-  
ford, where  
he termed  
the Latine  
that he spake  
Military Lat-  
in, that is,  
soldiers La-  
tine.  
The lord  
Pozris his  
daughter mar-  
ried to sir A.  
Poulet his  
eldest sonne.

The welcom-  
ing of Al-  
bertus to the  
vniuersitie of  
Drenford,  
with a partle  
description of  
his intertein-  
ment.

Some of roses  
water, and  
haile of sugar  
confect, &c.

amisse to touch some necessarie circumstances of re-  
membrence.

This Albertus in the eyes of the most, wherof  
some knew him, that might hardlie commend him,  
esteemed him a man for making well proportioned,  
of an indifferent tall stature, of countenance amia-  
ble, and complexion English like, having a white  
beard of such length and breadth, as that lieng in his  
bed, and parting it with his hands, the same over-  
spread all his breast and shoulders, himselfe greatlie  
delighting therein, and reputing it an ornament: as  
for his qualities (apparent vnto the world) they  
were generous, his viterance sweet, his wit plausi-  
ble, in the knowledge of tongues well sene: his ordi-  
narie attire scarlet, but when he presented himselfe  
to his maiestie, a robe or gowne of purple velvet,  
with other habiliments and furniture agreeable; his  
shoes of a strange fashion, supposed of some not al-  
together unlike Chaucers. Finallie, a gallant fel-  
low he was, & (as might be gathered by some words  
spoken by him in open audience) moze partiall  
than Mercuriall; verie active in respect of his age,  
and also studious in diuerse faculties, &c.

Touching the interteinment which he had at  
Drenford, and how the vniuersitie did congratulate  
his comming, it is somewhat worth the noting. In  
the moneth of June, the said Albertus de Lasco,  
comming from the marriage of the lord Pozris his  
daughter, with sir A. Poulets eldest sonne at Nicot,  
he put himselfe on the waie to Drenford, wherof the  
vniuersitie (doctor Hounden then vicechancelor, &  
maister Lelion with maister Cdes proctors) hauing  
intelligence, provided for his convenient receiuing:  
insomuch that in the waie to Drenford, there met  
him doctor Wellfailing, who greeted him with a  
pithie salutation. In like sort did the maior and his  
brethren, in whose behalfe for the whole citie, the  
towne clerke a worshipfull maister of art, pronoun-  
ced his short and sententious speech in Latine, not  
without some gratulatorie gift from that corporati-  
on. On the east gate wherat he entered, stood a con-  
sort of musicians, who for a long space made verie  
sweet harmonie, which could not but moue & delight:

*Inscia plebs populusque arrectis auribus astat,  
Dulciferumque rudi suscipit aure melos.*

All by the high street vnto saint Paries church, on  
either side the waie, were decentlie marshalled  
scholers in their gownes & caps, batchelors and mai-  
sters in their habits and hoods. At saint Paries the  
orator of the vniuersitie (notable in his facultie) pre-  
sented him a booke, in which were closelie couched ve-  
rie rich and gorgeous gloues. From thence he mar-  
ched to Chypps church, where he was whilst he abode  
in the vniuersitie most honourable interteined. And  
the first night being vacant, as in which he sought ra-  
ther rest in his lodging than recreation in anie aca-  
demicall pastimes, strange fire works were shew-  
ed, in the great quadrangle, besides rockets and a  
number such maner of deuises. On the second daie,  
his first dinner was made him at Aloules college,  
where (besides dutifull receiuing of him) he was so-  
lemnlie satisfied with scholerlie exercises and court-  
lie fare. This night & the night insuing, after sump-  
tuons suppers in his lodging, he personally was pre-  
sent with his traine in the hall, first at the plaing of  
a pleasant comedie intituled *Rinales*; then at the set-  
ting out of a verie statelle tragedie named *Dido*,  
wherein the queenes banquet (with Cneas narration  
of the destruction of Troie) was liuelie described in  
a marchpaine patterne, there was also a goodlie sight  
of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds,  
Percutite and Iris descending and ascending from  
and to an high place, the tempest wherein it hailed  
small confects, rained rosewater, and shew an arti-

ficiall kind of snow, all strange, marvellous, & abun-  
dant.

Most of the actors were of the same house, six or  
seauen of them were of saint Johns, & thre or foure  
of other colleges & hals. His second dinner the thirde  
daie was at Spagbaleu college, with oratorie wel-  
comming & bountifull feasting. His thirde dinner the  
fourth daie at Jello college. The eloquent speech in  
Greke Latine and Dutch with his owne vnstudied  
answer therunto, & all other before rehearsed, are not  
to be omitted; nor the publike philosophie, physike,  
and diuinitie disputations, in all which those learned  
opponents, respondents, & moderatores, quitted them-  
selues like themselves, sharplie and soundlie, besides  
all other solempne sermons & lectures. At afternone  
the fourth & last daie, he went towards Woodstocke  
manour, and without the north gate by the waie he  
was inuited vnto a banquet at saint Johns college,  
where the gates & outward wals ouercovered with  
thousands of verses, & other emblematicall poetries  
then offered him, argued their hartie goodwills; but  
his hastening to his iourneys end caused him not to ta-  
ste the delicat banquet; yet onelie stating the delinea-  
rie of a sweet oration and his owne quicke wittie re-  
pliche therunto, he departed immediatlie, accompa-  
nied for a mile or two with the most of those reue-  
rend doctors and heads of houses all on horsebacke,  
where the orator againe gaue him an orators fare-  
well. And this is the summe of his interteinment,  
not deliuered in such sort as the dignitie of the same  
requireth; howbeit sufficient for a sudden remem-  
brance.

On the thre & twentieth daie of September, John  
Whitgift doctor of diuinitie, sometimes maister of  
Trinitie colledge in Cambridge, and afterwards  
bishop of Worcester, was at Lambeth translated  
to the archbishopricke of Canturburie, where he at  
his comming to Lambeth (as also elswhere he al-  
waies did) gaue euident testimonies both of mind  
fulnesse and thankefulnesse for his advancements:  
as by the thre tables hanging at the upper end of his  
great chamber appeareth: their position in this sort.  
In the midst his maiesties armes roiall artificiallie  
brought, with as much cunning as the painter by  
his pencil could describe them: and vnder them  
this distichon of thankesgiving, and wellwishing:

*Ne foreas felix regat Elisabetha per annos,  
Qua mihi munificæ Candida dona dedit.*

Albise, ad D.  
archiep. nonum.

On the right side, the armes of the see of Cantur-  
burie of azure, a pall silver garnished with crosses  
forme fische sable ouer a crosse portatille gold: to the  
lower end whereof this distichon is fairelie fised:

*En leue multiplici premeretur cuspide corpus,  
Ni baculus Christi grande leuaret onus.*

Ab. Hart. quod-  
dam Cant. &  
Trinitarini.

On the left side are placed the ancient armes of  
the see of Worcester, from the which he was transla-  
ted, which are of silver, ten toxeaur, foure, thre,  
two, one: with this distichon thereunto annexed:

*Qui crucis arumnas patitur, post fata triumphat,  
Lilia sic spendent fuluis coniuncta talentis.*

ouer & above the arms of both the said sees is his  
graces poise, *Vincit qui patitur*: a deserued poise, and  
iustified by his actions. The tenth of October at Can-  
ter, a towne in Dorsetshire nere the sea coast, about  
two miles from Dartmouth, there was a fish of  
wonderfull length, by force of the wind (being then  
easterlie) drituen a shore, the length whereof was  
from the necke vnto the taile seuentene yards  
and one fote, hauing a big head; for the chap of the  
fish was thre yards and a quarter in length, with  
teeth of thre quarters of a yard compas, great eyes,  
and two great holes ouer them to spout out water,  
his taile was fourtene fot broad, &c: the laie in the  
sands, and was sunken therein a yard and a halfe  
depe,

Shade  
Bodie  
red.

An Re-  
posed  
hanged  
at once  
Smithy

Desmo-  
head sei  
Londor  
bridge.

Bank  
in Ches-  
burne.

Some  
Arden,  
there ar  
no.

Arden  
e  
na

From  
fish taken in  
Dorsetshire.

Slade and  
Bodie execut-  
ed.

deepe, and yet was she above the sands so high, that a lather of fourtene staves would but reach to the top of his backe; so that in thickeesse from the backe to the bellie, she was foure yards and a halfe. John Slade, sometime a scholemaster, and John Bodie a maister of art of Oxford, being both indicted and condemned of high treason, were drawne, hanged, and quartered: Slade at Winchester on the thirtieth date of October, and Bodie at Andouar on the second date of November.

An. Reg. 26.  
hanged, ten  
at once in  
Smithfield.

About this time, one named Ditch a notable horsestealer, was apprehended at the sessions holden for the goale deliuerie at Newgate, on the fourth of December, ninetene times indicted, whereof he confessed eightene: who also betwene the time of his apprehension and the said sessions, appeached manie for stealing of horses, whereof (diuerse being apprehended) ten of them were condemned, and hanged in Smithfield on the first date of December, being Friday, and horse market there. He also holpe diuerse more to their horses againe which had bene stolne from them, taking of euerie one of them ten shillings the pece or more that so recovered their horses: wherby he made fiftene pounds of currant monie towards his charges. James earle of Desmond in Ireland, secretlie wandering without any succour as a miserable begger, being taken in his cabbin by one of the Irishie, his head was cut off, and sent into England, where the same (as the head of an archbell) was set vpon London bridge on the thirteenth daie of December. Loke for the manner of his rebellion and his death more at large set downe in the historie of Ireland.

Desmonds  
head set on  
London  
bridge.

Pantwich  
in Cheshire  
burnt.

The tenth date of December, through negligence of vndiscreet persons, brewring in the towne of Pantwich, in a place called Waterlode; the fire being careleslie left, took hold (as should seeme) vpon some straw, or such light matter, & so burst forth to the rofes of the house, and in short time so increased, that from the west end of the towne (the wind at southwest) the flame was disperfed so furiously into the towne on the southside, that in short space a great part of the said southside and some of the eastside was burned downe to the ground. Which fire beginning at six of the clocke in the evening, and continuing till six of the clocke in the morning following, neuer ceased burning, till it had consumed above the number of two hundred houses, besides brew houses, barnes, stables, &c: in all about six hundred houses, so that by estimation of manie, the losse of houses and goods amounted to about thirtie thousand pounds, as more at large appeared by a particular booke printed of that matter. About this time, John Somerville a furious young man of Essex in Warwicksheire, of late discouered and taken in his waie comming with full intent to kill the queenes maiestie (whom God long prosper to reigne ouer vs) confessed the treason, and that he was moued thereunto in his wicked spirit, by certeine traitorous persons his kinsmen and alies, and also by often reading of certeine seditious bookes lately published, for the which the said Somerville, Edward Arden a squire of Parkehall in Warwicksheire, Marie Arden his wife (father and mother in law to the said Somerville) and Hugh Hall priest, being with other before indicted at Warwicke, were on the sixteenth of December arraigned in the Guildhall of London, where they were found guiltie and condemned of high treason. On the nineteenth of December, John Somerville, and Edward Arden, being brought from the tower of London to Newgate of the same citie, and there shut vp in severall places: within two hours after, Somerville was found (desperatlie) to haue strangled himselfe. And

Somerville,  
Arden, and o-  
thers arraign-  
ed.

South  
gate.

on the morrow being the twentieth of December, Edward Arden was drawne from Newgate into Smithfield, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered: whose head with Somervilles was set on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the citie; but the bodie of Somerville was buried in the Fozefelds, nere vnto the windmills without Newgate. A breadfull example of Gods heauie iudgement vpon those two offenders; but speciallie against the last, whom God deliuered to a reprobate mind, in somuch that his owne hands became his hangman, preventing the office of the common executioner, who should haue performed that last action vpon him: whereof the iustice of God in vengeance made himselfe the finisher and fulfiller. Thus much by the waie of terro; that the remembrance hereof, by the reading & reporting of the same, may make men euill minded, amazed at the rigorous reuengement which God taketh (when he seeth his due time) vpon the wicked: after his long sufferance and patience most wickedlie abused; whereof the poet saith:

*Plinio procedit (fateor) diuina gradatim,  
Nec quoties peccant fulmina vibrat eis:  
Supplicij vero iusta grauitate rependit  
Turpia, quae longo tempore facta tulit.*

In this yeare 1583 (which should haue bene noted in the fore part of the yeare) by the meanes of a certeine astrologicall discourse, vpon the great and notable conjunction of the two superiour planets, Saturne and Jupiter, prognosticated to be the eight and twentieth of April; the common sort of people yea and no small multitude of such as thinke themselues to be called soles, or counted beggers, whilst they were in expectation of this conjunction, were in no small imaginations, supposing that no lesse would haue bene effected, than by the said discourse was prophesied. Into these fantasies not void of feare and mistrust they were drawne with the more facilitie, for that they had read, and heard, & pondered, and suspected, and in part beleued the predictions of such euents as should insue by influence of that conjunction. For it was termed the great and notable conjunction, which should be manifested to the ignorant sort, by manie fierce and boisterous winds then suddenly breaking out. It was called the greatest and most soveraigne conjunction among the seven planets: why so? Because lawes, and empires, and regions are ruled by the same: which foretellethe the comming of a prophet, & the destruction of certeine climates and parts of the earth, and new found hereties, and a new founded kingdome, and damages through the pestilence, and abundant showers: which doth prognosticate the destinie of a great and mightie king, much sorrow & heauinesse to men, losses to rich and noble men, yea and those too which are accounted and reputed like to prophets, and a multitude of locusts: which doth foretelle that weightie and wonderfull things shall come into the world: which doth threaten continuall ouerflowes of waters, and particular deluges in some countries: finally, which menaceth much mischief. The publication, off reading, and talking of this conjunction, with the remembrance of the instant wherein it should be, made manie (when the daie foretold was come) to loke for some strange apparition or vision in the aire; and withall, put them in mind of an old and common prophesie, touching the yeare 1588, which is now so rise in euerie mans mouth. That yeare was manie hundred yeares ago foretold and much spoken of amongst astrologers, who haue as it were, *Unanimi consensu*, prognosticated, that either a marvellous fearfull & horrible alteration of empires, kingdoms, seignories and estates, together likewise with other most wonderfull, and verie extraordinary accidents,

This booke  
for the time  
that it was  
in request, set  
people wrongs  
on worke,  
and filled  
their minds  
with strange  
concepts.

why it was  
called the  
great conjunction.

Touching  
the yeare of  
wonders,  
gathered to  
be 1588.

to  
spoke  
music.

10.  
month.

month  
of  
the  
year.

month  
of  
the  
year.

dents, as extreme hunger and pestilence, desperat treasons and commotions shall then fall out, to the miserable affliction and oppression of huge multitudes: or else, that an bitter and final ouerthrowe and destruction of the whole world shall insue: which prophesie is contained in these verses following:

Continuus Re-  
giomontanus.

*Post mille expletos a partu Virginis annos,  
Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos:  
Octogimus octauum mirabilis annus  
Ingruet, is seculum tristitia saueret.  
Si non hoc anno totum malus occidet orbis,  
Si non in nihilum terra, fretumque ruet:  
Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibunt atque retrosum,  
Imperia, & luctus undique grandis erit.*

The great  
peare of  
1588 is  
more talked of  
than feared.

So that by this prophesie, either a small dissolution, or a wonderfull horrible alteration of the world is then to be expected. All these considerations laid together, as well the prediction of the confusion in expectation, as also the dreadfull events, which were to insue thereupon: and upon the necke of these, the great peare of 1588 in euery mans mouth, the more frequent and common by occasion of a booke extant vnder the title of the end of the world, and the second comming of Christ, made diuerse diuersitie affected; inasmuch that some conuersion and consering, looked for no lesse than was prophesied; and talking verie religiouslie, seemed as though they would become sanctified people: howbeit, the day of the confusion being past, with a certeine counterchecke against the said astrological discourse in some points defectiue, and no such euents palpable perceived as were prognosticated; people fell to their former securitie, and condemned the discourser of extreme madnesse and follie: whereof no more but this, *Scientia nullum habet sibi inimicum prater ignorantem.*

when people  
saw nothing  
in the aire (as  
they looked  
for) they fell  
to derision.

1584  
Cartar execu-  
ted for prin-  
ting a trai-  
torious booke.

On the tenth of Ianuarie in the peare 1584 at a sessions holden in the iustice hall in the old bailie of London for goale deliuerie of Newgate, William Cartar of the citie of London was there indicted, arraigned, and condemned of high treason, for printing a seditious and traitorous booke in English, intituled A treatise of schisme: and was for the same (according to sentence pronounced against him) on the next morrow, which was the eleuenth of Ianuarie, drawne from Newgate to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. And forthwith against slanderous reports, spread abroad in seditious books, letters and libels, thereby to inflame the hearts of our countrymen, and hir maiesties subjects: a booke was published, intituled, A declaration of the fauourable dealing of hir maiesties commissioners, &c. Which booke I haue thought good in this place to set downe (for the better instruction of the reader) even as the same was printed and published, and thus it followeth.

A declaration  
of the fauoura-  
ble dealing of  
hir maiesties  
commissioners,  
for the  
examining of  
traitors.

A declaration of the fauourable dealing of hir maiesties commissioners appointed for the examination of certeine traitors, and of tortures vniuersallie reported to be done vpon them for matters of religion.

To the reader.

**G**OOD reader, although hir maiesties most mild and gracious gouernement be sufficient to defend it selfe against those most slanderous reports of heathenish and vnnaturall tyrannie and cruell tortures, pretended to haue bene executed vpon certeine traitors, who latelie suffered for their treason, and others, as well spread abroad by rungages, Iesuits, and seminarie men in their seditious bookes, letters, and libels, in forren countries and princes courts, as also insinuated into the hearts of some of our owne

countrymen and hir maiesties subjects: yet for thy better satisfaction I haue conferred with a verie honest gentleman, whom I knew to haue good and sufficient meanes to deliuer the truth against such forgers of lies and shamelesse slanders in that behalfe, which he and other that do know and haue affirmed the same will at all times iustifie. And for thy further assurance and satisfaction herein, he hath set downe to the view of all men these necessarie notes following.

Touching the racke and torments vsed to such traitors as pretended themselves to be catholikes, vpon whom the same haue bene exercised, it is affirmed for truth, and is offered vpon due examination so to be proued, to be as followeth. First, that the formes of torture in their seueritie or rigor of execution, haue not bene such and in such maner performed, as the slanderers and seditious libellers haue slanderouslie & maliciouslie published. And that euen the principall offender, Campion himselfe, who was sent & came from Rome, and continued here in sundrie corners of the realme, hauing secretlie wandered in the greatest part of the shires of England in a disguised sort, to the intent to make speciall preparation of treasons; and to that end and for furtherance of those his labours, sent ouer for more helpe and assistance, and cunninglie and traitorouslie at Rome before he came from thence, procured toleration for such prepared rebels to keepe themselves covert vnder pretense of temporarie and permissiue obedience to hir maiestie the state standing as it doth; but so sone as there were sufficient force whereby the bull of hir maiesties depination might be published, they should then ioine all together with that force vpon paine of curse and damnation: that verie Campion, I saie, before the conference had with him by learned men in the Tower, wherein he was charitable vsed, was neuer so racked, but that he was presentlie able to walke, and to write, and did presentlie write and subscribe all his confessions, as by the originals thereof may euidentlie appeare.

The slanderous report concerning the extreme use of racke continued.

Sigd I  
talle to  
the int  
libeller  
call al  
religio  
non ma  
fuit.

Campion and  
Briant were  
too fauoura-  
ble vsed: and  
far vnder the  
proportion of  
their treasons  
able offendes.

This  
sonant  
report  
downe  
in the  
re of  
Camp.

A horrible matter is also made of the staruing of one Alexander Briant, how he should eat claie out of the wals, gathered water to drinke from the dropings of houses, with such other false ostentations of immanitie: where the truth is this, that that former Briant suffered in want of food, he suffered the same wilfullie & of extreme impudent obstinacie, against the mind and liking of those that dealt with him. For certeine traitorous writings being found about him, it was thought convenient by conference of hands to vnderstand whose writing they were, and thereupon he being in hir maiesties name commaunded to write, which he could verie well do, and being permitted to him to write what he would himselfe, in these termes, that if he liked not to write one thing, he might write another, or what he liked (which to do being charged in hir maiesties name was his dutie, and to refuse was disolial and vndutifull) yet the man would by no meanes be induced to write a nie thing at all. Then was it commanded to his keeper to giue vnto him such meat, drinke, and other convenient necessities as he would write for, and to forbear to giue him anie thing for which he would not write.

what  
grace  
follows  
to his  
may n  
by the  
scolds  
Campion  
ing the  
write.

But Briant being thereof aduertised and offmoued to write, persisting so in his curst heart by almost two daies and two nights, made chosse rather to lacke food, than to write for the sustentance which he might readilie haue had for writing, & which he had indeed readilie and plentifully so sone as he wrote. And as it is said of these two, so is it to be said of other; with this, that there was a perpetuall

The curst &  
stubborne  
heart of Briant.

care

care had, & the queenes seruants the warders, whose office and art it is to handle the racke, were euer by those that attended the examinations speciallie charged, to vse it in as charitable maner as such a thing might be.

Secondlie it is said, and likewise offered to be iustified, that neuer anie of these seminarie, or such other pretended catholikes, which at anie time in hir maiesties reigne haue bene put to the racke, were vpon the racke or in other torture demanded anie question of their supposed conscience; as what they beleued in anie point of doctrine or faith, as the masse, transubstantiation, or such like: but onelie with what persons at home, or abroad, and touching what plats, practises and conferences they had dealt about attempts against hir maiesties estate or person, or to alter the lawes of the realme for matters of religion, by treason or by force, and how they were persuaded themselves, and did persuade other touching the popes bull and pretense of authoritie, to depose kings and princes; and namelie, for depriuation of hir maiestie, and to discharge subiects from their allegiance, expressing herein alwaie the kinglie powers and estates, and the subiects allegiance dutie, without mentioning or meaning therein anie right that the queene as in right of the crowne hath ouer persons ecclesiasticall being hir subiects. In all which cases, Campian and the rest neuer answered plainlie, but sophistlicallie, deceitfullie and traitorously, restraining their confession of allegiance onelie to the permissiue forme of the popes toleration. As for example, if they were asked, whether they did acknowledge themselves the queenes subiects and would obeye hir, they would saie, Yea: for so they had leaue for a time to do. But adding more to the question, and they being asked, if they would so acknowledge & obeye hir anie longer than the pope would so permit them; or notwithstanding such commandement as the pope would or might giue to the contrarie: then they either refused so to obeye, or denied to answer; or said, that they could not answer to those questions without danger. Which verie answer without more saying, was a plaine answer to all reasonable vnderstanding, that they would no longer be subiects, nor persuade other to be subiects, than the pope gaue licence. And at their verie answere, when they labored to leaue in the minds of the people and standers by, an opinion that they were to die, not for treason, but for matter of faith and conscience in doctrine, touching the seruice of God, without anie attempt or purpose against hir maiestie, they cried out that they were true subiects, and did and would obeie and serue hir maiestie. Immediatlie, to proue whether that hypocriticall and sophistlicall speech extended to a perpetuallie of their obedience, or to so long time as the pope so permitted, or no; they were openlie in place of iudgement asked by the queenes learned counsell, whether they would so obeie and be true subiects, if the pope commanded the contrarie? They plainlie disclosed themselves in answer, saying by the mouth of Campian: This place (meaning the court of hir maiesties Bench) hath no power to inquire or iudge of the holie fathers authoritie: and other answer they would not make.

Thirdlie, that none of them haue bene put to the racke or torture, no not for the matters of treason, or partnership of treason or such like, but where it was first known and euidentlie probable by former detections, confessions, and otherwise, that the partie so racked, or tortured, was guiltie, and did know, and could deliuer truth of the things wherewith he was charged: so as it was first assured, that no innocent was at anie time tormented, and the racke was ne-

uer used to wryng out confessions at aduerture by on vncertainties, in which doing it might be possible that an innocent in that case might haue bin racked.

Fourthlie, that none of them hath bene racked or tortured, vntill he had first said expresselie, or amounting to asmuch, that he will not tell the truth, though the queene command him. And if anie of them being examined did saie he could not tell, or did not remember, if he would so affirme in such maner as christians among christians are beleued, such his answer was accepted, if there were not apparant evidence to proue that he wilfullie said vntroth. But if he said that his answer in deliivering truth, should hurt a catholike, & so be an offense against the charitie, which they said to be sinne, & that the queene could not command them to sin, & therefore how soeuer the queene commanded, they would not tell the truth, which they were known to know, or to such effect: they were then put to the torture, or else not.

Fifthlie, that the proceeding to torture was alwaie so slowlie, so vntwilliglie, & with so manie preparati- ons of persuasions to spare themselves, and so manie meanes to let them know that the truth was by them to be vttered, both in dutie to hir maiestie, and in wisdom for themselves, as whosoeuer was present at those actions, must needs acknowledge in hir maiesties ministers, a full purpose to follow the example of hir owne most gracious disposition: whome God long preserve.

Thus it appereth, that albeit by the more generall lawes of nations, torture hath bene, and is lawfullie iudged to be used in lesser cases, and in sharper maner for inquisition of truth in crimes not so rare extending to publike danger, as these vngenerall persons haue committed, whose conspiracies and the particularities thereof it did so much import and behoone to haue disclosed: yet euen in that necessarie vse of such proceeding, enforced by the offenders notorious obstinacie, is neuertheless to be acknowledged the sweet temperate of hir maiesties mild and gracious clemencie, and their standers lewdnesse to be the more condemned, that haue in fauour of hainous malefactors, and stubborn traitors, spread vntrue rumors and slanders, to make hir mercifull gouernement disliked, vnder false pretense and rumors of sharpenesse and crueltie to those, against whom nothing can be cruell, and yet vpon whom nothing hath bene done but gentle and mercifull.

## 50 The execution of iustice in England

for maintenance of publike and christian peace, against certeine stirrers of sedition, and adherents to the traitors and enemies of the realme, without anie persecution of them for questions of religion, as is fallie reported and published by the fauors and fosterers of their treasons.



I hath bene in all ages and in all countries a common vsage of all offenders, for the most part, both great and small, to make defense of their lewd and vnlawfull facts by vntruths, and by colouring and covering their deeds (were they neuer so vile) with pretenses of some other causes of contrarie operations or effects: to the intent not onelie to auoid punishment or shame, but to continue, uphold, and prosecute their wicked attempts, to the full satisfaction of their disordered and malicious appetites. And though such hath bene the vse of all offenders, yet of none with more danger than of rebels and traitors to their lawfull princes, kings, and countries. Of which sort of late yeares are speciallie to be noted certeine persons naturallie borne subiects in the realme of England and Ireland, who hauing for some good time profes-

As namelie Campian, of whom an infamous libeller reporteth (in commendation for worth of his constancie) Non secreta mea sermilibet ore fatabor.

All offenders coner their faults with contrarie causes.

Rebels do most dangerouslie coner their faults.

It is said that the infamous libeller hath said abroad, that Campian was a traitor.

This is com- ment to the pope for some before the discom- of Campi- pag. 135.

and cre- it and the of sons es.

What alleg- gence these fellows meant by their maiestie say appere by their words of Campian, be- by the mouth of the rack.

it is 32



Rebellion in  
England and  
Ireland.

professed outwardlie their obedience to their soveraigne ladie queene Elisabeth, haue neuertheless afterward bene stirred by and seduced by wicked spirits, first in England sundrie yeares past, and secondlie and of later time in Ireland, to enter into open rebellion, taking armes and coming into the field against hir maiestie and hir lieutenants, with their forces under banners displayed, inducing by notable vntruths manie simple people to follow and assist them in their traitorous actions.

The rebels  
vanquished  
by the queens  
power.

Some of the  
rebels fled in-  
to forreine  
countries.

Rebels pre-  
tend religion  
for their de-  
fence.

Ringleaders  
of rebels,  
Charles 5<sup>th</sup>  
earle of  
Westmerland,  
and Thomas  
Stukelie.

The effect of  
the popes bull  
against the  
queene of  
England.

And though it is verie well knowen, that both their intentions and manifest actions were bent to haue disposed the queenes maiestie from hir crowne, and to haue traitorously set in hir place some other whom they liked, whereby if they had not bene spied and resisted, they would haue committed great bloodsheds and slaughters of hir maiesties faithfull subiects, and ruined their native countrie: yet by Gods power giuen vnto hir maiestie, they were so speedilie vanquished, as some few of them suffered by order of law according to their deserts, manie & the greatest part vpon confession of their faults were pardoned, the rest (but they not manie) of the principall, escaped into forreine countries, & there, because in none of few places rebels and traitors to their naturall princes and countries dare for their treasons challenge at their first muster open comfort or succour, these notable traitors and rebels haue fallacie informed manie kings, princes and states, and speciallie the bishop of Rome, commonlie called the pope (from whom they all had secretlie their first comfort to rebell) that the cause of their fleeing from their countries was for the religion of Rome, and for maintenance of the said popes authoritie: whereas diuerse of them before their rebellion liued so notoriouslie, the most part of their liues, out of all god rule, either for honest manners, or for antientise in religion, as they might haue bene rather familiar with Catiline, or fauourers to Sardanapalus, than accounted god subiects under antie christian princes. As for some examples of the heads of these rebellions, out of England fled Charles 5<sup>th</sup> earle of Westmerland, a person bitterlie wasted by losse of life, and by Gods punishment euen in the time of his rebellion bereaued of his children that should haue succeeded him in the earldome, and his bodie now eaten with vlcers of lewd causes (as his companions do saie) that no entrie he hath can with him a viler punishment: a pittifull losse to the realme of so noble a horse, neuer before in antie age atteinted for disloyaltie. And out of Ireland ran awaie one Thomas Stukelie, a defamed person almost thorough all christendome, and a faithlesse beast rather than a man, fleeing first out of England for notable piracies, and out of Ireland for trecheries not pardonable, which two were the first ringleaders of the rest of the rebels, the one for England, the other for Ireland.

But notwithstanding the notorious euill and wicked liues of these & others their confederats, bold of all christian religion, it liked the bishop of Rome, as in fauour of their treasons, not to colour their offences, as themselves openlie pretend to do, for auoiding of common shame of the world: but flatlie to animate them to continue their former wicked purposes, that is, to take armes against their lawfull queene, to invade hir realme with forreine forces, to pursue all hir god subiects & their native countries with fire and sword: for maintenance whereof there had some yeares before, at sundrie times, proceeded in a thundering sort, bulls, excommunications, and other publick writings, denouncing hir maiestie being the lawfull queene, and Gods anointed seruant not to be the queene of the realme, charging and by

on paines of excommunication commanding all hir subiects to depart from their naturall allegiances, whereto by birth and by oath they were bound: prohibiting also and authorizing all persons of all degrees within both the realmes to rebel. And vpon this antichristian warrant, being contrarie to all the lawes of God and man, & nothing agreeable to a pastorall officer, not onelie all the rabble of the foresaid traitors that were before fled; but also all other persons that had forsaken their native countries, being of diuerse conditions and qualities, some not able to liue at home but in beggerie, some discontented for lacke of preferments, which they gaped for vnto; some in vniuersities and other places, some bankrupt merchants, some in a sort learned to contentions, being not contented to learne to obeye the lawes of the land, haue manie yeares running by and dolefull, from countrie to countrie, practised some in one corner, some in another, some with seeking to gather forces and monie for forces, some with instigation of princes by vntruths, to make warre vpon their naturall countrie, some with inward practices to murder the greatest, some with seditious writings, and verie manie of late with publick infamous libels, full of despitifull vile termes and poisoned lies, altogether to uphold the foresaid antichristian and tyrannous warrant of the popes bull.

And yet also by some other meanes, to further these intentions, because they could not readily procure by waie of force, finding forren princes better consideration & not readily inclined to their wicked purposes, it was deuised to erect by certaine scholes which they called seminaries, to nourish and bring by persons disposed naturallie to sedition, to continue their race & trade, and to become sedimen in their tillage of sedition, and them to send secretlie into these the queenes maiesties realmes of England & Ireland vnder secret masques, some of priests had, some of other inferior orders, with titles of seminaries for some of the meaner sort, and of Jesuits for the faggers and ranker sort and such like, but yet so warlike they crept into the land, as none brought the markes of their priesthood with them. But in diuers corners of hir maiesties dominions these seminaries of sedimen and Jesuits, hying with them certaine Romish trash, as of their hallowed war, their *Agnus Dei*, their graces, and manie kind of beads, and such like, haue as tillagemen laboured secretlie to periuade the people to allow of the popes foresaid bulls and warrants, & of his absolute authoritie ouer all princes and countries, and striking manie with prickes of conscience to obeye the same; whereby in proceesse of small time, if this wicked and dangerous, traitorous, & craftie course had not bene by Gods godnesse espyed and staied, there had followed imminent danger of horrible vypoies in the realmes, and a manifest bloudie destruction of great multitudes of christians.

For it can not be denied but that so manie as should haue bene induced & thoroughlie persuaded to haue obeyed that wicked warrant of the popes, and the contents thereof, should haue bene forthwith in their hearts and consciences secret traitors, and for to be in deed errant and open traitors: there should haue wanted nothing but opportunitie to shewe their strength & to assemble themselves in such numbers with armour and weapons, as they might haue presumed to haue bene the greater part, and so by open ciuill warre to haue come to their wicked purposes. But Gods godnesse, by whome kings do rule, and by whose blasp traitors are commonlie wasted and confounded, hath otherwise giuen to hir maiestie as to his handmaid and deare seruant, ruling vnder him, the spirit of wise dome and power, where

Some  
fiction  
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to r: al

The practices  
of the traitors  
rebels, and fa-  
culties to re-  
cure the bull.

The se-  
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itself.

by the hath caused some of these seditious sedition  
and disorders of rebellion, to be discovered for all their  
secret lurkings, and to be taken and charged with  
these former points of high treason, not being dealt  
withall upon questions of religion, but iustlie by or-  
der of lawes, openlie condemned as traitors.

At which times, notwithstanding all maner gen-  
tle waies of persuasions used, to moue them to de-  
stie from such manifest traitorous courses and opini-  
ons with offer of mercie; yet was the canker of their  
rebellious humors so deepe entered and grauen in-  
to the hearts of manie of them, as they would not be  
renewed from their traitorous determinations.  
And therefore as manifest traitors in mainteining  
and adhering to the capitall enemie of hir maiestie  
& hir crowne (who hath not onelie bene the cause of  
two rebellions already passed in England and Ire-  
land, but in that of Ireland did manifestlie wage  
and mainteine his owne people, capteins, and soul-  
diers under the banner of Rome, against hir mai-  
estie, so as no enemie could doe more) these I saie  
haue iustlie suffered death not by force or forme of a-  
nie new lawes established, either for religion or a-  
gainst the popes supremacie, as the slanderous libel-  
lers would haue it seeme to be; but by the ancient  
temporall lawes of the realme, and namelie by the  
letus of parlement made in king Edward the third  
his time, about the yeare of our Lord 1330, which is  
about two hundred yeares and more past, when the  
bishops of Rome and popes were suffered to haue  
their authoritie ecclesiasticall in this realme, as they  
had in manie other countreies. But yet of this kind  
of offenders, as manie of them, as after their con-  
demnations were contented to renounce their for-  
mer traitorous assertions; so manie were spared  
from execution, & do liue still at this daie: such was  
the unwillingnes in hir maiestie to haue anie blood  
spilt, without this verie urgent, iust, and necessarie  
cause proceeding from themselves.

And yet neuerthelesse, such of the rest of the tra-  
itors as remaine in foreign parts, continuing still  
their rebellious minds, and craftilie keeping them-  
selves aloofe off from dangers, cease not to proue the  
sundrie other inferiour seditious persons, newlie to  
steale secretly into the realme, to renew the former  
seditious practices, to the execution of the popes fore-  
said bull against hir maiestie and the realme, preten-  
ding when they are apprehended, that they came one-  
lie into the realme by the commandement of their  
superiours, the heads of the Iesuits, to whom they  
are bound (as they saie) by oth against either king  
or countrie, and here to informe or reforme mens  
consciences from errors in some points of religi-  
on, as they thinke meet. But yet in verie truth, the  
whole scope of their secret labours is manifestlie  
proued, to be secretly to win all people, with whom  
they dare deale; so to aliove of the popes said bulls,  
and of his authoritie without exception, as in obedi-  
ence thereof, they take themselves fullie discharged  
of their allegiance and obedience to their lawfull  
prince and countrie: yea, and to be well warranted  
to take armes to rebell against hir maiestie, when  
they shall be thereunto called; and to be readie so-  
cretlie to foine with any foreign force that can be pro-  
cured to invade the realme, whereof also they haue a  
long time giuen, and yet do for their aduantage, no  
small comfort of successe. And so consequentlie the  
effect of their labours is to bring the realme not one-  
lie into a dangerous warre against the forces of  
strangers (from which it hath bene free above thre  
and twentie or foure and twentie yeares, a case ve-  
rie memorable and hard to be matched with an ex-  
ample of the like) but into a warre domesticall and  
civil, wherein no blood is vsuallie spared, nor mer-

cie yielded, and therein neither the vanquished nor  
the vanquished can haue iust cause of triumph.

And so much as these are the most euident perils  
that necessarilie should followe, if these kind of ver-  
mine were suffered to creepe by stealth into the  
realme, and to spread their poison within the same,  
howsoever when they are taken, like hypocrites, they  
colour and counterfeit the same with profession of  
 deuotion in religion: it is of all persons to be peck-  
ed in reason, that hir maiestie and all hir gouer-  
nours and magistrats of iustice, hauing care to  
mainteine the peace of the realme (which God hath  
giuen in hir time, to continue longer than euer in a-  
nie time of hir progenitors) ought of dutie to al-  
mightie God the author of peace, and according to  
the naturall loue and charge due to their countrie,  
and for auoiding of the floods of blood, which in ci-  
uill warres are seene to run and flow, by all lawfull  
meanes possible, as well by the sword as by law, in  
their severall seasons to impeach and repell these so  
manifest and dangerous colourable practices, and  
works of sedition and rebellion.

And though there are manie subjects knowen in  
the realme, that differ in some opinions of religion  
from the church of England and that do also not for-  
beare to profess the same: yet in that they do also  
professe loialtie and obedience to hir maiestie, and  
offer readilie to hir maiesties defense, to impagne &  
resist anie foreign force, though it should come or be  
procured from the pope himselfe: none of these sort  
are for their contrarie opinions in religion persecu-  
ted or charged with anie crimes or paines of treason,  
nor yet willingly searched for their consciences for  
their contrarie opinions, that saue not of treason.  
And of these sorts, there haue bene and are a num-  
ber of persons, not of such base and vulgar note as  
those which of late haue bene executed, as in particu-  
lar, some by name are well knowen, and not unfit  
to be remembred. The first and chiefest by office was  
doctor Heth, that was archbishop of Yorke, and lord  
chancellor of England in queene Maries time; who  
at the first comming of hir maiestie to the crowne,  
shewing himselfe a faithfull and quiet subject, conti-  
nued in both the said offices, though in religion then  
manifestlie differing; and yet was he not restrained  
of his libertie, nor deprived of his proper lands and  
goods, but leauing willingly both his offices, liued in  
his owne house verie discretlie, and inioied all his  
purchased lands during all his naturall life, untill his  
verie age he departed this world, and then left his  
house and liuing to his friends. An example of gen-  
tleness neuer matched in queene Maries time.

The like did one doctor Pole that had bene bi-  
shop of Peterborough, an ancient graue person, and  
a verie quiet subject. There were also others that  
had bene bishops and in great estimation, as doc-  
tor Tunstall bishop of Duresme, a person of great  
reputation, and also whilst he liued of verie quiet be-  
haviour. There were also other, as doctor White & do-  
ctor Dylethorpe, the one of Winchester, the other of  
Carlill, bishops, persons of courteous natures, and  
he of Carlill so inclined to dutifullnes to the queenes  
maiestie, as he did the office at the consecration and  
coronation of hir maiestie in the church of West-  
minster: and doctor Hurlebie, & doctor Watson yet  
liuing, one of Elie, the other of Lincolne, bishops:  
the one of nature affable, the other altogether severe,  
and yet liuing. Whereto may be added the bishop  
then of Exeter, Turchenille, an honest gentleman,  
but a simple bishop, who liued at his owne libertie  
to the end of his life: and none of all these pressed  
with anie capitall paine, though they mainteined  
the popes authoritie against the lawes of the realme.  
And some abbats, as master Feckenam yet liuing,

ppppp. i.

a per-

The dutie of  
the queene and  
all hir gouer-  
nors to God  
and their  
countrie, is  
to repell prac-  
tices of rebel-  
lion.

None char-  
ged with capi-  
tall crimes,  
being of a con-  
trarie reli-  
gion, and pro-  
fessing to  
stand  
forreins for-  
ces.

Names of bi-  
shoppes ecclesi-  
asticall persons  
professing  
contrarie re-  
ligion, neuer  
charged with  
capitall  
crimes.

The seditious  
persons con-  
demned by the  
ancient lawes  
of the realme,  
made two  
hundred yeares  
past.

Persons con-  
demned, spard  
from execution,  
upon refusal  
of their treaso-  
nable opini-  
ons.

Persons con-  
demned, spard  
from execution,  
upon refusal  
of their treaso-  
nable opini-  
ons.

These  
persons  
were  
not  
executed.

These  
persons  
were  
not  
executed.

These  
persons  
were  
not  
executed.

a person also of quiet and courteous behaviour, for a great time. Some also were deanes, as doctor Worrell deane of Windsoꝛe; a person of great modestie, learning and knowledge: doctor Cole deane of Paules, a person more earnest than discret: doctor Reynolds deane of Exeter, not vnlearned, and manie such others, hauing bozne office & dignities in the church, & that had made profession against the pope, which they onelie began in queene Maries time to change: yet were these neuer to this daie burdened with capitall peanes, nor yet deprived of anie their goods or proper liuelods; but onelie removed from their ecclesiasticall offices, which they would not exercise according to the lawes. And most of them, & manie other of their sort for a great time were detained in bishops houses in verie ciuill and courteous maner, without charge to themselves or their friends, vntill the time that the pope began by his bulls & messages, to offer trouble to the realme by stirring of rebellion. About which time onlie, some of these aforesaid, being found busier in matters of state tending to stir troubles, than was mete for the common quiet of the realme, were removed to other more priuat places, where such other wanderers as were men knowne to moue sedition, might be restrained from common resorting to them to increase trouble, as the popes bull gaue manifest occasion to doubt: and yet without charging them in their consciences or otherwise, by anie inquisition to bring them into danger of anie capitall law: so as no one was called to anie capitall or bloudie question vpon matters of religion, but haue all inioied their life as the course of nature would: and such of them as yet remaine, may (if they will not be authors or instruments of rebellion or sedition) inioie the time that God and nature shall yeld them without danger of life or member.

The late fauourers of the popes authoritie were the chiefe aduersaries of the same, by their doctrines and writings.

And yet it is worthy to be well marked, that the chiefe of all these and the most of them, had in time of king Henrie the eight, and king Edward the first, either by preaching, writing, reading, or arguing, taught all people to condemne, yea to abhorre the authoritie of the pope: for which purpose they had many times giuen their othes publikelie, against the popes authoritie, and had also yielded to both the said kings the title of supreme head of the church of England next vnder Christ, which title the aduersaries do most falselie write and affirme, that the queenes maiestie now vsesh: a manifest lie & vnturth, to be sene by the verie acts of parlement, and at the beginning of hir reigne omitted in hir stile. And for proue that these foresaid bishops and learned men had so long time disauowed the popes authoritie, manie of their books and sermons against the popes authoritie remaine printed both in English and Latin to be sene in these times, to their great shame and reproche to change so often, but speciallie in persecuting such as themselves had taught and stablished to hold the contrarie. A sin, nere the sin against the holie ghost.

A great number of laie persons of liuelods being of a contrarie religion, neuer charged with capitall crime.

There were also and yet be a great number of others, being laie men of god possessions and lands, men of god credit in their countries, manifestlie of late time seduced to hold contrarie opinions in religion for the popes authoritie: and yet none of them haue bene sought hitherto to be impeached in anie point or quarrell of treason, or of losse of life, member or inheritance. So as it may plainelie appeare, that it is not, nor hath bene for contrarious opinions in religion, or for the popes authoritie alone, as the aduersaries do boldlie and falslie publish, that anie persons haue suffered death since hir maiesties reigne. And yet some of these sort are well knotune to hold opinion, that the pope ought by authoritie of Gods word to be supreme and onelie head of the

catholike church through the whole world, and onelie to rule in all causes ecclesiasticall, and that the queenes maiestie ought not to be the gouernour ouer anie hir subiects in hir realme being persons ecclesiasticall: which opinions are neuertheless in some part by the lawes of the realme punishable in their degrees. And yet for none of these points haue anie persons bene prosecuted with the charge of treason, or in danger of life.

And if then it be inquired, for what cause these others haue of late suffered death, it is trulie to be answered as afoze is often remembred, that none at all were impeached for treason to the danger of their life, but such as did obstinatlie mainteine the contents of the popes bull afoze mentioned; which do import, that hir maiestie is not the lawfull queene of England, the first and highe point of treason: and that all hir subiects are discharged of their othes and obedience; a second high point of treason: and all warranted to disobey hir and hir lawes; a third and a verie large point of treason. And thereto is to be added a fourth point most manifest, in that they would not disallow the popes hostile proceedings in open warres against hir maiestie in hir realme of Ireland, where one of their companie doctor Sanders, a lewd scholer and subiect of England, a fugitiue and a principall companion and conspirator with the traitors and rebels at Rome, was by the popes speciall commission a commander, as in forme of a legat, and sometime a burgo: or patenmaster for those wars. Which doctor Sanders in his booke of his church monarchie, did afoze his passing into Ireland openlie by writing, gloriouslie auow the foresaid bull of *Pius Quintus* against hir maiestie, to be lawfull; and affirmeth that by vertue thereof one doctor Morton, an old English fugitiue and conspirator, was sent from Rome into the north parts of England, which was true, to stirre by the first rebellion there, whereof Charles Penell the late earle of *Westmerland* was a head capteine.

And thereby it may manifestlie appere to all men, how this bull was the ground of the rebellions both in England and Ireland, and how for maintenance thereof, and for soluing of sedition by warrant and allowance of the same, these persons were iustlie condemned of treason, and lawfullie executed by the ancient lawes tempoꝛall of the realme, without charging them for anie other matter than for their practices and conspiracies both abroad and at home against the queene and the realme; and for the mainteining of the popes foresaid authoritie and bull, published to depꝛiue hir maiestie of hir crowne, and for withstanding and reconciling of hir subiects from their naturall allegiance due to hir maiestie and to their countrie, and for mouing them to sedition: and for no other causes or questions of religion were these persons condemned; although true it is, that when they were charged & conuined of these points of conspiracies and treasons, they would still in their answers colourable pretend their actions to haue bene for religion: but in deed and truth they were manifested to be for the procurement and maintenance of the rebellions and wars against hir maiestie and hir realme.

And herein is now the manifest diuersitie to be sene and well considered betwixt the truth of hir maiesties actions, & the falshood of the blasphemous aduersaries: that where the factious partie of the pope the principall author of the innovations of hir maiesties dominions, do falslie allege that a number of persons, whom they terme as martyrs, haue died for defense of the catholike religion; the same in verie truth may manifestlie appere to haue died (if they so will haue it) as martyrs for the pope, but yet as traitors

No person charged with capitall crime for the offence of the popes supplicat.

Four points of treason. Such condemned onelie for treason, as mainteine the effects of the popes bull against hir maiestie and the realme.

Doctor Sanders maintainance of the popes bull.

The persons that suffered death, were condemned for treason & not for religion.

The diuersitie betwixt truth and falshood.

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3 full protest  
that the main  
teners of the  
bull are direct  
in guilt of  
a rebellion.

toys against their soveraigne and quene in adhering to him, being the notable and onelie open hostile enemie in all actions of warre against hir maiestie, hir kingdomes and people: and that this is the meaning of all these that haue so obstinatie maintained the authoritie and contents of this bull, the verie words of the bull doe declare in this sort, as doctor Sanders reporteth them.

**P**ius Quintus pontifex maximus, de apostolica potestate plenitudine, declaravit Elisabetham praetensi regni iure, necnon omne & quoscunque dominis, dignitate, privilegioque priuatum: utemque proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac ceteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque irruerant, a iuramentis huiusmodi ac omni fidelitatis debito perpetuo absolutos: That is to saie, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, of the fulnesse of the apostolike power, declared Elisabeth to be bereaued or depriued of hir pretended right of hir kingdome, and also of all and whatsoeuer dominion, dignitie and priuilege: and also the nobles, subjects and people of the said kingdome, and all others which had swoorne to hir anie manner of waies, to be absolved for euer from such oath, and from all debt or dutie of fealtie, &c: with manie threatening curfings, to all that durst obeie hir or hir lawes. As for execution hereof, to proue, that the effect of the popes bull and message was a flat rebellion, it is not amisse to heare what the same doctor Sanders the popes frend; and in Ireland also writeth in his visible church monarchie, which is thus.

Doctor Sanders  
thus saith  
ambassage first  
came to stir  
the rebellion  
in the north.

**P**ius Quintus pontifex maximus Anno Domini 1569 commendans presbyterum Nicolaum Montanum Anglum in Angliam misit, ut certis illustribus viris auctoritate apostolica denuntiaret, Elisabetham quae tunc rerum potiebatur, haereticam esse: ob eamque causam, omni dominio & potestate excludi, immoque ab illis velut ethnicam haberi posse, nec eorum legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi: That is to saie, Pius Quintus the greatest bishop, in the yeare of our Lord 1569, sent the reuerend priest Nicholas Morton an Englishman into England, that he should denounce or declare by the apostolike authoritie to certaine noblemen, Elisabeth, who then was in possession, to be an heretike: & for that cause, to haue fallen from all dominion and power, and that she may be had or reputed of them as an ethnike, and that they are not to be compelled to obeie hir lawes or commandements, &c. Thus pouce an ambassage of rebellion from the popes holiness, the ambassado; an old dotting English priest, a fugitive and conspirator, sent as he saith to some noble men, and these were the two earles of Shrothumberland and Westmerland, heads of the rebellion. And after this, he followeth to declare the successe thereof, which I dare saie he was forie it was so euill, with these words.

*Qui demeritatione multi nobiles viri adducti sunt, ut de fratribus liberandis cogitare euderent, ac sperabant illi quidem catholicos in omni summa viribus assensuros esse: Verum cum aliter quam illi expectabant res euenit, quia catholici omnes nationes prohibere conuerant, Elisabetham haereticam esse declarari, communi laudanda illorum nobilium consilia erant: That is to say, which denuntiation, manie noblemen were induced or led, that they were boldened to thinke of the freeing of their brethren, and they hoped certeinlie that all the catholikes would haue assisted them with all their strength: but although the matter happened otherwise than they hoped for, because all the catholikes knew not that Elisabeth was declared to be an heretike, yet the counsels and intents of those noblemen were to be praised. A rebellion and a banishing of rebels verie smoothlie described.*

This noble fact here mentioned was the rebellion in the north: the noblemen were the earles of Shrothumberland and Westmerland: the lache of the content of successe was, that the traitors were banquished, and the quenes maiestie and hir subjects had by Gods ordinance the victorie: and the cause why the rebels prevailed not, was because all the catholikes had not bene duly informed that the quenes maiestie was declared to be as they terme it) an heretike: which want of information, to the intent to make the rebels mightier in number and power, was diligentlie and cunninglie supplied by the sending into the realme of a great multitude of the seminaries and Jesuits, whose speciall charge was to informe the people thereof, as by their actions hath manifestlie appeared, A supplement to amend the former error.

And though doctor Sanders hath thus written, yet it may be said by such as favoured the two notable Jesuits, one named Robert Persons (who yet he death himselfe in corners to continue his traitorous practise) the other named Edmund Campion (who was found out being disguised like a roister and suffered for his treasons, that doctor Sanders treason is his proper treason in allowing of the said bull, and not to be imputed to Persons and Campion. Therefore to make it plaine that these two by speciall authoritie had charge to execute the sentence of this bull, these acts in writing following shall make manifest, which are not fained or imagined, but are the verie writings taken about one of their complices, euen immediatlie after Campions death: although Campion before his death would not be knownen of anie such matter. Whereby may appeere that truth is to be giuen to the words of such pious domartyes.

Persons and  
Campion are  
offenders as  
doctor Sanders  
is, for allowance of the  
bull.

Facultates concessae pp. Roberto Personio &  
Edmundo Campiano, pro Anglia,  
die 14 Aprilis, 1580.

**P**etatur a summo domino nostro explicatio bullae declaratoria per Pium Quintum contra Elisabetham & ea adherentes, quam catholici cupiunt intelligi hoc modo, ut obliget semper illam & haereticos, catholicos vero nullo modo obliget rebus sistantibus, sed sum demum quando publica eiusdem bullae executio fieri poterit. Then followed manie other petitions of faculties for their further authorities, which are not needfull for this purpose to be recited: but in the end followeth this sentence as an answer of the popes. *Huius praedictae gratiae concessit summus pontifex patri Roberto Personio, & Edmundo Campiano in Angliam profecturis, die 14 Aprilis, 1580. Praesente patre Oliverio Manarca assistente. The English of which Latine sentences is as followeth.*

Faculties granted to the two fathers Robert Persons and Edmund Campion, for England, the fourteenth date of April, 1580.

**L**et it be asked or required of our most holie lord, the explication or meaning of the bull declaratorie made by Pius the fifth against Elisabeth, & such as do adhere or obeie hir, which bull the catholikes desire to be understood in this manner: that the same bull shall alwaies bind hir and the heretikes; but the catholikes it shall by no means bind, as matters of things do now stand or be: but hereafter, when the publike execution of that bull may be had or made. Then in the end the conclusion was thus added. The highest pontife or bishop granted these foresaid graces to father Robert Persons & Edmund Campion, who are now to take their journey into England, the 14 date of April, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and eightie. Being present the father Oliverius Manarke assistant.

Faculties  
granted to  
Persons and  
Campion by  
pope Grego-  
rie the thir-  
teenth Anno  
1580.

By what an-  
thoritie Cam-  
pion came into  
England.

pppppp.

hereby

Hereby it is manifest, what authoritie Campion had to impart the contents of the bull against the queens maiestie, howsoever he himselfe denied the same: for this was his errand.

And though it be manifest that these two Jesuits, Parsons and Campion, not onelie required to haue the popes mind declared for the bull; but also in their owne petitions shewed how they and other catholikes did desire to haue the said bull to be vnderstood against the queene of England: yet to make the matter more plaine how all other Jesuits and seminaries; yea how all papists naming themselves catholikes, doe or are warranted to interpret the said bull against hir maiestie and hir good subiects, howsoever they will disguise it, you shall see what one of their fellowes, named Hart, who was condemned with Campion and yet liueth, did amongst manie other things declare his knowledge thereof the last daie of December in the same yeare one thousand five hundred and eightie, in these words following. The bull of *Pius Quintus* (for so much as it is against the queene) is holden amongst the English catholikes for a lawfull sentence, and a sufficient discharge of hir subiects fidelitie, and so remaineth in force: but in some points touching the subiects, it is altered by the present pope. For where in that bull all hir subiects are commanded not to obeie hir, and the being excommunicate and deposed, all that doe obeie hir are likewise innodate and accursed, which point is perillous to the catholikes: for if they obeie hir, they be in the popes curse, and if they disobey hir, they are in the queenes danger: therefore the present pope to releue them hath altered that part of the bull, and dispensed with them to obeie and serue hir, without perill of excommunication: which dispensation is to endure but till it please the pope other wise to determine.

Harts confession of the interpretation of the bull of *Pius Quintus*.

A conclusion that all the infamous books against the queene and the realme, are false.

Difference of the small numbers that haue bene executed in the space of five and twentie yeares, from the great numbers in five yeares of queene Maries reigne.

Wherefore to make some conclusion of the matters before mentioned, all persons both within the realme and abroad, maie plainelie perceiue that all the infamous libels lately published abroad in sundrie languages, and the slanderous reports made in other princes courts of a multitude of persons, to haue bene of late put to torments and death onelie for profession of the catholike religion, and not for matters of state against the queenes maiestie, are false and shamelesse, and published to the maintenance of traitors and rebels. And to make the matter some more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons, which by their owne catalog exceed not for these five and twentie yeares space, above the number of three score, forgetting or rather with their florie and senselesse harts not regarding, in what cruell sort in the time of queene Marie, which little exceeded the space of five yeares, the queenes maiesties reigne beinge five times as manie, there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, almost the number of foure hundred, besides such as were secretly murdered in prisons: and of that number, above twentie that had bene archbishops, bishops, and principall prelates or officers in the church lamentable destroyed; and of women about three score, and of children about foure, and one, out of whose bodie the child by fire was expelled aliue, and yet also cruellie burned: examples beyond all heathen crueltye.

And most of the youth that then suffered cruell death, both men, women, and children (which is to be noted) were such, as had neuer by the sacrament of baptism, or by confirmation, professed, or was ener taught or instructed, or ener had heard of anie

other kind of religion, but onelie of that which by their blood and death in the fire they did as true martyrs testifie. A matter of an other sort to be lamented in a christian charitie with simplicitie of words, and not with puffed eloquence, than the execution in this time of a verie few traitors; who also in their time, if they exceeded thirtie yeares of age, had in their baptism professed, and in their youth had learned the same religion which they now so bitterlie oppugned. And besides that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of queene Maries time: for though they which suffered in queene Maries time continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, and as they were perpetuallie taught; yet they neuer at their death denied their lawfull queene, nor maintained anie of hir open and foren enemies, nor anie procured rebellion or ciuill warre, nor did sow anie sedition in secret corners, nor withheld anie subiects from their obedience, as these two seruants of the pope haue continuallie done.

And therefore all these things well considered, there is no doubt, but all good subiects within the realme doe manifestlie see, and all waivering persons (not being led cleane out of the waie by the seditions) will hereafter perceiue, how they haue bene abused to go astrate. And all strangers, but speciallie all christian potentats, as emperours, kings, princes, and such like, hauing their sovereigne estates, either in succession hereditarie, or by consent of their people, being acquainted with the verie truth of these hir maiesties late lust and necessarie actions, onelie for defense of hir selfe, hir crowne, and people, against open inuadours, and for eschewing of ciuill warres, stirred up by rebellion, will allow in their owne like cases, for a truth and rule (as it is not to be doubted but they will) that it belongeth not vnto a bishop of Rome as successor of saint Peter, and therein a pastor spirituall, or if he were the bishop of all christendome; as by the name of pope he claimeth, first by his bulles or excommunications, in this sort at his will in fauour of traitors and rebels, to depose anie sovereigne princes, being lawfullie inuessed in their crownes by succession in blood, or by lawfull election; and then to arme subiects against their naturall lords, to make warres, and to dispense with them for their oaths in so doing, or to excommunicat faithfull subiects for obeying of their naturall princes, & lastlie himselfe to make open warre, with his owne souldiers, against princes meaning no force against him.

For if these high tragicall powers should be permitted to him to exercise, then should no empire, no kingdome, no countrie, no citie or towne be possessed by anie lawfull title, longer than one such onelie an earthlie man, sitting (as he saith) in saint Peters chaire at Rome, should for his will and appetite (without warrant from God or man) thinke meet and determine: an authoritie neuer chalenged by the Lord of lords the sonne of God, Jesus Christ our onelie Lord and saviour, and the onelie head of his church, whilst he was in his humane estate vpon the earth; nor yet deliuered by anie writing or certaine tradition from saint Peter, from whome the pope pretendeth to deriue all his authoritie; nor yet from saint Paule the apostle of the gentils: but contrariwise by all preachings, precepts and writings, contained in the gospel and other scriptures of the apostles, obedience is expressly commanded vnto all earthlie princes; yea, enen vnto kings by especiall name, and that so generallie, as no person is excepted from such

An advertisement vnto all princes of countries abroad.

The authoritie proclaimed by the pope not warranted by Christ, or by the two apostles Peter and Paule.



dutie of obedience, as by the sentence of saint Paul euen to the Romans, appeareth, *Omnia anima submissis potestati sit subdita*, that is, Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers: within the compasse of which law or precept, saint Chrysostome being bishop of Constantinople, writteth; that such apostles, prophets, euangelists, and monks are comprehended.

And for proue of saint Peters mind herein, from thence these popes claime their authoritie, it can not be plaineliter exprested, than when he writteth thus, *Proinde subiecti estote cuius huiusmodi ordinationi, propter Dominum, siue regi, siue qui supereminet, siue presulibus ab eo missis*, that is, Therefore be you subiect to euery humane ordinance or creature for the Lords sake, whether it be to the king, as to him that is supereminent, or above the rest, or to his president sent by him. By which two principall apostles of Christ, these popes the pretended successors, but chiefe by that which Christ the sonne of God the onelie maister of truth said to Peter and his fellow apostles, *Reges gentium dominantur, vos autem non sic*, that is, The kings of the gentils haue rule ouer them, but you not so, maie learne to forsake their arrogant and tyrannous authorities in earthlie and temporall causes ouer kings and princes, and exercise their pastorall office: as saint Peter was charged thysie at one time by his Lord and maister, *Pasce oues meas*, Feed my shepe, and peremptorie forbidden to vse a sword, in sauing to him, *Conuerte gladium tuum in solum tuum*, or *Mitte gladium tuum in uaginam*, that is, Turne thy sword into his place: or, Put thy sword into the scabbard.

All which precepts of Christ and his apostles were duly followed and obserued manie hundred yeares after their death, by the faithfull and goodlie bishops of Rome, that duly followed the doctrine and humilitie of the apostles, and the doctrine of Christ, and were holie martyrs, and thereby dilated the limits of Christs church and the faith more in the compasse of an hundred yeares, than the latter popes haue done with their swords and curses these five hundred yeares, and so continued untill the time of one pope Hildebrand, otherwise called Gregorie the seuenth, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand three score and fourtene; who first began to blurpe that kind of tyrannie, which of late the late pope called *Pius Quintus*, and since that time Gregorie now the thirtieth hath followed, for some example as it seemeth: that is, where Gregorie the seuenth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three score and fourtene, or thereabout, presumed to depose Henrie the fourth, a noble emperor then being; Gregorie the thirtieth now at this time, would attempt the like against king Henrie the eighth daughter and heire queene Elisabeth, a souereigne, and a maiden queene, holding hir crowne immediatlie of God.

And to the end it may appeare to princes, or to their good counsellors in one example, what was the fortunat successe that God gaue to this good christian emperor Henrie, against the proud pope Hildebrand, it is to be noted, that when the pope Gregorie attempted to depose this noble emperor Henrie, there was one Rodulph a noble man, by some named the count of Hainfield, that by the popes procurement blurped the name of the emperor, who was overcome by the said Henrie the lawfull emperor, and in fight hauing lost his right hand, he, the said Rodulph, lamented his case to certeine bishops, who in the popes name had erected him up, and to them he said, that the selfe same right hand which he had lost, was the same hand wherewith he had before sworn obedience to his lord and maister the emperor Henrie; and that in following their vngoodlie

counsels, he had brought vpon him Gods heauie and iust iudgements. And so Henrie the emperor, preuailling by Gods power, caused Gregorie the pope by a synod in Italie to be deposed, as in like times before him his predecessor who the emperor had deposed one pope John for manie heinous crimes: & so were also within a short time three other popes, namelie, Spluckter, Bennet, and Gregorie the first, vied by the emperor Henrie the third, about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fortye and seuen, for their like presumptuous attempts in temporall actions against the said emperor.

Manie other examples might be shewed to the emperors maiestie, and the prince of the holie empire now being, after the tyme of Henrie the fourth: as of Henrie the first, and Frederike the first, and Frederike the second, and then of Lewes of Bannar, all emperors, cristlie and tyrannous persecuted by the popes, and by their bulls, curses, and by open wars, and likewise to manie other the great kings and monarchs of christendome, of their noble progenitors, kings of their severall dominions. Whereby they may see how this kind of tyrannous authoritie in popes to make warres vpon emperors, & kings, and to command them to be deposed, toke hold at the first by pope Hildebrand, though the same neuer had ante lawfull example or warrant from the lawes of God of the old or new testament: but yet the succelles of their tyrannies were by Gods goodnesse there is no doubt, but the like will followe to their confusions at all times to come.

And therefore, as there is no doubt, but the like violent tyrannous proceedings by anie pope in maintenance of traitors and rebels, would be withstood by euery souereigne prince in christendome in defense of their persons and crownes, and maintenance of their subiects in peace: so is there at this present a like iust cause that the emperors maiestie, with the princes of the holie empire, and all other souereigne kings & princes in christendome, should iudge the same to be lawfull for hir maiestie being a queene, and holding the verie place of a king and a prince souereigne ouer diuers kingdoms and nations; the being also most lawfullie inacted in hir crowne: and as for good governing of hir people, with such applause and generall allowance, loved, and obeyed of them; sauing a few ragged traitors, or rebels, or persons discontented, whereof no other realme is free, as continuallie for these five & thientie yeares past hath bene notable sene, and so publickly marked, even by strangers repairing into this realme, as it were no cause of disgrace to anie monarchy and king in christendome, to haue hir maiesties felicitie compared with anie of theirs whatsoener: and it maie be, there are manie kings and princes could be well contented with the fruition of some proportion of hir felicitie.

And though the popes be now suffered by the emperor, in the lands of his owne peculiar patrimonie, and by the two great monarchs, the French king and the king of Spaine, in their dominions and territories (although by manie other kings not so allowed) to continue his authoritie in sundrie cases, and his glorious title to be the vniuersall bishop of the world, which title Gregorie the great about nine hundred yeares past, called a prophane title, full of sacrilege, and a preamble of antichrist: yet in all their dominions & kingdoms, as also in the realme of England, most notable by manie ancient lawes it is well knowne, how manie waies the tyrannous power of this his excessive authoritie hath bene, and still is restrained, checked and limited by lawes and pragmatikes, both ancient and new, both in France

Pope Gregorie the fourth deposed by Henrie the fourth.

Henrie the first.  
Frederike the first.  
Frederike the second.  
Lewes of Bannar, emperor.

Whatsoener is lawfull for other princes soveraignes, is lawfull for the queene and crowne of England.

The title of vniuersall bishop is a preamble of antichrist.

Pope Hildebrand the first that made warre against the emperor.

An. Do. 1574.  
The iudgement of God against the pope false erected emperor.

and Spaine and other dominions : a verie large field for the lawyers of those countries to walke in and discourse.

And howsoever the popes canonists, being as his bombardiers, do make his excommunications and curses appeare fearefull to the multitude and simple people: yet all great emperors and kings sometime, in their owne cases, of their rights and roiall preeminences, though the same concerned but a little of a poze towne, and sometime but the not allowance of some unworthie person to a bishopricke or to an abbete, never restrained to despise all popes curses or forces; but attempted alwaies, either by their swordes to compell them to desist from their furious actions, or without any feare of themselves, in bodie, soule, or conscience, stoutlie to withstand their curses, and that sometime by force, sometime by ordinances and lawes: the ancient histories whereof are too manie to be repeated, and of none more frequent and effectfull than of the kings of France. And in the records of England dooth appeare, how stoutlie the kings & the baronage of England from age to age, by extreme penall lawes have repelled the popes usurpations, as with the verie name of preeminences his proctors haue bene terrified, and his cleargie haue quaked, as of late cardinall Wolseye did proue.

1527  
Rome sacked,  
and the pope  
Clement take  
prisoner by  
the emperors  
armie.

1550  
King Henrie  
the second of  
France his  
curses against  
the pope and  
his court of  
Rome.  
The besie-  
ging of Rome  
and the pope  
by the duke  
of Alva and  
king Philips  
armie.

Queene Ma-  
rie and cardi-  
nall Pole re-  
sisted the pope.

But leaving those that are ancient, we may remember how in this our owne present or late age, it hath bene manifestlie seene, how the armie of the late noble emperour Charles the fifth, father to king Philip that now reigneth, was not afraid of his curses, when in the yeare of our Lord 1527, Rome it selfe was besieged and sacked, and the pope then called Clement, and his cardinals, to the number of about thirtie and thre, in his mount Adrian or castell S. Angelo, taken prisoners and detained seauen moneths or more, and after ransomed by Don Vgo di Moncada a Spaniard, and the marquesse of Guasto, at about foure hundred thousand ducquets, besides the ransomes of the cardinals which was much greater; hauing not long before time bene also (notwithstanding his curses) besieged in the same castell by the familie of the Colonies and their fauours his next neighbours being then imperialists, and forced to yeeld to all their demands. Neither did king Henrie the second of France, father to Henrie now king of France, about the yeare 1550, feare or regard the pope or his court of Rome, when he made several strict edicts against manie parts of the popes claimes in pretence of the crowne and cleargie of France, retracting the authoritie of the court of Rome greatlie to the hinderance of the popes former profits. Neither was the armie of king Philip now of Spaine, whereof the duke of Alva was generall, stricken with any feare of cursing, when it was brought afore Rome against the pope, in the yeare of our Lord 1555, where great destruction was made by the said armie, and all the delicat buildings, gardens, and orchards, next to Rome walles overthrowne, wherewith his holinesse was more terrified than he was able to remoue with any his curses. Neither was queene Marie the queenes mostes noble late sister, a person not a little deuoted to the Romane religion, so afraid of the popes cursings; but that both she and her whole counsell, and that with the assent of all the iudges of the realme, according to the ancient lawes, in fauour of cardinall Pole her kinsman, did most straitlie forbid the carrie of his bulles, and of a cardinals hat at Calls, that was sent from the pope for one frater Deito, an obseruant pleasant frater, whom the pope had assigned to be a cardinall in disgrace of cardinall Pole: neither did cardinall Pole himselfe at the same time or

beie the popes commandments, nor shewd him selfe afraid, being assisted by the queene, when the pope did threaten him with paine of curses and excommunications; but did still oppose himselfe against the popes commandment, for the said pretended cardinall Deito (who notwithstanding all the threatnings of the pope, was forced to go by and done in the streets of London like a begging frater, without his red hat; a stout resistance in a queene for a poze cardinall, wherein he followed the example of his grandfather king Henrie the seventh, for a matter of Alium, wherein the king vsed verie great seueritie against the pope.

D. Deito a  
begging frater.

So as howsoever the christian kings for some respects in pollicie can induce the pope to command there as he hath no disadvantage groweth to them selves, yet for this end, and the popes are not ignorant, but where they shall in any sort attempt to take from christian princes any part of their dominions, or shall giue aid to their enemies, or to any other their rebels, in those cases, their bulles, their curses, their excommunications, their sentences and most solemn anathematiks, no nor their crose keys, or double edged sword, will serue their turnes to compass their intentions. And now, where the pope hath manifestlie by his bulles and excommunications attempted as much as he could, to depriue his maiestie of his kingdome, to withhold from his the obedience of his subiects, to procure rebellions in his realmes, yea to make both rebellions and open warres with his owne capteines, souldiers, banners, ensignes, and all other things belonging to warre: shall this pope Gregorie or any other pope after him, thinke that a soveraigne queene, possessed of the two realmes of England and Ireland, stablished so manie yeares in his kingdome as thre or foure popes haue sit in their chaire at Rome, fortified with so much dutie, loue and strength of his subiects, acknowledging no superiour ouer his realmes, but the mightie hand of God: shall he feare, or be so feare to withstand and make frustrate his unlawfull attempts, either by his sword or by his lawes; or to put his souldiers inuadours of his realme to the sword martialle, or to execute his lawes upon his owne rebellious subiects ciuillie, that are proued to be his chiefe instruments for rebellion, & for his open war? This is sure, that howsoever either he sitting in his chaire with a triple crowne at Rome, or any other his proctors in any part of christendome, shall reneue these unlawfull attempts: almightie God the king of kings whom his maiestie onlie honoureth and acknowledgeth to be his onlie soveraigne Lord and protector, whose lawes and gospel of his son Iesus Christ he seeketh to defend, will no doubt but deliuer sufficient power into his maiesties hand his seruuant queene Elisabeth, to withstand and confound them all.

The kings of  
christendome  
never suffer  
popes to as-  
surge their  
titles or  
rights,  
though they  
saue them to  
haue rule ouer  
their people.

The queene  
of England  
may not suffer  
the pope by any  
means to  
make rebellions  
in his  
realme.

And where the seditious trumpetors of infamie & lies haue founded forth and intitled certaine that haue suffered for treason, to be martyrs for religion: so may they also at this time (if they list) ad to their forged catalog the headlesse bodie of the late miserable earle of Desmond, the head of the Irish rebellion: who of late, secretlie wandering without succour, as a miserable begger, was taken by one of the Irishie in his caben, and in an Irish sort, after his owne accustomed sauage manner, his head cut off from his bodie: an end due to such an archrebell. And herewith to remember the end of his chiefe confederats, may be noted for example to others, the strange manner of the death of doctor Sanders the popes Irish legat, who also wandering in the mountains in Ireland without succour, died raving in a frensie. And before him, one James Fitzmorris

Whom sent  
to the popes  
marriage.

The strange  
ends at  
James earle  
of Desmond,  
D. Sanders,  
James Fitz-  
morris.

the first traitour of Ireland next to Shukeleie the rakehell, a man not unknown in the popes palace for a wicked craftie traitor, was slain at one blow by an Irish noble young gentleman, in defense of his fathers country, which the traitor sought to burne. A fourth man of singular note was John of Desmond, brother to the earle, a verie blouodie faithlesse traitor, & a notable murderer of his familiar friends, who also wandring to seeke some preie like a Wolfe in the woods, was taken & beheaded after his owne usage, being (as he thought) sufficientlie armed with the popes bulls and certeine *Signis Dei*, & one notable ring with a pretious stone about his necke sent from the popes finger (as it was said) but these he sawe saved not his life. And such were the fatall ends of all these, being the principall heads of the Irish warre and rebellion, so as no one person remaineth at this date in Ireland a known traitor: a worke of God and not of man.

To this number they may (if they seeke number) also ad a furious young man of Warwickshire, by name Somerville, to increase their kalendar of the popes martyrs, who of late was discovered and taken in his waile, coming with a fall intent to haue killed hir maiestie, whose life God alwaies haue in his custodie. The attempt not denied by the traitor himselfe, but confessed, and that he was moued thereto in his wicked spirit, by insilements of certeine seditious and traitorous persons his kinsmen and allies, & also by often reading of sundrie seditious vile bookes latelie published against hir maiestie, and his end was in desperation to strangle himselfe to death: an example of Gods seueritie against such as presume to offer violence to his anointed. But as God of his godnesse hath of long time hitherto preserved hir maiestie from these and the like treacheries: so hath the no cause to feare, being vnder his protection, the saying with king David in the psalme: *App God is my helper and I will trust in him, he is my protection, and the strength of all god subiects against the shadowes of the popes bulles, it is manifest to the world, that from the beginning of hir maiesties reigne, by Gods singular godnesse, hir kingdom hath insoted more vniuersall peace, hir people increased in more numbers, in more strength, and with greater riches, & with lesse sicknesse, the earth of hir kingdoms hath yelded more fruits, and generally all kind of woollie felicitie hath more abounded since and during the time of the popes thunders, bulles, curses and maledictions, than in anie other long times before, when the popes pardons and blessings came peacelie into the realme: so as his curses and maledictions haue turned backe to himselfe and his fautors, that it may be said to the blessed queene Elisabeth of England and of hir people, as was said in Deuteronomie of Balaam: The Lord thy God would not heare Balaam, but did turne his maledictions or curses into benedictions or blessings: the reason is, for because thy God loved thee.*

Although these former reasons are sufficient to perswade all kind of reasonable persons to allow of hir maiesties actions, to be good, reasonable, lawfull and necessarie: yet because it may be, that such as haue by frequent reading of false artificiall libels; and by giuing credit to them, vpon a prejudice or foresudgement afore grounded, by their rated opinions in fauour of the pope, will rest unsatisfied: therefore as much as may be, to satisfie all persons as farre forth as common reason may warrant, that hir maiesties late action in executing certeine seditious traitors, hath not proceeded for the holding of opinions, either for the popes supremacie, or against hir maiesties regalitie; but for the verie crimes of

sedition and treason: it shall suffice brieflie, in manner of a repetition of the former reasons, to remember these things following.

First, it cannot be denied, but that hir maiestie did for manie yeares suffer quietlie the popes bulles and excommunications without punishment of the fautors thereof, accounting of them but as of words or wind, or of writings in parchment waied downe with lead, or as of water bubbles, commonlie called in Latine *Bulle*, & such like: but yet after some proofe that courage was taken therof by some bold and bad subiects, she could not but then esteeme them to be verie preambles, or as forerunners of greater danger; and therefore, with what reason could anie mislike, that hir maiestie did for a bare defense against them, without other action or force, vse the helpe of renuing of former lawes, to prohibit the publication or execution of such kind of bulles within hir realme?

Secondlie, when notwithstanding the prohibition by hir lawes, the same bulles were plentifulle (but in secret sort) brought into the realme, and at length arrogantly set vpon the gates of the bishop of Londons palace nere to the cathedrall church of Paules, the principall citie of the realme, by a lewd person, vsing the same like a herald sent from the pope: who can in anie common reason mislike, that hir maiestie finding this kind of denunciation of warre, as a defiance to be made in hir principall citie by one of hir subiects, auowing and obstinatie mainteining the same, should according to iustice cause the offender to haue the reward due to such a fact: And this was the first action of anie capitall punishment inflicted for matter sent from Rome to moue rebellion, which was after hir maiestie had reigned about the space of twelue yeares or more: a time sufficient to proue hir maiesties patience.

Thirdlie, when the pope had risen vp out of his chaire in his wrath, from words and writings to actions, and had contrarie to the aduise giuen by saint Barnard to one of his predecessors, that is, when by his messages he left *Verbum*, and toke *Ferrum*, that is, left to sed by the word, which was his office, and began to strike with the sword which was forbidden him, and stirred hir noblemen and people directlie to disobedience and to open rebellion, which was the offence of Nathan and Abiram, and that hir lewd subiects by his commandement had executed the same with all the forces which they could make or bring into the field: who with common reason can disallow that hir maiestie bled hir roiall lawfull authoritie, and by hir forces lawfull subdued rebels forces vnlawfull, and punished the authors thereof no otherwise than the pope himselfe doeth to do with his owne rebellious subiects, in the patrimonie of his church, as not manie moneths passed he had bene forced to intend: And if anie prince of people in the world would otherwise neglect his office, and suffer his rebels to haue their wills; none ought to pittie him, if for want of resistance and courage he lost both his crowne, his head, his life, and his kingdom.

Fourthlie, when hir maiestie beheld a further increase of the popes malice, notwithstanding that the first rebellion was in hir north parts vanquished, in that he interteined abroad out of this realme, the traitors and rebels that fled for the rebellion, and all the rabble of other the fugitiues of the realme, & that he sent a number of the same in sorts disguised into both the realmes of England and Ireland, who there secretly allured hir people to new rebellions, and at the same time spared not his charges to send also out of Italie by sea, certeine ships with capitaines of his owne, with their bands of soldiers, furnished with treasure, munition, vittels, ensignes, banners, and

Reasons to perswade by reason the fauourers of the pope, that none hath bene executed for rebellion but for treason. The first reason.

The second reason.

The bull of Pius Quintus set up at Paules.

The first punishment for the bull.

The third reason.

Rebellion in the north.

The fourth reason.

The invasion of Ireland by the pope.

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The popes  
me of Eng  
land, during  
the popes  
curses.

Admission  
to the popes  
martyrholde.

The strange  
ends of  
James earle  
of Desmond,  
D. Sanders,  
James Fitz  
morris.

and all other things requisite to the waere, into his realme of Ireland, where the same forces with other auxilliar companies out of Spaine landed, and fortified themselves verie strongly on the sea side, and proclaimed open warre, erecting the popes banner against his maiestie: may it be now asked of these persons, fauourers of the Romish authoritie, what in reason should haue bene done by his maiestie otherwise, than first to apprehend all such fugitives so fallen into the realme, and dispersed in disguising habits to sow sedition, as some priests in their secret profession, but all in their apparell as rusticks or rustians, some scholars, like to the basest common people, and them to commit to prisons; and upon their examinations of their trades and habits, to conuince them of their conspiracies abroad, by testimony of their owne companions, and of sowing sedition secretlie at home in the realme: What may be reasonable thought was meet to be done with such seditious persons, but by the lawes of the realme to trie, condemn and execute them: And speciallie hauing regard to the dangerous time, when the popes forces were in the realme of Ireland, and moze in preparation to follow as well into England as into Ireland, to the resistance wherof his maiestie and his realme was forced to be at greater charges, than euer he had bene since he was quene thereof. And so by Gods power, which he gaue to him on the one part, he did by his lawes suppress the seditious stirrers of rebellion in his realme of England, and by his sword vanquished all the popes forces in his realme of Ireland, excepting certeine capitaines of marke that were saved from the sword, as persons that did renounce their quarrell, and seemed to curse or to blame such as sent them to so vnfortunate and desperate a voyage.

The popes forces vanquished in Ireland.

The poitthe aduersaries satisfied.

Objection of the papists, that the persons executed, are but scholars and not armed.

But though these reasons, grounded upon rules of naturall reason, shall satisfie a great number of the aduersaries (who will yeeld that by gods order of ciuill and christian policie and gouernement, his maiestie could not can doe no lesse than he hath done, first to subdue with his forces his rebels and traitors, and next by order of his lawes to correct the aiders & abettors, & lastlie to put also to the sword such forces as the pope sent into his dominions) yet there are certeine other persons, more nicelie addicted to the pope, that will yet seeme to be unsatisfied: for that, as they will tearme the matter, a number of stille poore wretches were put to death as traitors, being but in profession scholars or priests, by the names of seminaries, Jesuits, or simple scholemasters, that came not into the realme with any armour or weapon, by force to aid the rebels and traitors, either in England or in Ireland in their rebellions or wars; of which sort of wretches the commiseration is made, as though for their contrarie opinions in religion, or for teaching of the people to disobey the lawes of the realme, they might haue bene otherwise punished and corrected, but yet not with capitall paine. These kinds of defenses tend onelie to find fault rather with the severity of their punishments, than to acquit them as innocents or quiet subiects.

But for answer to the better satisfaction of these nice and scrupulous fauourers of traitors, it must be with reason demanded of them (if at least they will open their eares to reason) whether they thinke that when a king being established in his realme, hath a rebellion first secretlie practised, and afterward openly raised in his realme by his owne seditious subiects; and when by a foren potentate or enimie the same rebellion is maintained, and the rebels by messages and promises comforted to continue, and their treasons against their naturall prince auowed; and consequentlie when the same potentat and en-

emie, being author of the said rebellion, shall with his owne proper forces invade the realme and subiects of the prince that is so lawfull and peaceable possessor: in these cases, shall no subject fauouring these rebels, and yeelding obedience to the enimie the inuador, be committed or punished as a traitor; but onelie such of them, as shall be found openlie to carrie armour and weapon: Shall no subject, that is a spiall and an explozer for the rebel or enimie against his naturall prince, be taken and punished as a traitor, because he is not found with armour or weapon; but yet is taken in his disguised apparell, with scrolles and writings, or other manifest tokens, to proue him a spie for traitors, after he hath wandered secretlie in his soueraignes campe, region, court, or citie: Shall no subject be counted a traitor, that will secretlie giue earnest and profit moue to persons to be rebels or enimies, or that will attempt to poison the vittels, or the founteins; or secretlie set on fire the ships or munition, or that will secretlie search and sound the hauens and cracks for landing, or measure the depth of ditches, or height of bulwarks and walles, because these offenders are not found with armour or weapon: The answer I thinke must needs be yeilded (if reason and experience shall haue rule with these aduersaries) that all these and such like are to be punished as traitors: and the principall reason is, because it can not be denied, but that the actions of all these are necessarie accessaries, and adherents proper to further and continue all rebellions and warres. But if they will denie, that none are traitors that are not armed, they will make Judas no traitor, that came to Christ without armour, colouring his treason with a kisse.

Now therefore it resteth to applie the facts of these late malefactors that are pretended to haue offended but as scholars, or bookemen; or at the most but as persons that onelie in words and doctrine, and not with armour did fauour and helpe the rebels and the enimies. For which purpose let these persons be termed as they list, scholars, scholemasters, bookemen, seminaries, priests, Jesuits, friers, beaumen, Romanists, pardoners, or what else you will; neither their titles, nor their apparell hath made them traitors, but their traitorous secret motions & practises: their persons haue not made the warre, but their directions and counsels haue set by the rebellions. It is trulie to be pondered, that the verie causes small of these rebellions and warres, haue bene to depose his maiestie from his crowne: the popes bull hath roared it so to be. The causes instrumentall are these kind of seminaries and sedition of sedition: their secret teachings and reconciliations haue confirmed it. The fruits and effects thereof are by rebellion to shed the blood of all his faithful subiects: the rewards of the inuadors (if they could preuaile) should be the dismembering of all the nobilitie, the clergie, and the whole communaltie, that would (as they are bound by the lawes of God, by their birth, and othes) defend their naturall grations queene, their native countrie, their wiues, their children, their familie, and their houses.

And now examine these which you call unarmed scholars and priests, wherefore they first fled out of the realme, why they liued and were conuerfant in companie of the principall rebels and traitors at Rome, and in their places, where it is proued that they were partakers of their conspiracies: Let it be answered why they came thus by stealth into the realme: Why they haue wandered by & downe in corners in disguised sort, changing their titles, names and manner of apparell: Why they haue intised and sought to persuaide by their secret false reasons, the people to allow and belue all the actions

The application of the scholasticall traitors, to others, that are traitors without arms.

The dogs for re not hion.

Shir ons t traite scholi

Some are traitors though they haue no arms nor weapon.

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queen  
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The  
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and attempts whatsoever the pope hath done, or shall  
do, to be lawfull? Why they haue reconciled and  
indisposed so manie people in conuers from the  
lawes of the realme to the obedience of the pope, a  
forerune potentate and open enimie, whom they  
haue to haue already declared the queene to be no  
lawfull queene, to haue maintained the knownde re-  
bels and traitors, to haue incited hir maiesties do-  
mitions with open warre? Examine further, how  
these vagrant disguised vnarmed spies haue answer-  
red, when they were taken and demanded what they  
thought of the bull of pope *Pius Quintus*, which was  
published to depriue the queenes maiestie, and to  
warrant hir subjects to disobey hir: whether they  
thought that all subjects ought to obey the same bull,  
and so to rebel? Secondly, whether they thought  
hir maiestie to be lawfull queene of the realme, not-  
withstanding the said bull, or any other bull of the  
pope? Thirdlie, whether the pope might giue such li-  
cence as he did to the earls of Northumberland and  
Westmerland, and other hir maiesties subjects to  
rebel as they did? Or giue power to doctor Sanders  
a naturall borne scholer, but an vnaturall boone  
priest, to take armes and moue warres as he did in  
Ireland? Fourthlie, whether the pope may discharge  
the subjects of hir maiestie, or of any other princes  
christened, of their oaths of obedience? Fifthlie, whe-  
ther the said traitorous priest doctor Sanders or one  
show a rebellious fugitive, did in their booke  
write tralie or falslie, in approuing the said bull of  
*Pius Quintus*, and the contents thereof? Lastlie, what  
were to be done, if the pope or any other assigned by  
him, would invade the realme of England, and what  
part they would take, or what part any faithfull sub-  
ject of hir maiesties ought to take? To these set  
questions vertie apt to trie the truth or falshood of any  
such seditious persons, being iustlie before condem-  
ned for their disloyaltie, these lewd vnarmed traitors  
I say would in no wise answer direalie herto, as all  
other faithfull subjects to any christian prince ought  
to do.

And as they by refusal to answer direalie to these  
questions onlie, might haue bene iustlie conuicted  
as guilty of treason: so yet were they not thereupon  
condemned, but upon all their other former actions  
committed both abroad & in the realme, which were no  
lesse traitorous than the actions of all other the spies  
and traitors, and of Judas himselfe afore remem-  
bered, which had no armes nor weapon, and yet at all  
times ought to be aduinged traitors. For these dis-  
guised persons (called scholers or priests) hauing  
bene first conuict of long time with the traitors  
beyond the sea in all their conspiracies, came hither  
by stealth in time of war and rebellion by comman-  
dement of the capitall enimie the pope or his legats,  
to be secret espials and esploers in the realme for the  
pope, to deliuer by secret Romish tokens, as it were  
an earnest or preff, to them that should be in readi-  
nes to ioinc with rebels or open enimies, and in like  
sort with their halloved baggages from Rome to  
poison the senses of the subjects, poisoning into their  
hearts malicious and pestilent opinions against hir  
maiestie and the lawes of the realme: and also to  
kindle and set on fire the hearts of discontented sub-  
jects with the flames of rebellion, & to search & sound  
the depths and secrets of all mens inward inten-  
tions, either against hir maiestie, or for hir: and fi-  
nally, to bring into a beapoll, or as it were into a  
muster roll, the names and powers with the dwell-  
lings of all them that should be ready to rebel, and  
so to the foretime situation.

These kinds of seditious actions for the seruice of  
the pope and the traitors and rebels abroad, haue  
made them traitors: not their backs, nor their braves,

nor their cakes of waite which they call *Agnes Dei*,  
nor other their reliques, nor yet their opinions  
for the ceremonies or rites of the church of Rome:  
and therefore it is to be certeinly concluded, that  
these did iustlie deserue their capitall punishments  
as traitors, though they were not apprehended with  
open armour or weapon. Now if this latter reputa-  
tion, as it were of all the former causes and reasons  
afore recited, may not serue to stop the boisterous  
mouthes, and the pestiferous tongues and venomous  
breaths of those that are infected with so grosse er-  
rors, as to defend seditious subsidies, stirrers of re-  
bellion against their naturall prince and countrie:  
then are they to be left without any further argu-  
ment of the almighty God, as persons that haue co-  
uered their eyes against the sunnes light, stopped  
their eares against the sound of iustice, and op-  
pressed their hearts against the force of reason, and  
as the psalmist saith: They speake lies, they are as  
venomous as the poison of a serpent, even like the  
deafe adder that stoppeth his eares.

Therefore with christian charitie to conclude, if  
these rebels and traitors, and their factious would yet  
take some remorse and compassion of their naturall  
countrie, and would consider how baime their at-  
tempts haue bene so manie yeares; and how ma-  
nie of their confederats are wasted by miseries and  
calamities, and how none of all their attempts or  
plats haue prospered, and therefore would desist  
from their vnaturall practises abroad: and if these  
seminaries, secret wanderers, and exploers in the  
darke, would impleie their trancels in the works  
of light and doctrine according to the vse of their  
scholes, and content themselves with their profes-  
sion and deuotion: and that the remnant of the wic-  
ked stocke of the seedmen of sedition would cease  
from their rebellious, false and infamous railings  
and libellings, altogether contrarie to christian cha-  
ritie: there is no doubt by Gods grace (hir maiestie  
being so much giuen to mercie and deuoted to peace)  
but all colour and occasion of shedding the blood of  
any more of hir naturall subjects of this land, yea  
all further bodilie punishment should bitterlie cease.  
Against whose malices, if they shall not desist, al-  
mighty God continue hir maiestie with his spirit  
and power long to reigne and liue in his seare, and  
to be able to vanquish them all, being Gods eni-  
mies, and especiallie hir rebels and traitors both at  
home & abroad, & to mainteine & preserve all hir na-  
turall god louing subjects, to the true seruice of the  
same almighty God, according to his holie word &  
will. Many other things might be remembered for  
defense of other hir maiesties princelie, honorable,  
and godlie actions in sundrie other things, wherein  
also these and the like seditious railors haue of late  
time without all shame, by fained and false libels  
sought to discredit hir maiestie & hir gouernement:  
but at this time, these former causes and reasons al-  
leaged by waie of aduertisements, onlie for main-  
tenance of truth, are sufficient to iustifie hir mai-  
esties actions to the whole world in the cases remem-  
bered. *Magnificence, & prouident: Great is truth,* 2. Ed. 4.  
and the ouercometh.

On the two and twentieth of Januarie, John  
Watson bishop of Winchester deceased at Win-  
chester, and was buried at Winchester on the firste  
daie of Februarie; a man he was well taught by the  
art which he professed and practised, to esteeme this  
life as it is, even transitorie & vertie baime; wherein  
as men are the further steep in age, so should they  
be the lesse desirous to liue, and take death comming  
timelie (which is, when as naturall heate and the moi-  
sture radicall are decayed) in such god part, as no  
thing

Unreasonable  
and obstinate  
persons are  
left to Gods  
iudgement,

Bishop of  
Winchester  
deceased.



thing more acceptable. But who thinks his death to come timely; but the godlie wise, who haue learned, that as men haue daies of life decreed, so they haue daies of death determined; according to the tradition, which that famous man Iohannus Camerarius (an excellent man and of singular note) made a little before his departing out of this world:

*Morte nihil tempestiua esse optatim aiunt,  
sed tempestiua quis putat esse suam?  
Qui putat ille sapit; quoniam ut solatia vitæ,  
sic et quisque sua tempora mortis habet.*

Thus executed  
for treason.

A. F. ex add.  
G. C.

Master Walter  
Kaleigh his biage for  
the discouerie  
of that land  
which lieth  
betwene Flo-  
rembega and  
Florida.

Philip Ama-  
dis, and Ar-  
thur Barlow.

Two savage  
men and other  
things  
brought from  
the said land  
discouered.

Master Wal-  
ter Kaleigh  
prepareth for  
a second vi-  
age to the said  
land late dis-  
couered.

Gentlemen  
that associated  
with Humfric  
Gilbert in his  
biage to Flo-  
rembega  
1578.

The biage  
hath not wis-  
hed successe.

Master Wal-  
ter Kaleigh  
sailed as far  
as Cape de  
Verde, &c.  
and arriveth  
in Calene at  
Plymouth.  
Sir Humfric  
Gilbert sen-  
ted from his

On the seventh of Februarie were arrested at Westminster, James Fenne, George Haddocks, John Hunden, John Putter, and Thomas Hounceford: all five were found guiltie of high treason; and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, bowelled, and quartered, and were executed at Tyborne on the twelvedate of Februarie. ¶ In this yeare, 1584, even at the prime of the yeare, namely in Aprill, master Walter Kaleigh esquier, a gentleman from his infancie brought up and trained in martiall discipline, both by land and sea, and well inclined to all vertuous and honorable adventures, having built a ship and a pinelle, set them to the sea, furnished with all provisions necessarie for a long biage, and committed the charge of them to two gentlemen (his owne seruants) the one called Philip Amadis, the other Arthur Barlow, with direction to discouer that land which lieth betwene Florembega and Florida in the west Indies; who according to their commission, made as sufficient a discouerie thereof as so short a time would permit: for they returned in August next following, and brought with them two savage men of that countrie, with sundrie other things, that did assure their maister of the goodnesse of the soile, and of great commodities that would arise to the realme of England, by traffique, if that the English had any habitation, and were planted to liue there. Whereupon, he immediatly prepared for a second biage, which with all expedition (nothing at all regarding the charges that it would amount unto) did presentlie set in hand.

This countrie of Florembega aforesaid (and the land on this side of it) sir Humfric Gilbert, brother to sir Walter Kaleigh, a man both valiant and well experienced in martiall affaires, did attempt to discouer, with intention to settle an English colonie there, in the yeare 1578: having in his companie his two brethren, Walter and Carew Kaleighs, Henrie Knolles, George Carew, William Careie, Edward Dennie, Henrie Powell, Miles Morgan, Francis Knolles, Henrie Poorth, and diuerse other gentlemen of good calling, and ten sailes of all sorts of shipping, well and sufficientlie furnished for such an enterprise, weighed anchor in the west countrie, & set to the sea. But God not fauoring his attempt, the iourneie toke no good successe: for all his ships enforced by some occasion or mischance, made their present returne againe; that onelie excepted, where in his brother Walter Kaleigh was capitaine, who being desirous to do somewhat worthy hono, toke his course for the west Indies, but for want of victuals and other necessities (needfull in so long a biage) when he had sailed as far as the Islands of Cape de Verde upon the coast of Africa, was enforced to set saile and returne for England. In this his biage he passed manie dangerous adventures, as well by tempests as fights on the sea; but lastlie he arrived safelie at Plymouth in the west countrie in Maie next following. Sir Humfric Gilbert notwithstanding this unfortunate successe of his first attempt, enterprised the said biage the second time, and set to the sea with three ships and pinelles, in the yeare 1584, in the which iourneie he lost his life;

but in what sort no man can tell. For being by force of foule weather separated from his companie, he was neuer heard of after wards.

¶ In this yeare, and the twentieth date of Maie departed out of this life that famous father of physike and surgerie, the English Hippocrates and Galen, I meane doctor Caldwel, and was buried on the first of June immediatly following at St. Benets church by Paules tharfe, at the upper end of the chancell: his bodie was verie solemnely accompanied to the church with a traine of learned and grave doctors, besides others of that facultie, the heralds of armes doing him such honour at his funerall as to him of dutie appertained. Of this mans rare loue to his countrie hath bene spoken before, where mention is made of the institution of a surgerie lecture perpetuallie to be continued for the common benefit of London, and consequentlie of all England: the like whereof is not established nor used in any vniuersitie of christendome. (Bononte and Padua excepted) and therefore the more to be esteemed. Anded the like institution was in towarnesse, whiles Francis the French of that name the first liued: but when he died, as the court that he kept in his time was counted a vniuersitie, but after his death made an exchange thereof with another name: so likewise discontinued or rather viterlie brake off that purposed institution of a surgerie lecture at Paris: so that in this point London hath a prerogative exceeding the vniuersities.

This Dr. Caldwell in his last will and testament gaue manie great legacies to a great number of his poorest kinsfolkes, as also unto others nothing alied unto him. He gaue in his life time two hundred pounds to be lent gratis for ever to the Clothiers in Burton, whereby clothing might be maintained, the poore artificers set on worke, and the poore citizens in Aldersfield also benefited: the corporation of the said towne being bound for the receiving and deliuering thereof euery five yeares to the yongest and poorest occupiers. He gaue great summes of monie to the poore towneships in Staffordshire where he was borne, both towards the relieving of their pinate estate, as also to the repairing of their bridges and amending of their high wates, for the commoditie of all the countrie. He left large summes of monie to be employed by his executors at their discretion, where charitable mooued; as also to the publishing of such learned booke of physike and surgerie (with sundrie chargeable toymes grauen in copper and finished in his life) as he meant (if he had liued) to see extant.

Diuerse good works in his daies he had done, and hath left order to be done after his death: which was verie mild and still, not unlike the decesse of a babe in the cradle; having bene assailed with no extremitie of sicknesse (his ordinary infirmities excepted) which was intermitting that either might wing him or wearte him to make him impatient. So that he died as sleeping, having left behind him both credit of learning, cunning, & other good ornaments, the very beautie of his age, which was exactlie found by true computation to be threescore and fourteene, in which yeare he died; as may be gathered by his counterfet so naturallie conueied into colours, with his white beard, the hollownesse of his cheekes, the wrinkles of his browes, the luelle sight of his eyes, and other accessories; and all within a module, the circumference whereof exceedeth not six inches, if it amount to so much in exact measure, as a man beholding the said representation, would thinke that it were not possible for art to draw more nere in imitation to nature. So that this doctor being in so ripe an age, was committed to holie ground, where he rested in peace, his cote armour bearing witness

Ab. Fl. person  
consequenter  
me confus.

The decesse  
of Dr. Cald-  
well, a physician  
of wnt there  
is former me-  
tio, pag. 1346.

The court of  
Francis the  
first a vniuersi-  
tie, 7c. pag.  
1342.

The discor-  
dians of Dr.  
Caldwell in  
his life time  
and his be-  
quests after  
his death.

This comment  
taken upon  
some part of  
Paulus Aca-  
gineta, and  
other booke.

This ordina-  
rie infirmities  
was the col-  
licke, which  
tormented  
him exco-  
dinglie.

This age and  
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which seemed  
to be made  
1571, and in  
the yeare of  
his age 54.

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The armes  
of Caldwell  
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The crosse  
forme sicke  
was the cote  
of Caldwella:  
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king of Brit-  
taine in An.  
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These figures  
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,  
have relation  
to certaine  
works, name-  
ly the mullet,  
the cinque-  
foile, the floure  
deuce, the hâd,  
the crescant or  
moone, and the  
globe, grauen  
in the copper  
plate, which  
works are  
referred to  
the like, in  
and about the  
arms above  
said.

Francis  
Throckmorton  
was arraigned  
and condemned  
of high trea-  
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of his ancestrie: for he beareth azure, a crosse forme  
sicke or, within an pale of stars or: the second argent,  
a fesse indented sable charged with foure leues  
heads rampant raised or: the third as the second, and  
fourth as the first quarterlie. Also he beareth to his  
crest on a trosse or and azure, a cocks head argent,  
couped, embowed geules supporting a crosse forme  
sicke or, betweene two wings sable, and mantled  
geules doubled argent.

In further memorie of whome (so long as the  
church wherein he lieth buried doth stand, and the mo-  
numents therein blessed from sacrilegious hands)  
there remaineth fixed in the wall ouer his graue, a  
copper plate wherein his said cote armour is worke  
mantle grauen, with the armes of the physicians col-  
lege so vnder it, as they are knit vnto it. On either  
side of this latter scutcheon are set certeine binding  
bands and other instruments of surgerie in their  
right formes, with their proper vse also to be practi-  
sed vpon ech member; be the same head, leg, arme,  
hand, or foot: all workmanlike wrought, & vnder the  
same a memoriall grauen for withed perpetuittie:

*Caldwellus iacet hic patria studiosus alumnus,  
Chirurgus Chiron, Hippocrates Medicus:  
Heracles laqueis dum fascia membra reuincit,  
Galenus price laudis & artis amans:  
Chirurgi subtilem lectionem condidit, illi  
Præfuit Medicos, quos ea turba colat:  
Plintheus hinc astat laqueus, Carthesius inde  
Fascia, quæ studi sunt monumenta sui:  
Felix Chirurgus patronum qui tibi talem  
Natum es, & felix qui dolet aeger erit.*

*Laquei { Plintheus 1  
          { Charthesius 2  
Fascia { Totum caput cingens 3  
          { Rhombus 4  
Machinamenta { Scamnum Hippocratis 5  
                    { Gloscomium 6*

*Quem tibi vinxisti charum dum visa manebat,  
Te cum Melpomene post tua fata canet.  
Ric. Forsterus.*

In this yeare of our Lord 1584, on the one and  
twentieth daie of Maie, Francis Throckmorton  
squier, was arraigned in the Guildhall of the citie  
of London, where being found guilty of high trea-  
son, he was condemned and had iudgement accor-  
dingly, to be beate, hanged, boyled, and quartered.  
A discoverie of whose treasons, practised and at-  
tempted against the quæens maiestie and the realme,  
were afterward, to wit, in the moneth of June, pub-  
lished as followeth.

A true and perfect declaration of the  
treasons practised and attempted by Francis  
Throckmorton, late of London, against  
the quæens maiestie and the realme.

Whereas there haue bene verie lewd and  
slandorous brutes and reports giuen out,  
of the due and orderlie proceedings held  
with Francis Throckmorton lately ar-  
raigned & condemned of high treason at the Guild-  
hall in London, the one and twentieth daie of Maie  
last, whereby such as are euill affected toward hir  
maiestie, and the present gouernement, haue inde-  
noured falselie and iniuriously to charge hir maie-  
stie and hir faithfull ministers with crueltie and in-  
justice vsed against the said Throckmorton, by ex-  
torting from him by torture, such confessions as he  
hath made against himselfe, & by insinuating the same  
to make them lawfull euidence to conuict him of  
the treasons therein specified: albeit hir maiesties  
subiects in generall, calling to mind the mild and

temperate course the hath held all the time of hir  
most happie reigne, might rather impute hir clemen-  
cie and lenitie vsed towards all sorts of offenders to  
a kind of fault, than far hir with the contrarie: yet  
such as allow of practises and treasons against hir  
maiestie, do alwaies interpret both of the one and  
of the other, according to the particular affections  
that do possesse them, that is, to the worst. And for-  
somuch as the case of Throckmorton at this time  
hath bene subiect to their sinister constructions;  
and considering that lies and falsse brutes cast abroad are  
most commonlie beleued, untill they be controlled  
by the truth: it hath bene thought expedient in this  
short discourse to deliuer vnto your view and consi-  
deration, a true and perfect declaration of the trea-  
sons practised and attempted by the said Throck-  
morton against hir maiestie and the realme, by him  
confessed before his arraignment, whereby hir maie-  
stie was iustlie and in reason perswaded to put him  
to his triall.

You shall likewise perceiue what course hath  
bene held with him by hir commissioners to bring  
him to confesse the truth: with what impudencie and  
how falselie he hath denied his sayings and confes-  
sions: and lastlie, how by a new submission and con-  
fession of his said treasons since his condemna-  
tion, he endeouoreth to satisfie hir maiestie, and to  
shew the reasons that moued him to denie the first,  
which he affirmeth and confirmeth by the last: which  
may in reason satisfie, though not all; yet such as are  
not forgettalled, or rather forepoisoned and infected  
with the lies and vntruths already spread and deliue-  
red in fauour of the traitor & his treasons. You shall  
therefore vnderstand, that the cause of his apprehen-  
sion grew first vpon secret intelligence giuen to the  
quæens maiestie, that he was a priuie conuener and  
receiuer of letters to and from the Scottish quæene:  
vpon which information neuertheless diuerse ma-  
neths were suffered to passe on, before he was called  
to answer the matter, to the end there might some  
prose more apparant be had to charge him therewith  
directlie: which shortly after fell out, and therevpon  
there were sent vnto his houses in London, and at  
Leutham in Kent, to search and apprehend him, cer-  
teine gentlemen of no meane credit and reputation:  
of whome, two were sent to his house by Pauls  
churche, where he was apprehended, & so by one of them  
conueied presentlie awaie; the other remaining in  
the chamber to make search for papers, writings, &c:  
which might giue prose of his suspected practises.

In that search, there were found the two papers  
containing the names of certeine catholike noble-  
men and gentlemen, expelling the hauiens for lan-  
ding of forren forces, with other particularities in  
the said papers mentioned, the one written in the se-  
cretarie hand (which he at the barre confessed to be  
his owne handwritting) and the other in the Roman  
hand, which he denied to be his, and would not shew  
how the same came vnto his hands: howbeit in his  
examinations he hath confessed them both to be his  
owne handwritting: and so they are in truth. There  
were also found among other of his papers, twelue  
petitdegres of the descent of the crotons of Eng-  
land, printed and published by the bishop of Ross, in  
the defense of the pretended title of the Scottish  
quæene his mistresse: with certeine infamous libels  
against hir maiestie printed and published beyond  
the seas: which being found in the hands of a man so  
euill affected, comparing the same with his doings  
and practises against hir maiestie, you will iudge the  
purpose wherefore he kept them.

Shortly after his apprehension, he was examined  
by some of hir maiesties priuie councill, how he  
came by the said two papers of the hauiens: and he

But how can  
their interpre-  
tations be  
sound, whose  
iudgements  
are corrupt?

The premis-  
ses being all  
sufficient can-  
not but an-  
sweranie cir-  
cumstance  
touching this  
traitor.

The bishop of  
Ross an ene-  
mie to the  
English state;

A colour of  
truth to counte-  
enance a ma-  
nifest lie.

most impudentlie denied w<sup>th</sup> manie protestations that he neuer saw them, affirming they were none of his, but were soisted in (as he termed it) among his papers by the gentlemen that searched his house. Notwithstanding being moze earnestlie pressed to confesse the truth, he said they had bene left (he knew not how) in his chamber by a man of his, who not long before was departed out of the realme, named Edward Rogers, alias Puttebie, by whome they were written. And to make this deuise to carie some colour of truth, after his committing vnto the Tower, he found the meanes to get three cards, on the backside of which cards he wrote to his brother George Throckemorton to this effect. I haue bene examined by whome the two papers, containing the names of certeine noblemen and gentlemen, and of hauens, &c. were written; & I haue alleged them to haue bene written by Edward Puttebie my man, of whose handwritting you know them to be: meaning by this deuise to haue had his brother confirme his falshood.

These cards were intercepted, and thereby the suspicion before conceived of his practises increased. Whereupon, as vpon other iust cause and matter against him, hauing bene sundrie times brought before some of the principall personages of hir maiesties most honourable priuie counsell; and by them with all industrie examined, and persuaded in vertue mild and charitable maner, to confesse the truth, promising to procure pardon for him, in case he would bewaite the depth of his practises: but no persuasion preuailing, hir maiestie thought it agreeable with good policie, and the safetie of hir roiall person and state, to commit him ouer to the hands of some of hir learned counsell and others hir faithfull servants and ministers, with commission to them, to assaie by torture to draw from him the truth of the matters appearing so weightie as to concerne the inuading of the realme, &c. These men by vertue of that commission, proceeded with him, first as the counsell had formerlie done by waie of persuasion, to induce him to confesse: but finding that course not to preuaile, they were constrained to commit him to such as are vsuallie appointed in the Tower to handle the racke, by whome he was laied vpon the same, and somewhat pinched, although not much: for at the end of three daies following, he had recovered himselfe, and was in as good plight as before the time of his racking: which if it had then or anie other time bene ministered vnto him with that violence that he and his fauourers haue indenoured standeroullie to giue out, the signes thereof would haue appeared vpon his lims for manie yeares.

At this first time of torture he would confesse nothing, but continued in his former obstinacie and deniall of the truth. The second time that he was put to the racke, before he was strained by to anie purpose, he yielded to confesse anie thing he knew, in the matters objected against him: whereupon he was loosed. And then the commissioners proceeded with him according to such interrogatories as had bene deliuered vnto them: which for the moze breuitie shall here be omitted, the intent of this declaration tending onelie to discouer vnto you the treasons and treacherous dealings of the said Francis Throckemorton as well before as since his imprisonment, for your better knowledge of the man, and manifestation of the due and iust proceedings held with him by hir maiesties commissioners appointed vnto that seruice. And here you are to note, that when he was first pressed to discouer by whome the plots of the hauens were set downe, and to what purpose, he began (without anie further interrogation ministered) by waie of an historிக்கal narration, to declare that at

The intent of  
this declarati-  
on what it is.

his being at Spaw in the countrie of Liege certeine yeares past, he entered into conference with one Jennie a notorious knowne traitor, touching the altering of the state of the realme here, and how the same might be attempted by forren inuasion, and to the like effect had sundrie conferences with sir Francis Englefield in the low countries, who dailie solicited the Spanissh king in Spaine, and his gouernors in the said countries, to attempt the inuading of the realme, continued a course of practising against hir maiestie & the state, by letters betwene sir Francis Englefield & himselfe, till within these two yeares last past, and that he did from time to time acquaint sir John Throckemorton his late father with his traitorous practises, who (as he said) seeing no probability of successe in them, dissuaded him from anie further meddling with those practises.

He hath further confessed, that he used his fathers aduise & opinion in setting downe the names of the catholike noblemen & gentlemen, and did acquaint him with the description of the hauens for the landing of forces, which he conceived and put in writing onelie by view of the map, & not by particular sight or surueie of the said hauens.

Item, he hath also confessed, that vpon the intermission of writing of letters, and the accustomed intelligences passed betwene sir Francis Englefield and him, he was made acquainted by his brother Thomas Throckemorton, by letters and conference, and by Thomas Morgan by letters (two of the principall confederats and workers of these treasons residing in France) with a resolute determination agreed on by the Scottissh queene and hir confederats in France and in other forren parts, and also in England, for the inuading of the realme.

That the duke of Guise should be the principall leader and executor of that inuasion.

That the pretention (which should be publielic notified) should be to deliuer the Scottissh queene to libertie, & to procure euen by force from the queenes maiestie a tolerance in religion for the pretended catholikes. But the intention (the bottome whereof should not at the first be made knowne to all men) should be vpon the queenes maiesties resistance, to remoue hir maiestie from hir crowne and state.

That the duke of Guise had prepared the forces, but there wanted two things, monie, and the assistance of a conuenient partie in England, to ioine with the forren forces; and a third thing, how to set the Scottissh queene at libertie without perill of hir person.

For the first thing wanting, that is, monie: messengers were sent from forren parts both to Rome and Spaine, & their returne dailie expected to their liking. And the Spanissh ambassadour to encourage the English to ioine both in purse & person, did giue out, that the king his master would not onlie make some notable attempt against England, but also would beare halfe the charge of the enterpryse. For the second thing, that is, the preparing of a sufficient partie in England, to receiue and to ioine with the forren forces, one especiall messenger was sent ouer into England in August last, vnder a counterfeit name from the confederats in France, to signifie the plat and preparation there, and to solicit the same here.

That Thomas Throckemorton his brother made him priuie to his negotiation at his last being here in England; and that thereupon Francis Throckemorton took vpon him to be a follower and meane for the effectuating thereof among the confederats in England, with the helpe of the Spanissh ambassadour, whome he instructed how and with whome to deale for the preparing of a conuenient partie here

Jennie a no-  
torious  
knowne tra-  
itor, & confeder-  
ate with Throcke-  
morton.

Sir Francis  
Englefield,  
Thomas  
Throckemo-  
rton, and Tho-  
mas Morgan.

A pretention  
of an inuasion  
into Eng-  
land.

The speciall  
meanes want-  
ing.

The Spanissh  
ambassadours  
wordes tend-  
ing to this  
inualica.

is a note  
of the  
inter-  
ference  
of the  
queen.

Landing pla-  
ces for foreign  
forces about  
Arundell in  
Sussex.

Francis  
Gilesfield,  
one of  
the  
English  
and  
Scottish  
nobles.

retention  
in situation  
of the  
queen.

he speaks  
and says  
it.

he speaks  
and says  
it.

Throckmorton  
wrote  
letters  
to the  
Scottish  
queen.

within the realme, for that himselfe would not be  
sane to be a founder of men, least he might be disco-  
uered, and so indanger himselfe and the enterprise,  
knowing that the ambassadour being a publicke per-  
son, might safely deale therein without perill.

That the duke of Guise and other heads of the en-  
terprise had refused some landing places, and made  
speciall choyse of Sussex, and about Arundell in Sus-  
sex, both for the néere cut from the parts of France,  
where the duke did or best could assemble his force,  
and for the oportunitie of assured persons to giue  
assistance, &c.

That he, taking upon him the pursute of this course,  
shewed the whole plot and deuise of the haucens for  
landing to the Spanish ambassadour, who did incou-  
rage him therein; he promising, that if he might haue  
respite untill the next spring, the same should be done  
more craclie.

That at the time of Thomas Throckmorton be-  
ing here, least the negotiation of the enterprise, by  
some casualtie, might faile in the onelie hand of one  
man Thomas Throckmorton, there was also from  
the confederats sent ouer into Sussex, Charles Pa-  
get, vnder the name of Pope alias Spring, and ther-  
of an advertisement couertlie sent vnto Thomas  
Throckmorton, both that Thomas might under-  
stand it, and not be offended that an other was in-  
ued with him in his labour.

That the Spanish ambassadour, by advertisements  
from the confederats, was made priuie to this com-  
ming of Charles Paget vnder the name of Pope,  
and yet knowne to him to be Charles Paget.

That the said ambassadour did, according to his said  
advertisements, know & affirme that Charles Pa-  
get was come ouer to view the hauens and countrie  
for landing of such foreign forces about Arundell, and  
speake to found and conferre with certeine princi-  
pall persons for assistance.

The same ambassadour also knew and affirmed,  
that Charles Paget had accordingly done his mes-  
sage, and had spoken with some principall persons  
here according vnto his commission, and was re-  
turned.

He moreover confessed that there was a deuise  
betwene the Spanish ambassadour and him, how  
such principall recusants here within the realme, as  
were in the commission of the peate in sundrie coun-  
ties, might upon the first bruite of the landing of for-  
ren forces, vnder colour and pretext of their authori-  
tie and the defense of hir maiestie, leaue men, whom  
they might after loine to the foreign forces, and con-  
uert them against hir maiestie.

In these few articles is brieflie comprised the  
whole effect of his confession made at large, without  
anie interrogatorie particularie ministred, other  
than vpon the two papers before mentioned, contei-  
ning the names of men and hauens. And here you  
are to note, that at the time of his apprehension,  
there was no knowledge or doubt had of these trea-  
sons, or of his priuie vnto them; but onelie an in-  
formation and suspicion deliuered and conceiued of  
some practise betwene him and the Scottish quene,  
as is before mentioned. For the discovering where-  
of, after he had bene sundrie times vpon his allegi-  
ance commanded to declare his doings in conuol-  
eng and receiuing of letters to and from hir; he did  
voluntarie confesse that he had written diuerse let-  
ters vnto hir, and had conueied manie to and fro, be-  
twene hir and Thomas Morgan in France, by  
whose meanes he was first made knowne to hir, and  
that he had receiued as manie letters from hir. He  
also declared the effect of his letters to hir, & of hers  
to him: which letters betwene them were alwaies  
written in cipher, and the cipher with the nullities

and marks for names of princes and counsellors  
he sent vnto the quenes maiestie written with his  
owne hand. He also deliuered the names of some,  
by whom he conueied his letters vnto the Scottish  
quene; as by one Godfric Fulgeam, who fled the  
realme immediatlie vpon Throckmorton's appre-  
hension; and one other person, whom he described  
by his stature, shape, and apparell, and the man since  
apprehended and examined, hath confessed the same:  
the mans name is William Ardington.

The summe and effect of the most part of these  
confessions, although they were at the time of his  
arrestment opened and dilated by hir maiesties  
sergeant, attorneie, and solicitor generall at the bar,  
and therefore saime not needfull to be repeated here;  
yet because the purpose of this discourse is to shew  
sufficient proofe, that the matters contained in his  
said confessions, are neither false nor feigned (as  
Francis Throckmorton most impudentlie affirmed  
at his triall, alledging that they were more inuolun-  
taries of himselfe by policie to auoid the tortures) they  
haue bene here inserted, to the end you may the bet-  
ter iudge of the proofes, presumptions, and circum-  
stances following, by comparing the matters with  
their accidents, and consequentlie for the fallshood  
of the traitor, the iust and honorable proceedings of  
hir maiestie, and the honest and loiall inducers of hir  
ministers imployed in the discovering of the trea-  
sons.

First, it is true and not denied by himselfe, that  
he was at Spaw about the time by him mentioned,  
and had conference with Zennele in that place, and  
with sir Francis Englefield in Flanders, and that  
he hath written letters to sir Francis, and receiued  
letters from him: for if he should denie the same,  
he were to be conuincied by good proofe: for it hath  
bene noted in him by manie of his countrymen,  
English subiects, that both in those parts and in  
France, he did continuallie associat himselfe with  
English rebels and fugitiues. If then you consider  
with whom he hath conuerfed beyond the seas, and  
compare his religion with theirs, you will iudge of  
his conuersation accordingly. And it is to be suppo-  
sed, that those men, knowne to be continuall prac-  
tisers against the quenes maiestie and this realme,  
from whence for their treasons and vnnaturall de-  
meanours they are worthilie banished, will not in  
their conuenticles and meetings forget to brinke  
them of their banishment, and how they might be  
restored to their countrie, whereunto no desert in hir  
maiesties life time (which God long continue) can  
well (without hir maiesties great mercie) restore  
them.

Then I praye you, what conferences might master  
Throckmorton haue with sir Francis Englefield, with  
Zennele, with Liggon, with Owen, and with  
such like, who were his daileie companions in France  
and in the low countries? He hath written letters  
to sir Francis Englefield. To what purposes? He  
haunted continuallie two ambassadours in London,  
by whose meanes he sent and receiued letters to and  
from beyond the seas daileie. To whom? Cuen to and  
from Thomas Morgan, and Thomas Throckmorton at  
Paris, men knowne to hir maiestie and hir counsell  
to be notorious practisers, verie inward with the duke of Guise, and con-  
triuers of the treasons and deuises for the inuasion  
intended. And for verie certeine knowledge thereof,  
we need not be beholding to Francis Throckmorton  
onelie (although he hath said much of them) but  
to others of better credit than himselfe.

That the duke of Guise did undertake the enter-  
prise to invade the realme with a foreign power, to be  
defeated by the pope and king of Spaine (a part of  
the mans name is William Ardington).

Godfric Ful-  
geam was  
glad to see  
him.

The cause  
why Throck-  
morton's con-  
fessions are  
here mentio-  
ned.

Throckmorton  
was at  
Spaw, and  
elsewhere, &c.

This is a  
principal  
marke where-  
at they shew  
and therefore  
they cannot  
but meditate  
vpon the  
meanes.

The duke of  
Guise has en-  
terprise to in-  
uade the  
realme.

maister Throckemortons confession) and he in truth the first discoverer thereof to his maiestie: if he will say that it was but inuention, it will approue false. For since he discovered the same, there haue bene diuerse aduertisements thereof sent to his maiestie from forren princes his highnesse louing neighbors and allies; as also by other good meanes and intelligences from his ambassadoys and seruants residing in other countries. If he denie (as he hath done) that he neuer had knowledge of anye such matter when he confessed the same, it hath no likelihood of truth: for Throckemorton was neuer knowne to be a prophet to foretell things *De futuro*.

The Spanissh ambassadoy and Throckemorton did often times conuerse and confesse.

He resorted often to the Spanissh ambassadoy, at the least twise a weeke when he was in London: this often repaire could not be to conferre with the ambassadoy for the exchange of monie for his brother, as he pretended at his arresignment: there was some other cause. When he was apprehended, he had a casket couered with greene velvet, verie cunninglie conueied out of his chamber by a maidseruant of the house, taken vp vnder a beds side in his chamber (one of the gentlemen who were sent to apprehend him then being in the chamber, & unknowing thereof) which casket not long after his apprehension, was by one John Peredith a follower of Throckemorton, conueied to the hands of the Spanissh ambassadoy. And why to him? If the matters therein might well haue abidden the light, why should not the casket haue bene kept still at home? And if not there, why not sent to some other place of safetie, as well as to the Spanissh ambassadoy? It is to be conceiued, that this casket was not conueied thither without the direction of Francis Throckemorton, though caried by Peredith, who did well know of what moment the matters were that were within the casket, & of what danger to Throckemorton if they had bene disclosed; & therefore meant to bestowe them in a safe place where they could not readilie be had (as he thought) and with a person not vnacquainted with the qualitie of them. After the deliuerie of the casket, Peredith died: for in truth he was priuite to the treasons, and a fellow practiser in them. So to home Francis Throckemorton, being taken thort at the time of his apprehension, and forced to run by a staire to deface a letter, which he was then in writing to the Scottish queene in cipher (as he hath confessed) being suddenly apprehended, and so forced to depart awaite presentlie out of his house, deliuered priuile into the hands of Peredith, either the cipher by the which he was writing his letter to the Scottish queene, or a letter in cipher by him written vnto hir: therefore he trusted Peredith as a man priuite to his doings.

Throckemorton surprised and put to a narrow shift.

Peere is an ordinarie torment of a guiltie conscience.

You are also to vnderstand, that Throckemorton was in verie great feare of the discovering of this casket after his apprehension. For remaining two or thre daies prisoner in the house of one of the gentlemen that were sent to apprehend him, before he was committed to the Towre, he was permitted to talke with a solicitor of his law causes, who brought him certaine booke or drawne, or other like papers written, which he made shew to peruse. But that was not the matter why he sent for his solicitor: for in perusing the booke, he conueied into them a little peece of paper, vpon the which he had written with a cole; & to the like effect. The solicitor departing from him, and resorting to Throckemortons house, not far distant from the place where he remained prisoner, opening his papers, did shake out this peece of paper, which he took vp and deliuered to one of Francis Throckemortons men; but the casket was already conueied to the Spanissh ambassadoy. Whereby you will

perceiue what care he had of the casket, & how much it might import him to haue the writings or matters within the same concealed. He being examined touching the casket, and what was in the same, he denied at the first that euer he had anye such casket; but finding afterwards that the casket was disclosed, he confessed the casket, and said there were certaine letters therein that came to his hands for the Scottish queene from Thomas Morgan at Paris, and other letters and papers, but confessed not all, as it is supposed. That Charles Paget came ouer into the realme to euill purposes, as Throckemorton doth declare in his confession, could not be inuented: for euen at the same time that he mentioneth, Paget came ouer, in secret and suspicious manner, staied not aboue fiftene daies, inuenued in a soyt to find the disposition of William Shelleie esquier, how he might stand affected to giue assistance to the treasons, although Paget discouered not direalie his traitorous intents to Shelleie: therefore all Throckemortons confessions were not forged or inuented.

The clouds of lies cannot so darken the truth but it will appeare.

How William Shelleie stood affected to these treasonable plots.

But because the two papers produced at his arresignment, containing the description of the hauens for the commodious landing of forces, do most apparantie condemne him, and are a manifest argument of his priuile to the whole treason; you may not forget that he acknowledged one of the papers written in the secretarie hand, to haue bene of his owne doing, but denied the other written in the Romane hand. In the which, vnder the title of Chester, &c: is said, Upon the landing of forren supplies, Chester shall be taken. But what in your opinions might be vnderstood by that sentence, Chester shall be taken, when you shall compare the paper in the secretarie hand with the other written in the Romane hand, intituled; The names of noblemen and gentlemen in euery countie fit to be dealt withall in this matter (which in truth were both one, although the Romane were somewhat more enlarged) the question is to be asked, What matter? The answer followeth necessarilie, To assist the forren forces that shall come to inuade the realme: for that there is an other title in that paper ouer the names of the hauens, &c: Hauens in euery coast fit for the landing of forces. Now iudge you, to what end these names of men and descriptions of hauens, their estates, capacities, what winds bring vnto them from Spaine, France, and Flanders, were written and set downe by Throckemorton: the papers are both of his owne hand writing, and the secretarie but a poiet or copie of the Romane.

Certaine words and clauses of letters treasonable.

The that I hope to his c at his reign

Is it not likelie (thinke you) that he would acquaint the Spanissh ambassadoy with these papers (as he hath confessed) when he made him partaker of the rest of his traitorous practises & deuises, as you haue heard, and thought his casket of treasons to be most safelie committed to his hands? It may be thought that there is no man of so simple vnderstanding, that will iudge to the contrarie, vnlesse he be parcialle affected to excuse the treasons. And now to shew vnto you what mind this man hath caried towards his maiestie; you are to be informed that Francis Throckemorton, after he had discouered to his maiestie his course of practising, repenting himselfe of his plaine dealing in the betwixt thereof, said to some of the commissioners vpon occasion of speech; I would I had bene hanged when I first opened my mouth to declare anye of the matters by me confessed. And being at other times sent vnto by his maiestie with offer of pardon, if he would disclose the whole packe and complices of the treasons; he vsed this argument to perswade his maiestie, that he had confessed all, saing that soch he had already brought himselfe by his confessions within

What in him I ven unto?

what mind Throckemorton hath caried towards his maiestie.

Throckemorton in a confession



within the danger of the lawes, to the utter ruine of his house and familie, he wondered why there should be anie conceit in his maiestie, that he had not declared all. But to perswade such as were sent vnto him for these purposes, the rather to beleue that he could discover no more, at one time he vsed these speeches following with great vehemencie: Now I haue disclosed the secrets of his who was the dearest thing vnto me in the world (meaning the Scottish queene) and whom I thought no torment should haue drawen me so much to haue preiudiced as I haue done by my confessions. I see no cause why I should spare anie one, if I could saie ought against him: and sith I haue failed of my faith towards him, I care not if I were hanged.

And when he began first to confesse his treasons, which he did most unwillingly, after he was entered into the declaration of them before all the commissioners, vpon aduiseiment he desired he might deliver his knowledge but to one of them onelie: where vnto they yaldd. And therevpon removing aside from the place where he sat by the racke, he vsed this prouerbe in Italian, *Chi a perso la fede, a perso l'honore*, that is, He that hath falsed his faith, hath lost his reputation; meaning thereby (as it may be conceiued) that he had giuen his faith to be a traitor, and not to reueale the treasons: then he began to confesse as you haue heard. By this discourse, containing the principall heads of his treasons, and the proofes and circumstances of the same, you that are not transported with vndutifull minds and affections, will cleerly perceiue how impudentlie and vnrulie he denied at his arraignment the truth of his confessions, charging his maiestie with crueltie, and his ministers with vntruths in their proceeding against him. But the cause that moued him thereto, was the vaine conceit he had taken that his case was cleare in law, by the intermission of the time betwene his confession made and his arraignment, grounding himselfe vpon a statute of the thirtieth yeare of his maiesties reigne, in the which there are certaine treasons specified and made of that nature, that no person shalbe arraigned for anie of those offenses committed within anie of the queenes maiesties dominions, vntil the offender be thereof indicted within six months next after the same offense committed; and shall not be arraigned for the same, vntil the offense be proued by the testimonie and oth of two sufficient witnesses, or his voluntarie confession without violence: wherein he was greatlie deceived. For it was made manifest vnto him by the lord chiefe iustice and other of the iudges in commission at his triall, that his treasons were punishable by a statute of 25. Edw. 3. which admitted no such limitation of time or proofe. Wherein his skill failed him, and forgot the aduise giuen vnto him by some of the commissioners, who pittens his misfortune for surer good gifts of the mind appearing in him, assured him that there was no waie so readie for him to redeme his life, as by submission and acknowledging of his offense, which for a time after he had confessed his treasons he was contented to follow, and now estones after his condemnation by a new submission to the queens maiestie the fourth of June had resumed that course. The submission verbatim, written with his owne hand, followeth.

To hir most excellent maiestie, euen  
to hir owne roiall hands.



Most excellent prince, and my most gracious souereigne, sith to me the most miserable of all your maiesties poore distressed subiects, being iustlie condemned by the

ordinarie and orderlie course of your maiesties laws, his owne  
there resteth no further meane of defense but submission: vouchsafe, most excellent prince, graciouslie to accept the same, which prostrate in all humilitie I here present vnto the hands of your most excellent maiestie; beseeching the same, that as iustice hath bene deriued from your highnesse, as from the fountaine, to the triall of mine actions: so I may receiue from the same spring, some drop of grace and mercie for the great & grievous offense, wherof I rest by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned: some part, I saie, of that your accustomed gracious clemencie, wherof most your distressed subiects haue tasted, and few bene deuiued. And albeit the inconsiderate rashnesse of vnbridled youth hath withdrawn me from that soiall respect, which nature & dutie bound me to owe vnto your maiestie, as to my lawfull & naturall dread souereigne; and that the naturall care in me of the defense of my life moued me farlie to the vntue & vndutifull gaine sayeng of some such points as had bene before by me in most humble sort confessed: neuerthelesse, I most humbly beseech your most excellent maiestie, that in imitation of God, whose image (both in respect of the happie place you hold, as also in regard of your singular wisdom and other the rare and singular vertues & perfections wherewith God & nature hath plentifully indued you) you represent vnto vs here in earth, it may please your maiestie to commiserate the lamentable estate of me now the most miserable of all your maiesties subiects and graciouslie to grant vnto me remission and forgiveness, that not onelie doo most humbly confesse my selfe worthe of death; but also in shew of my repentance and sorowfull afflicted mind, doo not craue at your maiesties hands the prolonging of my life, if the same shall not stand with your gracious good pleasure; but rather desire the trebling of the torment iustlie by your maiesties lawes imposed vpon me, if the same may be anie satisfaction to your maiestie for the heinous crime wherof I remaine by your maiesties lawes iustlie condemned; or anie mitigation of your maiesties indignation worthilie conceiued against me, that desire not to liue without your fauour; and dieng will wish from my hart, that my end may be the beginning of your maiesties securitie, and my death the preleruation of your life, and the increase both to your maiestie, and to this your most flourishing commonwelth, of all the most happy blessings of almightie God.

Your maiesties most wofull subiect  
in that he hath offended you:

Francis Throckmorton.

He sent vnto his maiestie, together with the said declaration, a declaration written like wise with his owne hand, containing the effects of the most principall points of his treasons formerly confessed: re- tracing onelie the accusation of his father, and some other particularities of no moment to cleare him of his treasons, the effect wherof followeth in his owne words, as he set them downe.

The declaration which Throckmorton  
sent to his maiestie, with his letter  
of submission.

He onelie cause why I coined the practice first by me confessed, and vnrulie touched my father, was, for that partlie I conceiued that the paper written so long since, could not now by law haue touched me: but principallie, for that I was willing thereby to colour the setting downe of those names and haues  
M q q q q q q q

His speech  
most secret  
most betwene  
Throckmorton  
and the  
Scottish  
queene.

His perfo la  
fide, a perfo l'  
honore, an Italian  
prouerbe.

The cause  
that moued  
Throckmorton  
to denie  
his confessions  
at his arraignment.

These gifts  
in him were  
pittens in  
misfortune.

Throckmorton  
submit-  
ted a letter,  
containing  
his submission.

He sought  
undeserved  
mercie to his  
maiestie in his  
misfortune, in  
whose fauour  
he might haue  
liued by law  
allie.

His  
not  
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are,

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ind  
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car-  
wards  
die,

William  
Frdington,

in Romane hand, which were written long after the time by me confessed upon occasion of conference betwene the Spanish ambassadoz and me of this latter practise. Mine intelligence with the Scottish quene began a little before Christmas was two yeares: the cipher I had from Thomas Morgan in France; the first letter I received by Godfrid Fulgeam, by whom also came all such others as I after received for the most part, unlesse it were such as came to me by J. A. his hands, who as he told me, received them of the fellows by me spoken of in my former confessions, whose name, I protest before God, I know not, nor whence he is. And for such letters as came unto me in the absence of Fulgeam, they were inclosed under a couerture from Robert Tunthead his brother in law, unto whom I delivered such as I had for the Scottish quene, covered with a direction unto Fulgeam: and once I remember or twise I sent by one of my men called Butler, letters for the Scottish quene to the house of the said Tunthead, nere Bucklesones, covered with a direction to Tunthead, and under a letter to Fulgeam. In such letters as came to me from the Scottish quene, were inclosed letters to J. A. manie times, and most times some for Thomas Morgan. His letters to me contained, &c.

The next way to attaine libertie for the Scottish quene, &c.

But before I returned mine answer unto him, I understood of the death of the duke of Lenor, and withall heard from Morgan, with whom all mine intelligence was (for with my brother I never had anie, other than that the matters by me written to Morgan were by him imparted unto my brother most times) that by the persuasion of the pope and the king of Spaine, the duke of Guise had yielded to performe the iourne in person: and that it was thought that the next waie to attaine libertie for the Scottish quene, and to reforme Scotland, was to begin here in England. And therefore he desired to know from me, whether in mine opinion catholikes would not backe any such force as should be sent, considering a demand of tolerance in religion for them should insue the well performing of the said enterpryse, and what I thought the force would amount unto, both of horse and footmen, and where I thought to be the fittest landing. Mine answer was, that as then, I saw no great probability of the good successe of such an enterpryse, for that the catholikes were timorous, dispersed, the matter perillous to be communicated unto manie, without which I saw not how anie estimat could be made of the forces: besides, that it was an imminent danger unto the Scottish quene, whereof I saw no remedie.

The pestilent persuasion of the Spanish ambassadoz to prefer this pernicious enterpryse.

I took notice of this matter in my next letters to the Scottish quene, whose answer was, that she lately heard of that determination, &c. Upon my former answer unto Morgan, he desired me, that I would conferre with the Spanish ambassadoz, to whom I should be recommended from hence. Hereupon the said ambassadoz sent for me, and brake with me in this matter, assuring me that in his opinion he found it verie easie to make great alteration here with verie little force, considering the dislike in men to warre, and troubles would so amaze them (as he thought) that they would be as some overthrowne as assailed: & he could not thinke but in such a case catholikes would shew themselves, with the purpose tended to the obtaining for them libertie of conscience: and therefore he desired me to acquaint him, what I thought men would do in such a case, and where I thought the fittest landing, and what holds in these parts were easiest to be supplied. I answered him, that (as it seemed) the enter-

pryse stood upon great uncertainties, if it depended of the knowledge of a certaine force to be found here, which no man could assure him of, unlesse he had sounded all the catholikes, which was not possible without a manifest hazard of the discoverie of the purpose. For as for anie great personage, I know no one to be private to this action, that could carrie anie more than his ordinarie retinue: the onlie waie in such a case was (I told him) for such as would be private into this matter, and were of credit in their countries, to leuie forces under colour of the princes authoritie.

But for that these things depended upon uncertaine grounds, which was not fit to be used in so great an action, I said it was to be resolved, that the force to be sent should be of that number, that what backing soever they should find here, they might be able of themselves to encounter with anie force that might be provided to be sent against them, and therefore they could not be lesse than fiftene thousand men. For the place of their landing, I said it depended much upon the force that should be sent: for if that were in great number, it mattered not where they landed: if in a small companie, then was it requisite that it should be in the countries best affected, & furthest from his maiesties principall forces, which I said to be in the northerne parts on either side. To the danger of the Scottish quene by me objected, he said he knew no remedie, unlesse she might be taken awaie by some two hundred horse, which I told him I saw not to be possible: for that I knew not anie gentleman in those parts (which were men, if anie, to performe it) that I durst with to be made acquainted with the matter before hand.

Finallie, our conclusion was, that I should informe him of the hauens as particularlie as I could: and within few daies after, finding by him that the force intended hither, was farre inferior unto that I spake of; and that there was some different betwene the pope & the king of Spaine for the charge, I told him that the surest course and of least danger were, to send a supplie into Scotland, where a small force would breake a great alteration, and things being there established by the good liking of the king, I thought it was in him by a continuall war, & by incursions so to annoie this state, as his maiestie here should be forced to yield the libertie of the Scottish quene, and what should thereupon haue bene reasonable demanded for the benefit of the catholikes here. And herein I said it would be a great furtherance, if at the same time some few were landed in Ireland, where: although they abide the same hazard that the former forces sustained; yet would the charge be so great to his maiestie, and so great an occasion of dispersing of his forces, as a much lesse companie than was spoken of first by me, would (being landed here in a convenient place) shake the minds of men generallie, and be of force (if anie thing) to draw them to shew themselves in the furtherance of the purpose.

He bitterlie reieated the purpose for Ireland, and disliked not the purpose for Scotland; but still he was in mind to haue forces landed here: and therefore desired me verie earnestlie to inquire particularlie of the hapens on the side of Cumberland and Lancashire, and what men were dwelling there that were well affected in religion, and what places easie to be taken, and what apt for fortification. The next time that I went to the Spanish ambassadoz, he found himselfe grieved that he understood matters were determined in France without his plaintie: and told me that Persons the Jesuit was gone unto Rome, sent (as he thought) to understand the popes mind,

The resolution was frustrate as also the later of the plot: such was Gods iudice to perforce a suppliant betwixt the one and the other.

was this (thinke you) a naturall subjects opinion, or not rather the concept of a tyrannous traitor?

This Spanish ambassadoz had no good meaning in moving this request.

This was a danger to the Scottish quene.

This was a danger to the Scottish quene.

This was a danger to the Scottish quene.

This was a danger to the Scottish quene.

mind. Some after came over my brother Thomas, to make an end of our account, and to persuade me to come over, assuring me that for ought he could see in likelihood, the enterprise was never like to take effect. In the time of his being here, and while I entertained intelligence with the Scotch quene concerning his libertie, the Spanish ambassadoz sent for me, and told me of the coming over of Hope to victo Hoffer and the haucens, and as he thought, to tell the best of account there: whereat he seemed to be aggravated, for that such matters had not bene left to him, being one whome they in France made believe that they relied upon principally in this enterprise. Afterwards, the ambassadoz told me, that it was Charles Paget, and that he was returned, but where he had bene he knew not, and at the same time I received a letter from Morgan, that it was Paget: but assuring me, and so willed me to assure the ambassadoz, that his coming was not to moue anie man, but onlie to view the countrie, for that the moving of anie man was referred vnto him. I did so, and he intreated me to remember him for those forsaide names and haucens, saying, that so it were done exactly by the spring, it would suffice: for that sooner he saw no likelihood of the execution of the enterprise.

This Hope was Charles Paget, otherwile named Morgan: as before.

Throckmorton's purpose if his enterprise succeeded was not by the spring.

My brother having made an end of his account with me, returned with this resolution betwene vs (I protest before God) that if the enterprise succeeded not betwene this and the next spring now past, that I would settle my things here and go over. And for this cause, he being gone, I went downe into the countrie, both to sell and take order for my lands in those parts, as also to fetch the draught of gentlemen and haucens for the most part of England, which had bene set downe by me aboue two yeares since, and left behind me at Feckenham in my studie. Not finding the draught at Feckenham, I returned to London, where I found the note of names in secretarie hand, which I carried to the Spanish ambassadoz, and there drew that other in Romane hand in his studie, putting downe Chester to be taken, in respect of the easinesse as I thought; and the rather to give him encouragement in the matter, I left it with him; promising him that by the next spring I would perfect it, if I taried so long, making knowne vnto him, that I was had in suspicion, and my determination to be gone: but he pressed the contrarie of me, assuring me, that if the enterprise proceeded not, he would then also depart.

Mr Francis Englefield whether credible or no.

Whether Mr Francis Englefield were a dealer in this practise or no, I know not: but sure I am (for so the Spanish ambassadoz told me) that Mr Francis had intelligence with the said ambassadoz all the time of his being here. The Spanish ambassadoz told me that he heard the people of Southwales were generally well affected, and therefore he desired to have the haucens of that countrie: I told him that hereafter I would helpe him therewith, although no good might be expected there, for the reasons by me set downe in my first confession: and hereupon the date before mine apprehended, the ambassadoz sent me backe the said paper in Romane hand, besitting me to set downe the same at my last residence exactly, which was the cause that it was not in my Greene delat case. The writings in my case were such as were by me confessed, and came vnto his hands as I have confessed.

Throckmorton's purpose for commiseration to his maistie.

I thus humbly beseech his most excellent maistie, that the extreme which I have already suffered, and the causes by me discovered, in the safetie of his maistie and the state, not made knowne (as hath appeared) by any other means than by my selfe, may craue at his hands the extending of his grati-

ous commiseration towards the relieving of the lamentable estate of me, his maisties poore distressed subiect, and mine, if God for mine offences forbid, not the same.

Now Iudge all ye, that be not peruerse affected whether Throckmorton be iustlie condemned, and whether his confessions (though as he pretended, extorted from him by violence) be of force in law against him. He conspired to overthrow the state, to bring in strangers to invade the realme, to remove his maistie from his lawfull & naturall right, and inheritance to the crowne of England, and to place a stranger in his seat. But this last point, for placing of a stranger, will (perchance) be denied: then note, that in the whole course of the practise, the greatest barre to the prosecution of the enterprise, was, they found no waie how to put the Scotch quene in safetie. Then, if these dangerous treasons be discovered by torture (the onelie means left vnto princes to discover treasons and attempts against their states and persons, where they find apparant matter to induce suspicion, as in the case of Throckmorton, upon sight of the plots of haucens, &c) may the law touch the traitor or not? If anie man hold this question negativelie, hold him for a friend to traitors and treasons, and an enemy to the quenes maistie, whome God long preserve, and confound his enemies: Amen.

Recapitulation of some treasonable enterprises by Throckmorton.

On the tenth daie of Julie next following, the same Francis Throckmorton was conveyed by water from the Tower of London to the Blacke friers staires, and from thence by land to the sessions hall in the old bailie without Fleetgate, where he was delivered to the shiriffes of London, and then laid on a hurdle, from whence he was drawn to Tyburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered. The nineteenth daie of Julie, Robert baron of Denbigh, the onelie sonne and heire of Robert earle of Leicester, departed this mortal life, being then of the age of thre yeares and somewhat more, at Wansford in Essex, the solemnitie of whose funeral was there honozable kept on the first of August; and after, his bodie was conveyed to Warwicke, & there in the chappell of Richard Beauchampe earle of Warwicke his ancestor honozable intombed, on the one and twentieth of October. In memorie of whom (but not as an epicedium, nor yet as an epitaph) these verses of fit invention and deuile may well be used:

Throckmorton executed.

Robert baron of Denbigh deceased.

Opus, o expressa; atrum sed maior imago,  
Nunc bona cum domino spes simulata iacet:  
Sic rosa, sic tenera sulco refectantur ariste,  
Candida sic primo lilia vere cadunt.

In this yeare, an ancient and charitable citizen of London named D. S. embzoderer to the quenes maistie (whome God from here estate had aduanced to a degree of credit, having his wife alieue, and by his onelie eight children, six of them married, whose children counted together made aboue the number of twentie) this man (I say) notwithstanding these great occasions by multiplied generations might haue prouoked him to gather and laie by against his death, such worldeie wealth, as they thereby might reape profit after his decease: yet remembering himselfe, that christians are not placed in this world to benefit their children onlie, but also to do good to the household of faith, whereof none are more likelie to be members than the goodlie poore, did laie out the most part of his substance (when he was thre score yeares of age) in and about the building of six proper houses in forme of a quadrangle, with these words in faire great letters round about the same:

The charitable deeds of D. S.

The poore widowes Inne here you may see,  
Where six poore widowes haue house room free:

These letters are placed about the quene.

¶ q q q q q. llj. And

Dates of  
squares of the  
building.

And twentie shillings yeerlie paid,  
During our liues for our further aid:  
Though gift be but bare & came from small store;  
Despise not the giuer but praise God therefore.

Woorke whilest thou hast breath;

No waite to life but Christs death.

Upon the front of the building, ouer the dore of  
gate of entrance, are these words of well wishing  
grauen in stone: GOD SAVE OVR NOBLE  
QUEENE ELISABETH CEEFE FOVNDER OF THIS WORKE. The originall of this  
foundation was in this maner. The said M. S. did

Six houses  
of perpetuall  
reliefe, founde  
d upon St.  
Peters hill in  
Baniard cas-  
tell ward.

purchase certeine old houses in the ward of castell  
Baniard, in the cite of London, and pulling them  
downe to the ground, did (upon his owne charges)  
builde upon the same ground six little houses all of  
bricke and stone, as stronglie as he could devise to  
continue, euerie house having thre feuerall rooms  
one ouer the other: wherein he placed six poze wi-  
dows immediatlie after they were builded, that is,  
in euerie house one widow, choosing them within the  
parish where the said houses do stand; being such as  
haue liued in god name and fame all the daies of  
their liues, and so do continue, and are of the age  
of thre score yeares or thereabouts, before they  
shall be admitted to dwell in anie of them: & being  
thus admitted, and remaining widowes, they haue  
their dwelling free during their liues, and twentie  
shillings a peece beside, paid them quarterlie by fine  
shillings euerie quarter, to buye them wood & coles.  
And this he truite patethy themduring his owne life,  
and his wife shall do it likewise if she do out liue  
him during his life; and after both their deceases, he  
hath made it ouer vnto Christs hospitall to performe  
the same for euer. For the performance of the pre-  
misses, he hath left vnto the said hospitall sufficient  
rents, as well to paie the said six pounds yeerlie vnto  
the said six poze widowes; as also to keepe the said  
houses in reparations and buildings for euer, with  
some ouerplus vnto the said hospitall.

Rents left in  
perpetuall for  
the mainte-  
nance of the  
said houses.

Ordinances  
of the founder  
to be inuola-  
ble obserued.

And to the intent that his good and charitable pro-  
uision should by no misbehaviour be abused, but de-  
cent and agreable to the age of the parties there  
seated, he made certeine ordinances and rules, to be  
obserued and kept by those six poze widowes which  
do dwell or hereafter shall dwell in anie of those  
six houses, standing vpon saint Peters hill, in the  
ward of castell Baniard, erected by the said M. S.  
embroderer to our most grations and noble queene  
Elisabeth, Anno 1584.

what kind of  
widowes are  
to be admitted  
into these  
houses.

1 First, I will that they shall be such widowes  
as shall be giuen to serue God, before all other exer-  
cises, and such as haue liued in god name and fame,  
and so do continue; no blasphemers of the name  
of God, no drunkards, no scoldes; nor anie disquiet  
persons, but of god and goodlie conuersation, to the  
better example of others. They shall be of the age of  
threescore yeares, or of six and fiftie yeares at the  
least, before they shall be admitted to dwell in anie  
of the same houses. And if anie of them shall fortune  
to marrie, they shall depart out of the same house or  
houses wherein they do dwell, before they do  
marrie, and neuer to be admitted to dwell in anie of  
the same houses againe.

whom they  
may lodge and  
not lodge.

2 Also, they nor anie of them shall not lodge, nor  
suffer to be lodged or harboured by daie nor yet by  
night, anie manner of person, neither man, nor wo-  
man, nor child, within anie of their houses, but onelie  
themselues; without it be in some great extremitie  
of sicknesse, when as of necessitie some honest an-  
cient woman a keeper, may watch with anie of them  
for a night or two vpon great necessitie, or else not  
lodge, harbour, keepe, or mainteine; or suffer to be  
lodged, harboured, kept, or mainteined, neither by

daie nor yet by night, any manner of person; although  
they be neuer so nere of blood or kindred, but if anie  
of them shall so do, the or they shall presentlie auoid  
out of his or their houses within twentie daies next  
after anie such offense committed, & neuer to be ad-  
mitted to dwell in anie of the said houses after. My  
meaning is not but that they may come the one of  
them vnto the others house, or their friends, to be  
merite together (when they shall thinke mete) lo-  
uinglie, as honest neighbours vse to do at houres  
conuenient, and so to depart in good order.

3 Also, they shall be no keepers of sicke persons in  
other houses which shall be sicke of the plague, or of  
anie infectious sicknesse, for bringing of infected  
clothes among themselves; nor they shall not suffer  
anie other folkes to haue anie recourse by their  
meanes, to wash anie backs or other clothes, neither  
wollen or linnen at the well, nor in anie other part  
of the same yards but onelie themselves, for annoy-  
ing of the tenants with filth & foule waters running  
through their yards & houses there adioining. And  
if anie of the rest of the said widowes do or shall  
know that anie of them or more, haue offended anie  
of these articles aforesaid, and do not shew the same  
vnto such persons as shall haue authoritie to correct  
and amend the same: then all such persons shall be  
in the like danger as the partie that hath so offen-  
ded, if it may be proued that they did know there-  
of: and if they or anie of them shall offend in anie of  
these articles, they shall be put from their houses as  
is aforesaid, and not be admitted anie more into  
anie of them.

In order for  
the auoiding  
of infection,  
sicknesse, an-  
noyance, &c.

Ch  
the 3  
to th  
maie

A pe  
as w  
her.

An. I

Abd  
Fr. II

In a  
main  
of R  
stone  
procu  
for R  
Adan

4 Also, I will that they and either of them, shall  
most blualie vse the parish church of saint Wenets,  
nere Pauls tharfe, and especiallie vpon the Sab-  
both daie, and vpon mondaie, wednesdaie, and  
fridaie, in euerie weeke if there be anie seruice in the  
same church on the said daies: and if they or anie of  
them shall be absent from the same church at seruice  
time, being in the cite, and being not sicke, they shall  
paie two pence for euerie tyme so offending, which  
shall be put into the poyes bore among themselves,  
or into the poyes bor in the said parish church.

what socke  
daies they  
are to repaire  
to the church

5 Also, I will that none of them do occupie anie  
water aboue the staires of anie of the same houses,  
for decaying of the same houses, and perishing of  
the felings: and if anie of them shall so offend, the  
or they shall lose the fine shillings that they should  
receiue the next quarter daie following, by vertue  
of my will.

Conuenient  
vse of water,  
&c.

6 Also, I will haue them to put in two sufficient  
suerties to be bound in twentie pounds before they be  
admitted into anie of the same houses, to performe  
these articles, or else to auoid the said houses within  
twentie daies (as is aforesaid) quietlie.

Perfor-  
mance of  
these arti-  
cles, &c.

7 Also, I will that the two widowes that do or  
shall dwell in the two houses next the first on either  
side of the gate, shall hang out one lanthorne be-  
tweene them both, and a whole candell in it burning,  
according vnto the custome in the cite of London vs-  
ed in the winter season; that is to saie, the one wi-  
dow one tache to hang it out, and the other widow  
another weeke, and so to continue from time to time,  
and the said lanthorne to be mainteined by those two  
widowes that shall haue the hanging of them out.  
And I will that they do mainteine them to be faire,  
large, and cleere lanthornes: and for the prouision of  
the candels, I will that the other fourte widowes  
dwellling in the other fourte houses, shall buye either  
of them one pound of cotton candels, and deliuer  
them vnto the two widowes that shall hang out the  
lanthorne, so as alwaies there shall not be aboue ten  
candels in the pound. And if any of the same widowes  
shall not performe this my meaning, I will that

In order for  
lanthorne and  
candle light  
in winter.

The  
times  
for  
winds  
and by  
hy

Discol  
change

to win  
the  
Shaw  
reader  
inner to

twice so much more as will performe the promises, shall be paid out of the five shillings that they or either of them should receive the next quarter date following, by virtue of my last will and testament.

God grant that they which are better able, may have no lesse good will to do the like, or better, that the goodlie poye may be relieved here on earth, upon whom, be it little or much that is bestowed; Christ Jesus no doubt will reward it a hundred fold in heaven: and who would not by workes of faithfull charity, endeavour to dwell in God, whom the scripture calleth charity? Considering that the apostle exhorteth all christians in no case to forget to do good and distribute, with such sacrifices he is well pleased.

On the 12 daie of November, the queens maiestie (returning after hir progresse) came to hir manor of St. James, where the citizens of London, to the number of two hundred of the grauest sort in cotes of velvet, and chaines of gold, or horsebacke, and a thousand of the companies on foot (having with them a thousand men with torches ready there to give light on everie side for that the night was on) received and welcomed hir grace. And on the foure and twentieth daie of the same moneth, hir maiestie and the lords rode to the parlement, which was that daie begun at Westminster.

In the foresaid parlement held at Westminster, were manie necessarie lawes ordeined for the commonwealth, amongst which was one speciall act procured by sir Roger Spanwood knight chiefe baron of the exchequer, for the maintenance of the famous stone bridge of Rochester. And here because there is mention made of sir Roger Spanwood's Rochester bridge; I thinke it convenient (with I have alwaies determined to set forth what soever might come to my mind and pen touching my owne and native countrie of Kent, and such persons of the same as either by honorable descent in that countrie, or by office of his place in the commonwealth, or by worthy remembrance deserve not to be forgotten) to speake somewhat of the same sir Roger Spanwood, and such things as he hath done for that countrie, especiallie with master Willelme a man of vnderstanding hath not forgotten to treat of him in his booke of the perambulation of Kent under the title of Sandwich. Wherefore thinking him worthy remembrance for that which he hath done in his owne countrie of Kent, I enter in discourse of him a twentieth part in this sort.

This man being borne at Sandwich in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and five and twentie, was first instructed in the grammar schole of that towne, as then but a meane thing and taught by a chanterie priest of the foundation of one Thomas Ellis. Afterwards, when as by dissolution of chanteries in the time of king Edward the first this chanterie schole was taken away, & the children of the towne people being manie in number were forced to be taught in the grammar scholes far distant from Sandwich, to the great charges of their parents (whereby manie poore mens children for capacitie and paines taking most for learning, were put by the course of learning which otherwise might have procured learning and become good members of the commonwealth) the said sir Roger Spanwood by statute in the law, and reader in the inner temple, well considering the same said miserie, thought fit to restore to Sandwich towne his birth place a better grammar schole than that wherein he was first brought up in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred and five and twentie upon his manor called a parsonage from the name of a chanterie of that church of Canturburie which place he having made broken the walls thereof to the towne

gate in Sandwich called Canturburie gate. In which void towne adjoining to the river of Delfe is now erected a faire scholehouse for the scholemaster, bishop, & certain boarding scholars) framed all of bricke & stone, for perpetuall continuance of which schole, the said sir Roger Spanwood (now lord chiefe baron in this yeare of our Lord 1586) procured letters patents from the queene for incorporating and assurance of the same schole (with other lands and revenues) thereto belonging) to the mayor and his heires of Sandwich and to their successors for ever, by the name of the gouernours of the free grammar schole of Roger Spanwood in Sandwich, assuring to the said gouernours of his owne land the cleere yearely value of 22 pounds and more. Further, therunto procuring of his brother Thomas Spanwood (sometime mayor of Sandwich) the cleere yearely value of ten pounds of lands and tenements, and also of one Thomas Compton (lord of Sandwich) eight pounds by yeare De clero, of his owne lands and tenements, in the grosse summe amounting to fourtie pounds by yeare, which lands being sufficientlie assured to the said gouernours, with convenient dwelling for the master, and bishop, lodging for sixtene boarding scholars, and with some beneuolence of parents for the teaching of their children, is a large endowment for perpetuall maintenance of the same grammar schole.

Besides which, for the further benefit of the same schole, the same sir Roger Spanwood hath obtained two scholars romes in Gonville and Caius college in Cambridge, and two other scholars romes in Lincolne college at Oxford, with pension of foure markes yearely to everie of the said foure scholars to be removed from that schole of Sandwich, and to be placed in those colleges, from time to time as often as any of the same college scholars romes shall be void, and that any scholar shall be met to come from that schole of Sandwich. Beyond all which that he hath done for recompense of his birth place, with a free grammar schole for the education of the youth there, he also for reliefe of age hath nere unto his dwelling place of saint Stephens in Hackington parish (adjoining to Canturburie) built in the yeare of our redemption 1573, a faire row of seven almes houses of bricke, placing in everie of the same almes houses poore folkes, such as are counted to be honest & god. For perpetuall maintenance of which almes persons he hath endowed that building with a yearely allowance of the value of foure pounds by yeare (to everie of the same almes men & houses) in moneie, bread, & fewell. And in the same parish church nere to those almes houses he hath newlie erected an Ale, where his home is made and placed, & in that church a new rowe of seven pewes and seates for the almes people to be bestowed in, together by themselves.

Likewise for setting to worke of middle age, whereby they may eschew idleness. This sir Roger Spanwood did in the yeare of Christ, one thousand five hundred seuentie and eight, build a new house of correction in the Westgate street in the suburbs of Canturburie: And moreouer, whereas Rochester bridge standing on the river of Medwete, being famous built of stone (in the time of king Richard the second as is most likeli, though some attribute the same to the time of Edward the third) by one sir Robert Knolles knight, with the helpe of John lord Cobham of Cobham, and Margaret Countnesse his wife, being one of the principall benefactors thereof, after the decaye of a wooden bridge (first erected over the same river some hundred yeares before that of stone was) for the perpetuall maintenance of the same stone bridge) the ancient contributarie

erected a faire scholehouse of bricke and stone.

He procured letters patents for the maintenance of the same in perpetuall.

The summe of 40 pounds allowed yearely, to the maintenance of the said grammar schole.

Two scholars romes obtained in Cambridge & two in Oxford for such scholars as remove from the said schole to either of the universities.

Seven almes houses by him founded for the reliefe of the honest aged.

Sir Roger Spanwood's home.

A house of correction for idle idle persons.

The ancient bridge of Rochester, when built and by whom.

Diverse opinions concerning the first founding of said bridge.

The lone of the Londoners to the queens maiestie.

A parlement at Westminster.

An. Reg. 27.

Addition of Fr. Thin.

In act for the maintenance of Rochester stone bridge procured by sir Roger Spanwood.

Sir Roger Spanwood a friend to the commonwealth.

The place & time of Sir Roger Spanwood's birth, and bringing up.

Dissolution of chanteries.

Sir Roger Spanwood reader in the inner temple.

for the

the

and

the

for

the



How the said  
bridge began  
to decay, and  
what means  
are used for  
the repairing  
of the same.

Sir Roger  
Spantwood  
desired reme-  
die for the hap-  
ping of the  
said bridge  
well repaired.

This desired  
remedie ten-  
ding to good  
a purpose  
was engaged  
and.

The yearely  
renewals of  
the said bridge  
amount unto  
more in value  
by triple than  
they were  
before.

As further  
remedie  
was made  
and

The use of par-  
liament obte-  
ned for the  
benefit of the  
said bridge.

lands (given for the support of the wooden bridge) after the ruine of the same wooden bridge reduced (by act of parliament holden in the one and twentieth of Richard the second) to the maintenance of the same new stone bridge; and that sundrie manors, lands, tenements, & rents in Kent, London, & Essex, were by devise of sundrie persons assured for the upholding of the same new stone bridge: yet by want of due circumspection this new stone bridge became in so great decay, that in the latter time of queene Marie, and beginning of hir maiestie now reigning, collection was made upon all householders, & carriages passing over that bridge in manner of a tale or tax: and more, by reason of the queenes commision, an untimely taxation was made in nature of a tenth and fifteenth over all the countrie of Kent, and the cite of Canturburie, for and towards the reparations of the same bridge.

All which being an unwilling burthen, & griefe to the people, together with the reuerues of the bridge lands, did not yet suffice to save the ruine of that famous stone bridge, untill by the careful travel of the said sir Roger Spantwood (then a iustice in the common plices) a remedie was found thereto without inturie to any person, and without exaction of any passenger. Which remedie was, that all the manors, lands, tenements, and rents, belonging unto the bridge, should be freed from all leases thereof, made at small rents; and the same lands to let to be duly impounded to a higher rate, the same being a matter answerable to right and reason; considering the cause of the first gift of those lands then sufficient, and the now dearth of things, which made it insufficient to support the said bridge) the stone, timber and other stuffe, for repaire of the same bridge, with the works, wages, and carriages concerning it, being now grown to farre greater prices than in old time they were. Which desired remedie to undo the old leases, was much impugned by many persons of wealthie hanour, receiving great profit by those old under rented leases.

All which notwithstanding, this Roger Spantwood prosecuted the same to a good successe: for he making to appeare before the lords of the council and the rest of the iudges of the realme (in the presence of such as intioed these old leases, and of their learned counsell, and other fauourers) that the said manors, lands, and tenements, belonging to the said bridge, were given to the wardens & communalite, owners of the contributory lands; and that their old leases made by the wardens oneise without consent of the communalite, were not good in law: the farmers submitted themselves to surrender their old insufficient leases, and to take such as might be available in law of the same lands. Whereby the yearely renewals of the bridge lands grew to be of more value than triple that which they were before: and yet the old farmers had new leases unto their owne contentation; because the same are not so impounded, but that they are as reasonable letten as other private mens lands be.

To which devise a further remedie was then added, and set forth by the said iustice Spantwood, who for perpetuall supplie (when need should be) presented that the ancient contributory lands, almost growne into obliuion, should be to that end reduced into a convenient order and orderable unto right and iustice. And likewise for good direcion in yearely elections of wardens, and other officers, with the payments, provision, works, and other such necessities required for perpetuall maintenance of that bridge, obtained an act of parliament in the eighth year of this queenes reigne, as appeareth in the printed booke of statutes: wherein were many things ordained

for the good ordering of the said bridge, and the officers belonging thereunto. After all which a charge of five hundred pounds was of record debarked and leuied upon the wardens of the said bridge, for averages of the stipends of chanterie priests, sometime serving in the chappell at the east end of the said bridge, to the great damage and overthrow of the bridge; had not the said iustice Spantwood by his travel upon due and lawfull trial at the assizes, delivered & discharged the bridge of that great demand; as appeareth by record in the court of the ercheher, before the said sir Roger Spantwood came to be chiefe baron there. And yet abuse and slackenelle being had in these things, the wardens (notwithstanding that great beneuolence and reliefe was at sundrie times and of sundrie persons procured unto the said bridge, by the careful and diligent travel of Thomas Wotton of Bodon, esquier, of Kent esquier, a dere father and fauourer of his countrie, as well at the times of the elections of the wardens, and the accounts of the officers) were forced to disburse great sums of their owne monie from time to time, to dispatch the needfull charges and works required for the bridge, without any convenient allowance of the contributory persons; at the yearely elections of the wardens, and without due regard had for order of the said land, belonging and contributory to the bridge.

For remedying wherof the said sir Roger Spantwood, then & now lord chiefe baron of the ercheher, procured to passe another act of parliament, in the seven and twentieth year of hir maiestie reigne, wherein is further provision made for the said bridge, as in the printed booke of statutes at large appeareth. By which statute provided means and by reasonable following the presidents of the works and accounts (written in great liagre books by the said chiefe baron, and William Lambard esquier, in the yeare next after the said last mentioned act of parliament of the seven and twentieth of the queenes reigne, they then erecting the office of wardens) all needfull reparations be so done, and provision before hand so made, as it is not growne out of all controuersie, that the said famous stone bridge of Rochester for ever like to last according unto the intent of the first building, and the indowment thereof for the good and beneficall service of the commonwealth. This sir Roger Spantwood, having had before an other wife (sued of the gentlemanlie familie of the Theobalds, as at this daie joined in marriage with Elizabeth (descended of an ancient and worshipfull familie) the daughter of John Copinger of Alhallowes in the countie of Kent esquier: which Elizabeth, being a woman of such rare modestie and patience, as hir vertue entitles must needs confesse the same: not rasoned these verses following to be composed touching hir & hir husband the said sir Roger Spantwood:

Scacorum prothobaron & Manwoodi beatum

Quem faciunt leges, lingua loquela virtum

Congregat felicitatem, qua nunc Copinger

Agregat, est summa felicitas viri

Qua rediata thoro Wilkins, summi Regis Manwood

Congregat, omni ex officio bene

In the month of August deceased Edward

James lord Clinton, earle of Lincoln, and lord ab-

merall of England; knight of the garter, and one of

hir maiesties private counsell, a man of great piety,

and service, as well by sea as land, he was buried at

his house, leaving manie children behind him bene-

volunt married. Of this noble man (whose buriall)

remains to this day the honorable lords of the countie

of Kent knowe, touching of the yearely

payment of the queenes maiestie, a compounding in

an orderlie, according their high places of service to

Thomas  
Wotton  
of Kent  
esquier  
a father  
and fauourer  
of his countrie

Sir Roger  
Spantwood  
and his wife  
Elizabeth  
Lambard  
esquier  
daughters  
of the  
said bridge

Elizabeth  
(daughter  
of John  
Copinger  
esquier)  
second wife  
to sir Roger  
Spantwood,  
his modell

The earle  
of Lincoln  
deceased

Edward  
James  
C.O.

the crowne, amongst others, speaketh verie commendable and deservedlie of this deceased earle, who (at such time as the said booke was published under the title aforesaid) had bene lord great admirall of England thirtie yeares, and of counsell unto three princes: alwaies of unspotted report speciallie for allegiance, and therefore as singularlie beloved in his life; so accordingly bemoaned at his death. The words that concerne this noble mans memorie are thus extant, to the advancement of his honour, testified by report of two English poets:

*O Clitona tua concessa est regia clausa*

*Tutela, totos per denos circiter annos:*

*Consuluisse tribus (nec & hac tibi gloria parua)*

*Principibus, veterum satraparum sanguine clares,*

*Multa gerens pelago praeclare, multaque terris:*

*Hunc decorat comitem grande Lincolnia fastu.*

And before this, namely in the yeare 1564, at what time the said noble man was honored with the title of *Præfectus maris*, and attendant upon his maiestie in presence, at his being in Cambridge, where he was magnificallie interteined with all his troupe of lords and traine of ladies, &c: thus did an academiike wytte in praise of the aforesaid earle:

*Regnatorque maris Clintonus, cuius in vndis*

*Excellens nomen præcipulumque decus:*

*Ille mihi Neptunus, aquas mouet ille tridente,*

*Hunc Triton, hunc pelagi dii, deæq; colunt.*

Jesuits, semina-  
ries, and  
making  
priests set o-  
ut the seas  
and banished  
out of this  
realme of  
England for  
ever.

On the one and twentieth daie of Januarie, one and twentie Jesuites, seminarie, and other making priests, late prisoners in the Tower of London, Sparthall, and Kings bench, were shipped at the Tower wharffe, to be conveyed towards France, & banished this realme for ever, by vertue of a commission from his maiestie, as may moze fullie appeare by that which followeth.

### A view of the said commission from the queenes maiestie.

**W**HERE as the queenes most excellent maiestie, foreseeing the danger that hath and might grow unto the realme, by accesse of Jesuits and seminarie priests, and other like wandering and making priests coming hither to seduce and withdraw his loving subjects from their due obedience to God and his maiestie; and therewithall, traitorously to practise the mooring and stirring of rebellion within the realme, as hath appeared by sufficient proofe against them, and by confession of sundrie of themselves; for the which diverse of the said Jesuits and seminarie have bene tried, condemned, and executed by the ordinarie and orderlie course of his maiesties lawes, and yet they have not refrained daillie to practise and attempt the like treasons. His maiestie notwithstanding, following the accustomed course of his princelie clemencie, liking rather for this time to have them onelie banished out of the realme, than to suffer the iustice of his lawes to be executed against them (although they have deserved the same in the highest degree) hath given power to us of his maiesties privie counsell & others, by commission and warrant under the great seale of England, bearing date the sixteenth daie of this present month of Januarie, to see this his purpose and determination for their banishment put in execution. By vertue whereof, we have proceeded thereto, and have committed to the charge of these bearers, William Bolles one of his maiesties yeomen of his chamber, and Anthonie Hall, the persons whose names doe follow, that is to saie, James Bosgraue, John Hart, Edward Kishon, Jasper Delwood, William Fedder, Samuel Coniers, Arthur

The queenes  
maiesties  
mercies no-  
table.

The names  
of such Je-  
suites &c.

Wits, William Wharmington, Richard Blake, William Hartlie, Richard Ports, William Dean, William Bishop, Robert Butcher, Thomas Sparthall, John Colton, Christopher Tomson, Thomas Worthington, John Barnes, William Smith, clerks, being Jesuits, seminarie, and other wandering and making priests, and Henrie Wyton gentleman; all which have bene apprehended in this realme, to be by them imbarked, and transported beyond the seas, according to such direction as they have received in that behalfe.

These shall be the refore by the authoritie aforesaid, to will and require you, and in his maiesties name straitlie to charge and command you, and euerie of you his maiesties officers, as well within the realme of England and Ireland, as in anie other parts of his maiesties dominions and countries, to whom it may and shall apperteine, not onelie to suffer them to passe under the charge of the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall, but also that in case by contrarie of winds, or extremitie of weather, they shall be after their imbarcking, driven into anie port or crake within anie of your iurisdiction, that upon the sight of this passport ye aid and assist the said Bolles, and Anthonie Hall, if they shall so require you, in seeing them safelie retained, committed, & kept in custodie (if they shall come aland) till such time as they the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall may with safetie put againe into the sea, to transport them to such place beyond the sea, as by our direction they are appointed; and to suffer them eylesones to imbarke and depart, without state or interruption. Forseeing, that they the said Jesuits and seminarie, and other the wandering and making priests aforesaid, nor anie of them, nor the said Henrie Wyton be suffered to come or transport out of the realme, anie thing that by the lawes be prohibited or forbidden. Whereof (as of the rest commanded herein) we require you not to faile, as you will answer to the contrarie at your perils. Given under our hands at Orerne with the twentieth daie of Januarie, in the tenth and thientie yeare of his maiesties reigne. ¶ Now followeth a certificat of the maister that transported the aforesaid one and twentie banished persons, as followeth.

A further  
charge upon  
the said semina-  
ries tou-  
ching trans-  
portation.

To the right honorable lords and o-  
thers of his maiesties most honorable privie  
counsell, and all other officers to whome  
it may apperteine.

**T**Hese may be to certifie, &c: that William Bolles, yeoman of his maiesties chamber, and Anthonie Hall of London skinner, having imbarked at the Tower wharffe of London, the one and twentieth daie of Januarie 1584 one and twentie persons being banished men into my barke called the Sparte Martin of Colchester, to be transported and conveyed into Normandie, for sixtene of which said one and twentie persons they had compounded with me aforesaid. The same William Bolles and Anthonie Hall have satisfied and paid me for all their passages and vittels, and have also hired at Dover an experimented pilot for the coasts of Normandie; which said Bolles and Hall with the said banished men in their charges, after their being by contrarie winds driven to state against Grise, at Gravesend, in Tilberie hope, at Le, at the Spaniard, at the Downes, at Dover, and at Rie, were by force of weather and chase of pirates driven to Bullen, and there arrived all safelie the second day of Februarie 1584, and thence sent the said banished men, some by horse, but most on foot, with conducts to Abbi-  
mille

A certificat to  
the lords of  
the counsell,  
&c: concern-  
ing the aforesaid  
matter.

use in the coasts of Normandie. Witnesse my hand hereunto this first of February, 1584. By me Matthew Strut.

An other certificat, written and directed into England by the said banished men.



A certificat  
sworthe to  
hang upon  
perpetuall re-  
cord, wherein  
the Jesuits  
do acknow-  
ledge the ex-  
ceeding cour-  
teous and  
bountifull be-  
haviour shewed  
unto them at  
and in their  
banishment,  
etc. By the good  
reader note.

U All magistrates, officers, & ministers, within the realme of England or else where, to whome it may in anie wise apperteine: this may be to give certification, that we whose names are here under written, who were imbarked at the Tower wharfe of London the one and twentieth daie of Januarie 1584, and there receiued into the charge of maister William Bolles, and maister Anthonie Hall, by commission from their lordships and other hir maiesties most honorable priue counsell, haue bene by them the said William Bolles and Anthonie Hall verie friendlie & honestlie intreated, and with careful diligence safelie conducted, & conueied to the prouince of Normandie, & by them lest this third daie of February, according to the English computation, in the yeare of Christ 1584, which said Bolles and Hall haue in our presence paid the maister of the barke which transported vs for his whole freight and vittells in the ship, for the time of our remaining abroad: and generallie so well used vs in all respects, that we can not but acknowledge our selues much beholding to them & fullie satisfied, in hauing bene committed to the charge of so courteous officers, with the case standeth so with vs that we are banished our countrie contrarie to our desires, wherein we take no little grieue of mind. For testimonie whereof, we haue hereunto set our seuerall hands this present third daie of February 1584. Jasper Watwood, Edward Ruyhton, John Hart, &c.

¶ Lord what a mercifull queene is this, in such sort to forgive and forget injuries, yea treasonable injuries, as by banishment onlie to chastise them, that deserued extreame punishment: yea with a banishment scarce fittie to be so termed; sith in the erection thereof there was such clemencie shewed, as that the banished by their owne confessions haue lest acknowledged vnder their owne handwritting, a notable kind of courtesie receiued by the meanes of hir maiestie. And therefore they cannot but in conscience commend hir highnesse tender affection so grationlie exchanged for seuerer affliction; in so much that it may rightlie be reported of hir, gighnesse, which the poet spake of Caesar, that is to saie:

*Es pignus ad penitus principes, ad premia velox,  
Cuique dolet quatuor cogitur esse ferax.*

Henric earle of Darbie appointed to be hir maiesties ambassadoz, to Henric the third French king, and to inuest him with the order of the garter, took his leaue of the queenes maiestie at Craneswich on the twentieth daie of Januarie, and with him such gentlemen as were present, were admitted to kisse hir highnesse hand. Maister Robert Coke, Clarentieur appointed to attend in that volage in place of Garter, whose roine was void, and Robert Cloner Summerfet herald likewise appointed to that tourneie, were referred to the two and twentieth daie of the same moneth. Noble men and gentlemen attending on the earle of Darbie; the lord Sands with eight seruants, lord Windsoze, eleven seruants, maister Scrope sonne and heire to the lord Scrope two seruants, maister Windsoze brother to the lord Windsoze thre seruants, sir Richard Sherborne thre seruants, sir Randolph Bzereton sir seruants, maister Clarentieur for Garter foure seruants, maister Anthonie Coke foure seruants,

maister Gerard sonne and heire to sir Thomas Gerard, maister Fleetwood, maister Indigate, maister Stallage gentleman vther, the queenes seruants. Maister Summerfet herald of armes two seruants, maister Crompton, maister Smith, maister Denton, maister Thomas Wills one seruant, The earls owne; maister Thomas Arden squard two seruants, maister For controller one seruant, maister Hewton gentleman vther one seruant, maister Phillips chapleine one seruant, maister Alexander gentleman of the horse one seruant, maister Apocroft physician one seruant. The earls waiting gentlemen; maister Watonie sonne and heire to sir John Watonie one seruant, maister Legh son and heire to sir Piers a Legh one seruant, maister Warren one seruant, maister Thomas Shereborne sonne to sir Richard Sherborne, maister Doolie had one seruant, maister Market one seruant, maister Richard Starke one seruant, maister Stanlie one seruant, maister Brierton, maister Hammer one seruant, maister Flood one seruant, maister Salsburie one seruant, maister Bishie my lords page, maister Donnes one seruant, maister Francis Starke one seruant, maister Baptill one seruant, maister Randolph one seruant, maister Toller, maister Chambers one seruant, maister Foxton, maister Russell one seruant. The earles yeomen sixtie. This traine had to carie trunks, males, and chests, sixe carts and a wagon throughout from Calis to Paris, besides the earls sumpter horse and garde bands on horse backe.

On the first and twentieth daie of Januarie, the earle with his traine passed from London to Grauesend in a tiltboat called a light horseman, and there taking post horses rid to Sittingborne, and there lodged, from whence they rid to Dover, where they imbarked and landed at Calis on the first of February, the earle of Darbie lord ambassadoz, with the lords Sands and Windsoze transported in the queens ship named the Skout, the other gentlemen & traine in craiers of Dover to the number of eight in the whole, where they were all receiued and welcomed to the towne by monsieur de Gourdon gouernour thereof, and rested there the next daie: on which daie at night the said earle, barons, and principall gentlemen were invited to a supper, by the said monsieur de Gourdon, which was prepared for them in a merchants house in verie sumptuous sort and great intertainment, and after supper musike and dancing, some ladies and gentlewomen of the towne being purposed brought to the place to interteine and to dance with the noblemen and others.

On the third of February the whole traine went from Calis to Bullogne to bed, where they were verie well interteined, the gouernours deputie presenting the earle with certeine pots of wine of sundrie sorts. On the fourth of February they rid to Pontfretell to bed, and there were likewise presented. On the fifth they went to Albernill to bed, and were met with one hundred and fiftie shot of barquebuzers at the entrie of the towne; where on either side the streets were made ranks of shot all the way as they passed to their lodging, & after marched off about the market place, giuing manie a volée of shot till it waxed darke, the gouernour of the towne presenting sundrie sorts of wine. And the daie following they took their iournie to Amiens to bed, where of monsieur Crenseure called Bonnier, lieutenant of Picardie for the king, accompanied with an hundred gentlemen, and best citizens, met the earle halfe a mile without the towne, and so rid talking with him & his traine. That night the said Crenseure presented the earle with great store of verie large and good fresh water fish, and the towne with wine of diuerse sorts,

The lord and  
ambassadoz pas-  
sed from Lon-  
don to Gra-  
uesend, and so  
to Dover, and  
arrived at  
Calis.

Monsieur de  
Gourdon gou-  
ernour of  
Calis inter-  
teined the  
ambassadoz.

Monsieur  
Crenseure  
lieutenant of  
Picardie met  
the lord  
ambassadoz.

Ouid. lib. 1. de  
Pom.

Earle of  
Darbie am-  
bassadoz into  
France.

Attendants  
upon the said  
ambassadoz.

foots, and the daie following being Sunday, the said Creuicure invited the earle to dinner, which dinner was greatlie commended. After dinner his lordship & traine went to Wyethill to bed, the next daie to Cleremont, where he staid Tuesday, and on Wednesday the tenth of Februarie to Lizarich.

His Edward  
Stafford the  
quenes am-  
bassador resi-  
dent with the  
French king,  
fr.

On the 11 he went to S. Denise, where by the waie his lordship was met by Sir Edward Stafford, his maiesties ambassador resident with the French king, who brought with him diuerse gentlemen of England, to the number of thirtie horse, and so accompanied him to S. Denise where they kept companie all the daie following being Friday. On Saturday his lordship made his entrie into Paris, about two o'clock of the clocke at after none, there being of the lord ambassadors traine more than two hundred horse; and midwaie betwene saint Denise and Paris, there met with their lordships sent from the king, the duke of Montpensier a prince of the blood, the lords of Caignie, le Chapelie aux Ursins, countie de Lude, de Bienné, de Salicorne, de la Mothe Fenelon, who had sometimes bene ambassadors in England, Desrie, D'abin, de Fontaines, de Comillon, the marques of Curton, the countie de Grignan, all counsellors in the counsell, & knights of the holie ghost. The duke of Tremouille, the countie de Bissac, de Creance, Sancerre, and of La faye, with a great number of lords and barons, gentlemen of the chamber, which all were commanded by the king to mount on horsebacke, and accompanie the said duke de Montpensier, who met the earle of Derby and the English traine midwaie betwixt Paris and saint Denise, and did accompanie him unto hostell de Longuenille, sometime called the hostell of Anion. At his lordships entrie into the said lodging, the sirs de Parle and de Conair maistres de hostell to his maiestie, gaue him to vnderstand how they were appointed by the king to haue care of his good vantage and intertainment, who likewise had appointed maistres de la Mothe Fenelon, the marques de Curton, & the countie de Grignan, to keepe his lordship companie at all times. And so was his lordship with the other lords and gentlemen lodged in the said hostell de Longuenille, where was three tables verie sumptuouslie furnished for them all of the kings cost; the one table in the great chamber for the lords and gentlemen, seruants to his maiestie; the other in the hall for the erle of Derbies gentlemen; and the third in a gallerie beneath for gentlemen's seruants, besides liuerie into euerie chamber, both of war, wood, wine, and such like, in as great plenty as could be desired.

The Statette &  
the honorable  
receiving  
of the lord am-  
bassador be-  
fore he came  
in presence &  
audience of  
the French  
king.

On Sunday the fourteenth of Februarie after the English account, and the foure and twentieth after the French reckoning, the said earle betwixt the houres of two and three in the after none, went from his lodging by a posterne through the garden, which is nere to the Loure, accompanied with the said lords de la Mothe Fenelon, de Curton, and Grignan, together with the sirs de Gondie, & the said de Parle, and de Conair, and found the capitaine of the regiment of the kings gard, making two ranks on either side of the street, beginning from the posterne to the Loure gate, who welcomed him in the kings behalfe. Without the gate of the said Loure he was received by the lieutenants of the great prouost of France & his archers; at the Loure gate by the sirs de Montegnie capitaine thereof to his maiestie and his archers; which archers together with those of the great prouost made two ranks from the said gate of the Loure to the foot of the staires. From the foot of the staires his lordship was received by the sirs de Perdillon the French lieutenant of the Swissers of the kings gard, which from the foot of the said staires

ers to the doze of the hall, made two ranks for his lordships passage. At the entrie of the hall, his lordship was received by the sirs de Chateau blanc knight of the holie ghost, and capitaine of the archers of the kings gard; who likewise from the said doze vnto the doze of the antichamber made two ranks. From the doze of the antichamber, his lordship was received by the sirs de Combault of the holie ghost, chiefe master de hostell to the king, and by the other masters of the hostell to his maiestie, and by his gentlemen waiters; and there in the said antichamber all the said earle of Derbies officers and gentlemen wearing liueries were appointed to staid, and the quenes seruants that proceeded next after them, and before the said earle went still forward. At the entrie of the chamber of estate his lordship was received by the sirs de Menecourt knight of the holie ghost, chiefe escuir of the kings escuir, and the other escuires of the escuir together, with the lieutenant of the hundred gentlemen of his maiestie, who made likewise two ranks for his lordships passage from that chamber doze to the chamber of audience, euerie of them bearing halberds in their hands. At the entrance of the antichamber, his lordship was received by the duke Joyeux, accompanied with the gentlemen of the kings chamber ordinarie, who made two ranks from that chamber doze to the doze of the chamber roiall.

Into the said chamber roiall first entred all the gentlemen, the quenes maiesties seruants, the lords that had received and accompanied the said earle and lords; and the said duke de Joyeux accompanied the said earle of Derby euen vnto the bars that stood about the edge of the haltpase, or mounting stoze in the same chamber, where the king stood at his beds set, accompanied without the said barriers on his right hand with the cardinals of Bourbon, Wandolme, and Joyeux; and on the left hand with the lords, the princes of Contie, the countie de Soissons, and duke Montpensier, princes of the blood; the dukes de Beuers, Delbeuse, de la Tremouille, de Metz, monsieur le chancelier, sirs de Willequier, du Bonchaise, de la Molette, Dantragues, de la Chapelle aux Ursins, Chaignie, la Auguion, countie de Pauleurier, Clermont, Dantragues, de Larchaut, and other knights of the holie ghost, and counsellors of the estate in great number. The said earle with the lord ambassador ordinarie of England alone, he entered within the said haltpase within the barriers vnto his maiestie, of whom they were received with great courtesie, & as amiable countenance as could be. And the earle deliuered the quenes maiesties letters vnto the king with great reuerence, and then making rehearsall of that he had in charge to saie, the said ambassador presented vnto the king the lords Sands and Windsor, with other the English knights and gentlemen; which all one after an other mounted vpon the haltpase, kissed their hands, & did their reuerence vnto the king. When the erle took his leaue, and was conducted by all the lords & capitaines that had before received him, and conueied him vnto the place where they had first received him. Afterwards he went to salute the quene mother, and at the entrance into his antichamber he was received by monsieur de Lanfac knight of the holie ghost, and knight of honour vnto the same quene, whom he found accompanied with his niece the princeesse of Lozaine standing at his beds head, the princeesses of Conde and Fontie, and the duchess of Beuers standing at the beds set, the duchesses Dauphine, and of Metz, and other ladies and gentlewomen in great number. From thence his lordship was conueied to the quene Regents chamber, at the entrance whereof he was received by the countie de Fiesque knight

The chamber  
roiall, & man-  
ner of recei-  
uing and con-  
ducting of the  
lord ambassa-  
dour therevnto,  
and other  
notable obser-  
uations.

The earle of  
Derbie & sirs  
Edward  
Stafford, &c.  
are courteous-  
lie received of  
the king.

The lord am-  
bassador follo-  
wed the quene  
mother.

The lord am-  
bassador con-  
ueied to the  
quene Re-  
gents cham-  
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of the holie ghost, and his knight of honour, finding him accompanied with the duchesses of Montpensier and Joyeuse, who stood at his beds feet, the ladies of Kolden his lady of honour and other ladies and gentlewomen also in great number, and then returned to the foresaid hostell de Longueville.

The French king inserted into the order of the garter.

On mondaie the fifteenth of Februarie, the king by monsieur le Moth Fenelon told the lord ambassador his mind touching the receipt of the order, that he intended to receive it on thursdaie following in the after none, at the Augustine friers, which was done accordingly with a mantle of blew velvet, and a hood, and collar of the order, with a booke of the statutes of the order, which all were inserted upon the king in a place called maison de Paupralles; but the oth was ministered unto the king in the friers church, Magnificat being then song, or singing. On sundaie the eight and twentieth of Februarie, the ambassador with his traine took their leaue, at whose returne from the court to his lodging he was presented that night with a rich cupbord of plate, worth twelue hundred pounds at the least; and unto maister Clarenceur was given a chaine of gold worth one hundred and twentieth pounds and better, of two hundred thirtie and six links; to maister Somerset a chaine of one hundred and fiftie links, worth one hundred marks; and to Thomas Spils a chaine of the same value.

Gifts of ro'all magnificence bestowed and received.

On the thursdaie following, the earle with his traine set forward homewards from Paris unto saint Denise, and so were lodged all the waie in the same lodgings that before they had bene received in, and arrived prosperously in England, from Wollogne to Dover, on fridaie the twelue day of March; and on the tuesdaie following were brought to the queenes maiesties presence at Grenewich, who graciously welcommed them home.

William Parrie hanged and quartered at Westminster.

This yeare on the second daie of March being tuesdaie, William Parrie was drawn from the Tower thorough the citie of London to Westminister, and there in the palace court, hanged, boweled, and quartered, for high and horrible treasons by him practised, as maie appeare by the discourse that followeth, published upon his execution, to give generall intimation of his notorious trecheries unto all the queenes maiesties subjects.

A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by William Parrie against the queenes maiestie, and of his conviction and execution for the same, the second of March 1584, according to the account of England.

A description of William Parrie.



His William Parrie, being a man of verie meane and base parentage, but of a most proud and insolent spirit, bearing himselfe alwaies far above the measure of his fortune, after he had long led a wastfull and dissolute life, and had committed a great outrage against one Hugh Hare, a gentleman of the inner temple, with an intent to have murdered him in his owne chamber, for the which he was most iustlie convicted, seeing himselfe generallie condemned with all good men for the same, and other his misdeemeanors, he left his naturall countrie, & gaue himselfe to travell into forren parts beyond the seas. In the course of this his travell he forsake his allegiance and dutifull obedience to his maiestie, and was reconciled, and subjected himselfe to the pope. After which, upon conference with certeine Jesuits and others of like qualitie, he first conceived his most detestable treason to kill the queene (whose life God long preserve) which he bound himselfe by promise,

William Parrie reconciled to the pope: and of his treason in superlatius gradu.

letters, and bowes, to performe and execute: and so with this intent he returned into England in Januarie one thousand five hundred foure score & thre; and since that did practise at sundrie times to have executed his most diuelish purpose and determination: yet covering the same so much as in him lay with a velle and pretense of great loialtie unto his maiestie.

Immediately upon his returne into England, he sought to have secret accesse to his maiestie, pretending to have some matter of great importance to reueale unto his highnesse, and the same for private in his highnesse palace at Whitehall, as his maiestie had but one onelie counsellor with him at the time of his accesse, in a remote place, who was so far distant, as he could not heare his speech. And there then he discovered unto his maiestie (but shadowed with all craftie and traitorous skill he had) some part of the conference and proceeding as well with the said Jesuits, and other ministers of the popes, as especially with one Thomas Morgan a fugitive, residing at Paris, who above all others did persuade him to proceed in that most diuelish attempt (as is set downe in his voluntarie confession following) bearing his maiestie notwithstanding in hand, that his onelie intent of proceeding so farre with the said Jesuits, and the popes ministers, tended to no other end, but to discover the dangerous practises devised and attempted against his maiestie by his disloyall subjects and other malicious persons in forren parts: albeit it hath since appeared most manifestlie, as well by his said confession, as by his dealing with one Edmund Penill esquier, that his onelie intent of discovering the same, in so far as he craftilie and traitorously did, tended to no other end, but to make the waie the easier to accomplish his most diuelish and wicked purpose.

Disimulation!

Penill covert intent for an maie

Thomas Morgan a fugitive and furtherer of Parries purpose.

Did man as he like i multi

Edmond Penill not ignorant of this actiome

And although anie other prince but his maiestie (who is loth to put on a hard censure of those that protest to be loiall, as Parrie did) would rather have proceeded unto the punishment of a subject that had invaded so farre, as by oth and bow to promise the taking away of his life (as he unto his maiesties selfe did confesse) yet such was his godnesse, as in stead of punishing, he did deale so gracionlie with him, as he suffered him not onelie to have accesse unto his presence: but also manie times to have private conference with him, and did offer unto him upon opinion once conceived of his fidelitie towards him (as though his wicked pretense had bene, as he protested, for his service) a most liberall pension. Besides, to the end that he might not grow hatefull to the god and well affected subjects of the realme (from whome he could in no sort have escaped with safetie of his life, if his diuelish purpose had bene reuealed) his maiestie did conceale the same, without communicating it to anie creature; untill such time as he himselfe had opened the same unto certeine of his counsell; and that it was also discovered that he sought to draw the said Penill to have bene a partie in his diuelish and most wicked purpose.

Graciously quene and too too favourable, even to thine enemies!

Did man as he like i multi

A verie rare example, and such as doth more set forth the singular godnesse and bountie of his maiesties princelie nature, than commend (if it be lawfull for a subject to censure his soueraigne) his providence such as ought to be in a prince and person of his maiesties wisdom and qualitie. And as the godnesse of his maiesties nature did hereby most manifestlie shew it selfe to be rare in so extraordinary a case, and in a matter of so great perill unto his owne totall person: so did the malice of Parrie most evidently appeare to be in the highest and extreamest degree, who notwithstanding the said extraordinary grace and favour extended towards him, did not onlie

The malice of Parrie grows to an extreme of mischief against the quene.



lie perswade the said Penill to be an associat in the said wicked enterpryse: but did also verie vehementlie (as Penill confesseth) importune him therein as an action lawfull, honourable, and meritorious, omitting nothing that might prouoke him to assent thereto. But such was the singular goodnesse of almighty God (who enen from hir maiesties cradle by manie euident arguments hath shewed himselfe hir onelie and especiall protector) that he so wrought in Penills heart, as he was moued to reueale the same vnto hir maiestie, and for that purpose made choice of a faithfull gentleman and of good qualitie in the court, vnto whome vpon mondaie the eight of february last past, he discovered at large all that had passed betwene Parrie and him, who immediatlie made it knowne to hir maiestie. Whereupon hir highnesse pleasure was, that Penill should be examined by the earle of Leicester, and sir Christopher Hatton: who in the euening of the same daie did examine him, and he affirmed constantlie all which he had before declared to the said gentleman.

In the meane time, hir maiestie continued hir singular and most princelie magnanimitie, neither dismayed with the rarenesse of the accident, nor appalled with the horroz of so villanous an enterpryse, tending euen to the taking awaie of hir most gracions life (a matter especiallie obserued by the counsellor that was present at such time as Parrie after his returne did first discover vnto hir maiestie his wicked purpose; who found no other alteration in hir countenance, than if he had imparted vnto hir some matter of contentment) which sheweth manifestlie how the reposeth hir confidence wholie in the defense of the almighty. And so hir maiestie, following the wonted course of hir singular clemencie, gaue order that Parrie the same mondaie in the euening (though not so knowne to him) should be sent vnto maister secretaries house in London, he being then there; who according vnto such direction as he receiued from hir maiestie, did let him vnderstand, that hir highnesse (in respect of the good will she knewe he bare vnto the said Parrie, & of the trust that Parrie did outwardlie profess to repose in maister secretarie) had made especiall choice of him to deale with him in a matter that concerned hir highlie, and that she doubted not, but that he would discharge his dutie towards hir, according vnto that extraordinary deuotion that he professed to beare vnto hir.

And thereupon he told him that hir maiestie had bene aduertised, that there was somewhat intended presentlie against hir owne person, wherwith she thought he could not but be made acquainted, considering the great trust that some of hir word affected subjects repored in him: and that hir pleasure therefore was, that he should declare vnto him his knowledge therein: and whether the said Parrie himselfe had let fall anie speech vnto anie person (though with an intent onelie to haue discovered his disposition) that might draw him in suspicion, as though he himselfe had anie such wicked intent. But Parrie with great and vehement protestations denied it vtterlie. Whereupon maister secretarie, the rather to induce him to deale more plainelie in a matter so important, declared vnto him, that there was a gentleman of qualitie euerie waie as good or better than himselfe, and rather his friend than enemy, that would auouch it to his face: yet Parrie persisted stubboznelie in his former deniall, and iustificacion of his owne innocencie, and would not in anie respect yeld that he was partie or partie to anie such motion, enterpryse, or intent.

Being lodged that night at M. secretaries house, the next morning he desired earnestlie to haue some further speech with maister secretarie: which gran-

ted, Parrie declared to him that he had called to remembrance that he had once some speech with one Penill a kinsman of his (so he called him) touching a point of doctrine contained in the answer made to the booke, intituled, The cecution of iustice in England; by which booke it was resolved, that it was lawfull to take awaie the life of a prince, in furtherance of the catholike religion: but he protested that the y neuer had anie speech at all of anie attempt intended against hir maiesties person. Which deniall of his (at two sundrie times after so much light giuen him) doth set forth most apparantlie both the iustice and prouidence of God: his iustice, for that (though he was one of a sharpe conceipt) he had no power to take hold of this ouerture, thereby to haue auoided the danger that Penills accusation might bring him into by confessing the same, as a thing propounded onelie to seale Penills mind, whome before he had reported vnto maister secretarie he found a person discontented, and therefore his confession might to verie great purpose haue serued to haue cleared himselfe touching the intent: his prouidence, for that of his great mercie he would not suffer so dangerous and wicked a member to escape and liue to hir maiesties perill.

The same daie at night, Parrie was brought to the earle of Leicesters house, and there exons examined before the said earle of Leicester, maister vicechamberlaine, and maister secretarie: he persisted still in his deniall of all that he was charged with. Whereupon, Penill being brought before him face to face, iustified his accusation against him. He notwithstanding would not yet yeld to confesse it, but verie prondlie and insolentlie opposed his credit against the credit of Penill, affirming that his no, was as good as Penills yea, & as by way of recrimination, objected the crime to Penill himselfe. On the other side, Penill did with great constancie affirme all that he had before said, and did set downe manie probable circumstances of the times, places, and maners of their sundrie conferences, and of such other accidents as had happened betwene them in the course of that action: whereupon Parrie was then committed to the Tower, and Penill commanded by their honours to set downe in writing vnder his hand, all that which before he had deliuered by words: which he did with his owne hand as followeth.

Edmund Neuill his declaration the  
tenth of Februarie, 1584, subscribed  
with his owne hand.



William Parrie the last summer, some after his repulse in his sute for the maister ship of saint Batharins, repaired to my lodging in the White friers, where he shewed himselfe a person greatlie discontented, and vehementlie inueighed against hir maiestie, and willed me to assure my selfe, that during this time and state, I should neuer receiue contentment. But sith, said he, I know you to be honozable defended, and a man of resolution, if you will giue me assurance, either to ioint with me, or not to discover me, I will deliuer vnto you the onelie meanes to do your selfe good. Which when I had promised him, he appointed me to come the next daie to his house in feuter lane: & repairing thither accordinglie, I found him in his bed; whereupon he commanded his men forth, and began with me in this order.

By Iohs said he (for so he called me) I protest before God, that thre reasons princippallic do induce me to enter into this action which I intend to disco-

Parrie is de-  
sirous to haue  
some speech  
with maister  
secretarie.

Parrie is exam-  
ined before  
certeine lordes  
of the coun-  
cell, &c.

Penill charges  
Parrie  
for pericelle,  
that he is  
committed to  
the Tower.

Note the  
malicious hu-  
mor of Parrie  
because he  
might not ob-  
taine prefer-  
ment to his  
liking.

apostolical  
mulation!

Penill dis-  
covereth the  
intended trea-  
son against hir  
maiestie.

James  
organ a  
true and  
theres of  
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pols.

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man read  
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mitie in a wo-  
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Parrie is  
committed to  
the custodie &  
examination  
of sir Francis  
Walsingham.

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fauourable.  
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inties!

Parrie de-  
nied with  
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he maiestie of  
arrie grows  
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tremitie of  
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Ar r r r r. f. uer

**A** triple reason that moved Barrie to his pretended treason.

**Barrie** committed it an act meritorious to murder his maiestie.

**A** villanous persuation or inducement to be necessarie to the treason!

**Note** Barries pestilent humor of malice against his maiestie.

**These** doubts were of advantage to Penill, but means of reprochfull ruine to Barrie.

ner on to you: the replanting of religion, the preferring of the Scottish title, and the advancement of justice, wonderfullie corrupted in this commonwealth. And thereupon entred into some discourses, what places were fit to be taken to give entrance to such foreign forces as should be best liked of, for the furtherance of such enterprises as were to be undertaken. And with these discourses he passed the time, untill he went to dinner: after which, the companie being retired, he entred into his former discourses. And if I be not deceived (said he) by taking of Dunboyough castell, we shall hinder the passage of the queenes ships south of the river. Whereunto when he saw me give no contradiction, he spoke me by the hand. Tush (said he) this is nothing: if men were resolute, there is an enterpryse of much more moment, and much easier to performe: an act honorable, and meritorious to God and the world. Which seeing me desirous to know, he was not ashamed to utter in plaine termes, to consist in killing of his maiestie: wherein, saith he, if you will go with me, I will lose my life, or deliuer my countrie from his bad and tyrannous government. At which speeches finding me discontented, he asked me if I had read doctor Allens booke, out of which he alledged an authoritie for it. I answered, no, and that I did not beleue that authoritie. Well (said he) what will you saie, if I shew further authoritie than this, even from Rome it selfe, a plaine dispensation for the killing of him, wherein you shall find it (as I said before) meritorious? Good cousin said I, when you shall shew it me, I shall thinke it verie strange, when I shall see one to hold that for meritorious, which another holdeth for damnable. Well, said Barrie, doe me but the favour to thinke upon it till to morrow: and if one man be in the towne, I will not faile to shew you the thing it selfe: and if he be not, he will be within these five or six daies, at which time if it please you to meete me at Canon rowe, we may there receive the sacrament to be true ech to other, and then I will discover unto you both the partie, & the thing it selfe. Whereupon I praised Barrie to thinke better upon it, as a matter of great charge both of soule and bodie. I would to God, said Barrie, you were as perfectlie persuaded in it as I am! for then without doubt he should doe God great service.

Not long after eight or ten daies (as I remember) Barrie committing to visit me at my lodging in Berns rents in Holborne, as he often used, we walked south into the fields, where he renewed againe his determination to kill his maiestie, whom he said he thought most unworthy to live, and that he wondered I was so scrupulous therein. She hath sought, said he, your ruine and overthrow, why should you not then seeke to revenge it? I confesse (quoth I) that my case is hard, but yet am I not so desperat as to revenge it upon my selfe, which must needs be the event of so dishonest and impossible an enterpryse. Unpossible, said Barrie! I wonder at you, for in truth there is not anie thing more easie: you are no courtier, and therefore know not his customes of walking with small traine, and often in the garden verie private, at which time my selfe may easilie haue access unto him, and you also when you are knownen in court. Upon the fact we must haue a barge readie to carrie us with speed downe the river, where we will haue a ship readie to transport us if it be needfull: but upon my head, we shall neuer be followed so far. I asked him; How will you escape south of the garden? For you shall not be permitted to carrie anie men with you, and the gates will then be locked, neither can you carrie a dog without suspicion. As for a dog (said Barrie) I care not: my dagger is enough. And as for mine escaping, those

that shall be with him, will be so busie about him, as I shall find opportunitie enough to escape, if you be there readie with the barge to receive me.

But if this same dangerous in respect of your reason before shewed, let it then rest till his coming to Saint James, and let us furnish our selves in the meane time with men and horse fit for the purpose: may ech of us keepe eight or ten men without suspicion? And for my part, said he, I shall find good fellows that will follow me without suspecting mine intent. It is much, said he, that so manie resolute men made doe upon the sudden, being well appointed with ech his case of dages: if they were an hundred waiting upon him, they were not able to saue him, you coming on the one side, and I on the other, and discharging our dages upon him, it were unhappie if we should both misse him. But if our dages faile, I shall bestirre me well with a sword yet the escape me. Whereunto I said: Good doctor, give over this odious enterpryse, & trouble me no more with the hearing of that, which in heart I loth so much. I would to God the enterpryse were honest, that I might make knowne unto thee whether I want resolution! And not long after, his maiestie came to Saint James, after which, one morning (the date certaine I remember not) Barrie renewed againe his former discourse of killing his maiestie, with great earnestnesse and importunitie perswading me to soine therein: saing he thought me the onelie man of England like to performe it, in respect of my valour, as he termed it.

Whereupon I made semblance as if I had bene more willing to heare him than before, hoping by that means to cause him to deliuer his mind to some other that might be witness thereof with me, wherein neuertheless I failed. After all this, on saturday last being the sixt of Februarie, betwene the house of five and six in the after none, Barrie came to my chamber, and desired to talke with me apart, whereupon we drew our selves to a window. And where I had told Barrie before, that a learned man whom I met by chance in the fields, unto whom I proponed the question touching his maiestie, had answered me that it was an enterpryse most villanous and damnable, willing me to discharge my selfe of it: Barrie then desired to know that learned mans name, and what was become of him, saing after a scornefull manner; No doubt he was a verie wise man, and you wiser in beleuing him: & said further, I hope you told him not that I had anie thing from Rome. Yes in truth, said I. Whereunto Barrie said, I would you had not named me, nor spoken of anie thing I had from Rome! And thereupon he earnestlie perswaded me reasons to depart beyond the seas, promising to procure me safe passage into Wales, and from thence into Brittain, whereat we ended. But I then resolved not to doe so, but to discharge my conscience, and late open this his most traitorous and abhominable intention against his maiestie: which I reuealed in sort as is before set downe.

Edmund Newill.

**A**fter this confession of Edmund Penill, William Barrie the eleventh daie of Februarie last, being examined in the Tower of London, by the lord Hunsdon lord gouernour of Berwicke, Sir Christopher Hatton knight vicechamberleine to his maiestie, and Francis Wallingham knight principal secretarie to his maiestie, did voluntarie confession without anie constraint by word of mouth make confession of his said treason, and after set it downe in writing all with his owne hand in his lodging in the Tower, and sent it to the court the thirteenth of the same, by the lieutenant of the Tower. The parties

**Note** the traitorous purpose of Barrie late downe in order as it should haue bene done.

**Barrie** the traitorous purpose of Barrie late downe in order as it should haue bene done.

**Penill** (as resolved at no hand to be partaker with Barrie in his treason.

**Barrie** (as voluntarie confession in the hearing of certain lordes, &c.

**Such** and glorie, hard to come I gracefull manner

**Barrie** for like transgression, an such it

**Barrie** hath by in before: quito; shall

**Barrie** solved in plot of treacherie, denie.

whereof concerning his manner of doing the same, and the treasons wherewith he was iustlie charged are here set downe, word for word, as they are written and signed with his owne hand & name, the eleuenth of Februarie, 1584.

**The voluntarie confession of William Parrie, in writing all with his owne hand.**

The voluntarie confession of William Parrie, doctor of the lawes (now prisoner in the Tower) & accused of treason by Edmund Neuell esquier, promised by him (with all faith & humilitie) to the queenes maiestie, in discharge of his conscience and dutie towards God and hir. Before the lord Hunfion lord gouernor of Berwike, sir Christopher Hatton knight vicedhamerlaine, sir F. Walsingham knight principal secretarie, the thirteenth of Februarie, 1584.

Parrie.

Marke: good and gracious lady, whose hard hap it was to intertaine so bad & gracelesse a knaue.

Parrie sueth for licence to traueil beyond sea, and obiecteth.

Parrie instructeth himselfe in religion before the inquisitor of Spillaine.

Parrie is refused in the pior of his treacherous deuile.

**I**n the yeare 1570 I was twoorne his maiesties seruant, from which time vntill the yeare 1580, I serued, honored, and loued hir with as great readinesse, deuotion and assurance as anie poore subiect in England. In the end of that yeare, and vntill Whitsunmer 1582, I had some trouble for the hurting of a gentleman of the Temple. In which action I was so disgraced and oppressed by two great men (to whom I haue of late bene beholden) that I neuer had contented thought since. There began my misfortune, and here followeth my wofull fall. In Iulie after, I laboured for licence to traueil for thre yeares, which (vpon some consideration) was easilie obtained. And so in August, I went ouer with doubtful mind of returne, for that being suspected in religion, and not hauing receiued the communion in two and twentie yeares, I began to mistrust my aduancement in England. In September I came to Paris, where I was reconciled to the church, and aduised to line without scandale, the rather for that it was mistrusted by the English catholikes, that I had intelligence with the greatest counsellour of England. I staid not long there, but remoued to Lions (a place of great traffike) where, bicause it was the ordinarie passage of our nation to and fro betwene Paris and Rome, I was also suspected.

To put all men out of doubt of me, and for some other cause, I went to Spillaine, from whence as a place of some danger (though I found fauour there) after I had cleared my conscience, and iustified my selfe in religion before the inquisitor, I went to Venice. There I came acquainted with father Beneditto Palmito, a graue and a learned Iesuit. By conference with him of the hard state of the catholikes in England, & by reading of the booke De persecutione Anglicana, and other discourses of like argument, I conceived a possible meane to relieue the afflicted state of our catholikes, if the same might be well warranted in religion and conscience by the pope, or some learned diuines. I asked his opinion, he made it cleere, commended my deuotion, comforted me in it, and after a while made me knownen to the Runtio Campeggio, there resident for his holinesse. By his meanes I wrote vnto the pope, presented the seruice, and sued for a passport to go to Rome, and to returne safelie into France. Answer came from cardinall Como, that I might come, and should be welcome. I mislied the warrant, sued for a better, which I was promised: but it came not before my departure to Lions, where I promised to staid some time for it.

And being indeed desirous to go to Rome, and loth to go without countenance, I desired Christophero de Salazar, secretarie to the king catholike in Venice,

who had some briderstanding (by conference) of my deuotion to the afflicted catholikes at home and abroad, to commend me to the duke di Pous terra gouernour of Spillaine, and to the countie of Molinaris Embt, then resident for the king his master in Rome: which he promised to doe effectualle for the one, and did for the other. And so I toke my iournie towards Lions, whither came for me an ample passport (but somewhat too late) that I might come & go.

In verbo pontificis per omnes iurisdictiones ecclesiasticas, absq.

impedimento. I acquainted some good fathers there of my necessitie to depart towards Paris by promise, & prayed their aduises vpon diuerse points, wherein I was well satisfied. And so assuring them that his holinesse should heare from me shortly, it was undertaken that I should be excused for that time.

In October I came to Paris, where (vpon better opinion conceived of me amongst my catholike countriemen) I found my credit well settled, and such as mistrusted me before, readie to trust and embrace me. And being one daie at the chamber of Thomas Morgan a catholike gentleman (greatlie beloued and trusted on that side) amongst other gentlemen, talking (but in verie god sort) of England, I was desired by Morgan to go by with him to another chamber, where he brake with me, and told me that it was hoped and looked for, that I should doe some seruice for God and his church. I answered him I would do it, if it were to kill the greatest subiect in England: whom I named, and in truth then hated. So no, said he, let him liue to his greater fall and ruine of his house: 2 It is the queene I meane. I had him as I wished, and told him it were some done, if it might be lawfullie done, and warranted in the opinion of some learned diuines. And so the doubt once resolved (though as you haue heard I was before reasonable well satisfied) I volved to undertake the enterprise, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolike. Diuers diuines were named, doctor Allen I desired, Parsons I refused. And by chance came master Wats a learned priest, with whom I conferred, and was overruled.

For he plainlie pronounced (the case onelie altered in name) that it was vtterlie vnlawfull: with whom manie English priests did agree as I haue heard, if it be not altered, since the booke made in answer of the execution of the English iustice was published, which I must confesse hath taken hard hold in me, and I feare me will do in others, if it be not premented by more grations handling of the quiet and obedient catholike subiects, whereof there is good and greater store in England than this age will ertinguish. Well, notwithstanding all these doubts, I was gone so far by letters and conference in Italie, that I could not go backe, but promised faithfullie to performe the enterprise, if his holinesse vpon my offer & letters would allow it, & grant me full remission of my sinnes. 4 I wrote my letters the first of Ianuarie 1584, by their computation, toke aduise vpon them in confession of father Amball a Cordeto a learned Iesuit in Paris, was louinglie embraced, commended, confessed, and communed at the Iesuits at one altar with the cardinals of Wandosini and Parbone: whereof I prayed certificat, and inclosed the same in my letter to his holinesse, to lead him the rather to absolue me, which I required by my letters, in consideration of so great an enterprise undertaken without promise or reward.

I went with Morgan to the Runtio Magazzoni, to whom I read the letter and certificat inclosed, sealed it, & left it with him to send to Rome: he promised great care of it, and to procure answer; and so louinglie embraced me, wished me good speed, and promised that I should be remembered at the altar.

R r r r r. y.

Note with what felowship, enmities to God and his church, Parrie lineth himselfe.

Note the diuinity conference betwene Morgan and Parrie.

Parrie boweth to undertake the killing of the queene.

Lord what a lamentable hearing is this!

Parrie is now become altogether past grace, and growne resolute with Judas to kill the Lords appointed.

6 After this I desired Morgan, that some speciall man might be made priuie to this matter, least he dieng, and I miscarieng in the execution, and my intent neuer trulie discovered, it might sticke for an euerlasting spot in my race. Diuerse were named, but none agreed vpon for feare of betwailing.

7 This being done, Morgan assured me, that shortly after my departure, the L. Fernehurst (then in Paris) should go into Scotland, and be readie vpon the first newes of the queens fall, to enter into England with 20 or 30000 men to defend the queene of Scotland (whom, and the king his sonne, I doe in my conscience acquit of anie priuie, liking, or consent to this, or anie other bad action, for anie thing that euer I did know.)

I shortly departed for England, and arrived at Kie in Januarie 1582, from whence I wrote to the court, aduertised some, that I had a speciall seruite to discover to the queens maiestie. 8 Which I did more to prepare accesse and credit, than for anie care I had of his person, though I were fullie resolved neuer to touch his (notwithstanding anie warrant) if by anie deuise, perswasion, or policie he might be wrought to deale more grationlie with the catholikes than he doth, or by our maner of proceeding in parlement meaneth to do, for anie thing yet seene. I came to the court (then at Whitehall) praised audience, had it at large, and berie priuatie discovered to his maiestie this conspiracie, much to his effect, though couered with all the skill I had: he toke it doubtfullie, I departed with feare. And amongst other things, I cannot forget his maiesties gracions speech then vitered touching the catholikes, which of late, after a long I auowed in parlement: he said to me that neuer a catholike should be troubled for religion or supremacie, so long as they liued like good subiects. Whereby I mistrusted that his maiestie is borne in hand, that none is troubled for the one or the other. It may be trulie said that it is better than it hath bene, though it be not yet as it should be.

In March last, while I was at Ornenewich (as I remember) suing for saint Katharines, came letters to me from cardinall Como, dated at Rome the last of Januarie before, whereby I found the enterprise commended, and allowed, and my selfe absolved (in his holinesse name) of all my sinnes, and willed to go forward in the name of God. What letter I shewed to some in court, who imparted it to the queene: what it wrought, or maie worke in his maiestie, God knoweth: onelie this I know, 9 that it confirmed my resolution to kill him, and made it cleere in my conscience, that it was lawfull and meritorious. And yet was I determined neuer to do it, if either policie, practise, perswasion, or motion in parlement could preuaile. I feared to be tempted, and therefore alwaies when I came nere him, I left my dagger at home. 10 When I looked vpon his maiestie, & remembred his manie excellencies, I was greatlie troubled: and yet I saw no remedie, for my bowes were in heauen, my letters and promises in earth, and the case of the catholike recusants and others little bettered.

Sometimes I said to my selfe: Why should I care for him? What hath he done for me? Haue I not spent ten thousand markes since I knew his seruice, and neuer had penie by him? It maie be said, he gaue me my life. But I saie (as my case shew) it had bene tyrannic to take it: and I feare me it is little lesse yet. If it please his grationlie to looke in to my discontentments, would to Iesus Christ he had it, for I am wearie of it. And now to come to an end of this tragicall discourse. In Iulie I left the court, viterlie reiected, discontented, and as his maiestie might perceiue by my passionate letters, care-

lesse of my selfe. I came to London: doctor Allens booke was sent me out of France: 11 It redoubled my former conceits, euerie word in it was a warrant to a prepared mind. It taught that kings maie be excommunicated, depriued, and violentlie handled. It proueth that all warres ciuill or forein, undertaken for religion, is honourable. His maiestie maie do well to read it, and to be out of doubt (if things be not amended) that it is a warning, and a doctrine full dangerous. This is the booke I shewed, in some places read, and lent to my cousin Penill (the accuser) who came often to mine house, put his finger in my dish, his hand in my purse, and the night wherein he accused me, was wrapped in my gowpe, six moneths at least after we had entered in to this conspiracie: in which space his maiestie, and ten princes in seuerall prouinces might haue bene killed. God blesse his maiestie from him: for before almighty God I tose and am glad in my soule, that it was his hap to discover me in time, though there were no danger nere.

And now to the matter of our meetings. He came to me in the beginning of August, and spake to me in this or the like sort: Cousine, let vs do some what, sith we can haue nothing. I offered to loine with him, and gladlie heard him, hoping because I knew him to be a catholike, that he would hit vpon that I had in my head: but it fell not out so. He thought the deliuerie of the queene of Scotlande 12 presuming vpon his credit and kindred in the North: I thought it dangerous to him, and impossible to men of our fortunes. He fell from that to the taking of Berwik: I spake of Dinborough and the nauie, rather to intertaine him with discourse, than that I cared for those motions, my head being full of greater matter. 13 I told him that I had another maner of enterprise, more honourable and profitable vnto vs, and the catholikes commonwealth, than all these, if he would loine in it with me, as he presentlie vowed to do. He pressed to know it, I willed him to sleepe vpon the motion: he did so, and (belike ouertaken) came vnto me the next morning to my lodging in London, offered to loine with me, and toke his oth vpon a bible, to concale and constantlie to pursue the enterprise for the aduancement of religion: which I also did, and meant to performe: the killing of the queene was the matter.

The maner and place, to be on horsebacke, with eight or ten horses, when he should ride abroad about saint James, or some other like place. It was once thought fit in a garden, and that the escape would be easiest by water into Shepesh, or some other part: but we resolved vpon the first. This continued as agreed vpon manie moneths, till he heard of the death of Westmerland, whose land and dignitie (whereof he assured himselfe) bred belike this conscience in him to discover a treason in February, contriued and agreed vpon in August. If it cost him not an ambitious head at last, let him neuer trust me. He brought a tall gentleman (whome he commended for an excellent pistoller) to me to Channon Kio, to make one in the match: but I refused to deale with him, being loth to late my head vpon so manie hands.

Sp. Penill hath (I thinke) forgotten, that he did sweare to me at diuerse times, that all the aduancement he could giue, should serue but for his scourge, if euer time and occasion should serue: and that although he would not laie hand vpon him in a corner, his hart serued him to strike off his head in the field. Now leaning him to himselfe, thus much (to make an end) I must confesse of my selfe: I did meane to trie what might be done in parlement, to do my best to hinder all hard courses, to haue praised hearing

I promise for a Scottish invasion after the deuil of Harrie executed.

Note the bilious ill mind to his maiestie.

Note his maiesties vnderferued grationlie to persecuted catholikes.

Note Harries resolution by letters from cardinall Como.

Harrie is in a manning what to do as maie be noted by these speeches interrogatorie.

Harrie desperate.

How long the conspiracie was in hand, long per it was detected.

Note the actions that should haue bene commended and finished in this conspiracie.

This oth and all of the like qualitie and nature are violable Sacraments.

The death of Westmerland reported.

Harrie charged Penill with treachery of speeches of dissimulation.

ring of the queenes maiestie, to maue hir (if I could) to take compassion vpon hir catholike subjects, and when all had failed, to do as I intended. If hir maiestie by this course would haue eased them, though she had neuer preferred me, I had with all comfort and patience borne it: 13 but if she had preferred me without ease or care of them, the enterprise had held. ¶ God preserve the queene, & incline hir merciful hart to forgive me this desperat purpose, and to take my head (with all my hart) for hir better satisfaction.

W. Parrie.

After which, for the better manifesting of his treasons, on the fourteenth of February last past, there was a letter written by him to hir maiestie, verie voluntarie, all of his owne hand, without anie motion made to him. The tenor whereof, for that which concerneth these his traitorous dealings, is as followeth.

### A letter written by Parrie to hir maiestie.

**Y**our maiestie maie see by my voluntarie confession, the dangerous fruits of a discontented mind: & how constantly I pursued my first conceived purpose in Venice, for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, continued it in Lions, and resolved in Paris to put it in aduenture, for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolike. You maie see withall how it is commended, allowed, and warranted in conscience, diuinitie, and policie, by the pope and some great diuines: though it be true or likelie, that most of our English diuines (lesse practised in matters of this weight) doe vtterlie mislike and condemne it.

The enterprise is preuented, and conspiracie discovered, by an honourable gentleman my kinsman, and late familiar friend, maister Edmund Neuell, priuie and by solempne oth (taken vpon the bible) partie to the matter, wherof I am hardlie glad, but now sorrie (in my verie soule) that euer I conceived or intended it, how commendable or meritorious so euer I thought it. God thanke him, and forgive me, who would not now (before God) attempt it (if I had libertie and oportunitie to doo it) to gaine your kingdom. I beseech Christ that my death and example maie as well satisfie your maiestie, and the world, as it shall glad and content me.

The queene of Scotland is your prisoner, let hir be honourable intreated, but yet surelie garded. The French king is French, you know it well enough, you will find him occupied when he should doo you good; he will not loose a pilgrimage to saue you a crowne. I haue no more to saie at this time, but that with my hart & soule I doo now honour & loue you, am inwardlie, sorrie for mine offense, and readie to make you amends by my death and patience. Discharge me *A culpa* but not *A pena*, good ladie. And so farewell, most gracious and the best natured and qualified queene that euer liued in England. From the Tower, the fourteenth of Februarie, one thousand five hundred eightie and four.

W. Parrie.

After which, to wit, the eighteenth of February last past, Parrie, in further acknowledging his wicked and intended treasons, wrote a letter all of his owne hand in like voluntarie manner to the lord treasurer of England, and the earle of Leicester, lord steward of hir maiesties house, the tenor whereof is as followeth.

### William Parries letter to the lord treasurer, and the earle of Leicester.

**M**y lords, now that the conspiracie is discovered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and mind prepared patientlie to suffer the paines due for so heinous a crime; I hope it shall not offend you, if crying *Miserere* with the poore publicane, I leaue to despair with cursed Caine. My case is rare and strange, and for anie thing I can remember, singular: a naturall subject solemnlie to vow the death of his naturall queene (so borne, so knowne, and so taken by all men) for the releefe of the afflicted catholikes, and restitution of religion. The matter first conceived in Venice, the seruice (in generall words) presented to the pope, continued and vndertaken in Paris, and lastlie commended and warranted by his holinesse, digested and resolved in England, if it had not bene preuented by accusation, or by hir maiesties greater lenitie and more gracious vface of hir catholike subjects.

This is my first and last offense conceived against my prince or countrie, and dooth (I cannot denie) containe all other faults whatsoever. It is now to be punished by death, or most graciouslie (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I doe confesse to haue deserued, life I doe (with all humilitie) craue, if it may stand with the queenes honor, and policie of the time. To leaue so great a treason vnpunished were strange; to drawe it by death in example were dangerous; a sworne seruant to take vpon him such an enterprise vpon such a ground, and by such a warrant, hath not bene scene in England; to indist him, arreigne him, bring him to the scaffold, and to publish his offense, can doo no good; to hope that he hath more to discover than is confessed, or that at his execution he will vnsaie anie thing he hath written, is in vaine; to conclude, that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were verie hard, and against former experience.

The question then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (least the matter be mistaken) vpon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though parciall) I will deliuer you my conscience. The case is good queene Elisabeths, the offense is committed against hir sacred person, and she may (of hir mercie) pardon it without preiudice to anie. Then this I say in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled conscience, than to liue: Pardon poore Parrie and releaue him; for life without liuing is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous, or dishonorable to the queenes maiestie (as by your fauors, I thinke it full of honor and mercie) then I beseech your lordships (and no other) once to heare me before I be indicted, and afterwards (if I must die) humble to intreat the queenes maiestie to hasten my trial and execution: which I praie God (with all my heart) may proue as honorable to hir, as I hope it shall be happie to me, who will while I liue (as I haue done alwaies) praie to Iesus Christ for hir maiesties long and prosperous reigne. From the Tower the eighteenth of Februarie, 1584.

W. Parrie.

And where in this meane time sir Francis Walsingham secretarie to hir maiestie, had dealt with one William Crettchton, a Scot for his birth, and a Jesuit by his profession, now prisoner also in the Tower, for that he was apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme, to understand of him, if the said Parrie had euer dealt with him in the parties beyond the seas touching that

Ar r r r r, li f, question,

I traitor of singular note by his owne confession was Parrie,

An offense sufficient to hang 1000 traitors with out drop of mercie.

Parrie had more glowing rhetoric than faithfull obedience.

God know with what heart might Parrie hope after anie thing but death, having bene so caught a traitor.

Crettchton apprehended with diuerse plots for inuasions of this realme,

God (no doubt) will preserve good queene Elisabeth, though a thousand such traitors as Parrie conspire hir death to their owne destruction.

Parries purpose conceived in Venice, continued in Lions, resolved in Paris, to be executed in England.

Neuell charged by Parrie to be accessary to the treason.

Compare these warnings with the events in Anno 1585, 1586, speciallie about August.

Parries guiltie conscience conuinceth it selfe by voluntarie confession.

the end,

as he is in the prison.

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question, whether it were lawfull to kill hir maie, yie or not. The which at that time the said Creitchton called not to his remembrance: yet after vpon better calling it to mind, vpon the twentieth date of February last past, he wrote vnto maister secretarie Walsingham thereof voluntarilie, all of his owne hand, to the effect following.

William Creitchtons letter to sir  
Francis Walsingham, Febr. 20.

**R**ight honorable sir, when your honor demanded me if maister Parrie did aske me, if it were leason to kill the queene; in deed and veritie, then I had no remembrance at all thereof. But since, thinking on the matter, I have called to mind the whole fashion of his dealing with me, and some of his arguments: for he dealt verie craftilie with me, I dare not say maliciouslie. For I did in no wise thinke of anie such deserie of his, or of anie other, and did answer him simple after my conscience and knowledge to the veritie of the question. For after that I had answered him twise before, *Quod omnino non liceret*; he returned late at euen by reason I was to depart earlie in the next morning toward Chamberie in Sauoie where I did remaine, and being returned out of the closse within one of the classes of the college, he proponed to me of new the matter, with his reasons and arguments.

Note Creitchtons report of Parries craft and malice.

Creitchtons reasons to report Parries traitorous allegations.

Deum magis amare aduerbia quam nomina.

Creitchton holdeth Parries attempt unlawfull: note.

Parrie saith and v. saith like a traitor to shift off the heauie charge of treason.

First he alleged the vilitie of the deed for deliuering of so manie catholikes out of miserie, and restitution of the catholike religion. I answered, that the scripture answered thereto, saing: *Non sunt facienda mala, ut veniant bona*. So that for no good, how great that euer it be, may be wrought anie euill, how little that euer it be. He replied that it was not euill to take awaie so great euill, and induce so great good. I answered, that all good is not to be doone, but that onelie: *Quod bene & legitime fieri potest*. And therefore, *dixi Deum magis amare aduerbia, quam nomina. Quia in actionibus magis ei placent bene & legitime, quam bonum. Ita ut nullum bonum liceat facere, nisi bene & legitime fieri possit. Quod in hoc casu fieri non potest*. Yet said he, that seuerall learned men were of the opinion, *Quod liceret*. I answered, that they men perhaps were of the opinion, that for the safetie of manie in soule and bodie, they would permit a particuler to his danger, & to the occult iudgement of God: or perhaps said so, moued rather by some compassion and commiseration of the miserable estate of the catholikes, nor for anie such doctrine that they did find in their bookes. For it is certaine, that such a thing is not licit to a particuler, without speciall reuelation diuine, which exceedeth our learning and doctrine. And so he departed from me. Out of the prison in the Tower, the 20 of Februarie.

Your honors poore seruitor in Christ  
Iesu, W. Creitchton prisoner.

**A**nd there also the same Parrie was on the same twentieth date of Februarie examined by sir Francis Walsingham knight, that was become of the letter contained in his confession to be written vnto him by the cardinall de Como: he then answered, that it was consumed and burnt. And yet after, the next date following, being more hebenientlie vrged vpon that point in examination (because it was knowne that it was not burnt) he confessed there he had left it in the towne: where vpon, by Parries direction it was sent for, where it had bene lapped by together with other frivulous papers, and written vpon the one side of it; The last will of William Parrie. The which letter was in the Italian tong as hereafter followeth, with the same in English accordingly translated.

Amon Signore, mon signor  
Guglielmo Parrie.



On Signore, la Santita di N.S. ha veduto le lettere di V.S. del primo con la fede inclusa, & non può se non landare la buona disposizione che serine di tenere verso il seruizio & beneficio publico, nel che la Santita sua lessorta di perseverare, con farne riuscire li effetti che V.S. promette: & accioche tanto maggiormente V.S. sia aiutata da quel buon spirito che l'ha mosso, le concede sua beneditione, plenaria indulgenza & remissione di tutti li peccati, secondo che V.S. ha chiesto, assicurandosi che oltre il merito, che n'ha uera in cielo, vuole anco sua Santitata costituirsi debitrice a riconoscere li meriti di V.S. in ogni miglior modo che porta, & cio tanto piu, quanto che V.S. usa maggior modestia in non pretendere niente. Metta dunque ad effetto li suoi santi & honorati pensieri, & attenda a star sano. Che per fine io me le offerro di core, & le desiderio ogni buono & felice successo. Di Roma a 30 di Gennaro, 1584.

Al piacer di V.S.

N. cardinali di Como.

Al sig. Guglielmo Parrie.

Cardinall de Comos letter to D.  
Parrie, 30. Ian. 1584 by account  
of Rome.



On signor, his holinesse hath seene your letter of the first, with the certificat included, and cannot but commend the good disposition & resolution which you write to hold towards the seruice and benefit publicke: & wherein his holines dooth exhort you to perieue, & to bring to effect that which you haue promised. And to the end you may be so much the more holpen by that good spirit which hath moued you thereto, he granteth vnto you his blessing, plenarie indulgence and remission of all your sinnes, according to your request. Assuring you, that besides the merit that you shall receiue therfore in heauen, his holines will further make him selfe debtor to acknowledge your desertings in the best maner that he can: and so much the more, in that you vse the greater modestie in not pretending anie thing. Put therefore to effect your holie and honorable purposes, and attend your health. And to conclude, I offer my selfe vnto you hartlie, and doe desire all good and happie success. From Rome the 30 of Ianuarie, 1584.

At the pleasure of your Signorie,  
N. Card. of Como.

**V**pon all which former accusation, declaration, confessions and pokes, vpon mondate the two and twentieth date of Februarie last past, at Westminster hall, before sir Christopher Wrate knight chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard knight master of the rolles, sir Edmund Anderson knight chiefe iustice of the common ples, sir Roger Danward knight chiefe baron of the exchequer, sir Thomas Watdie knight one of the iustices of the ples before hir maiestie to be holden, & William Periam one of the iustices of the common ples, by vertue of hir maiesties commission to them and others in that behalfe directed: the same Parrie was indicted of high treason, for intending and practising the death and destruction of hir maiestie, whome God long prosper, and pferue from all such wicked attempts. The tenor of which indictment appeareth more particularlie in the course of his arraignment following.

The maner of the arraignment of William Parrie the 25 of Februarie 1584, at Westminster

the names of such persons as were present at the arraignment of Parrie.

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minister, in the place where the court commonlie called the Kings bench is vsuallie kept by vertue of hir maiesties commission of oier and terminer, before Henrie lord Hunsdon gouernour of Barwike, sir Francis Knolles knight treasurer of the queenes maiesties household, sir James Croft knight comptrollor of the same household, sir Christopher Harton knight vicechamberleine to hir maiestie, sir Christopher Wraie knight chiefe iustice of England, sir Gilbert Gerrard knight master of the rolls, sir Edmund Anderson knight chiefe iustice of the common ples, sir Roger Manwood knight chiefe baron of the exchequer, and sir Thomas Hennage knight treasurer of the chamber.



**I**n these proclamations for silence were made, according to the vsuall course in such cases. Then the lieutenant was commanded to returne his precept, who did so, and brought the prisoner to the bar, to whom Miles Sands esquier clerke of the crowne said; William Parrie hold up thy hand: and he did so. Then said the clerke of the crowne; Thou art here indicted by the othe of twelve good and lawfull men of the countie of Spolester, before sir Christopher Wraie knight and others, which toke the indictment by the name of W. Parrie, late of London gentleman, otherwise called W. Parrie, late of London doctor of the law, for that thou as a false traitor against the most noble and christian prince, queene Elisabeth thy most gracious soueraine and liege ladie, not hauing the feare of God before thine eyes, nor regarding thy due allegiance (but being seduced by the instigation of the diuell, and intending to withstand and extinguish the hartie loue and due obedience, which true & faithfull subiects should beare vnto the same our soueraine ladie) diddest at Westminster in the countie of Spolester on the first daie of Februarye, in the six and twentieth yeare of hir highnesse reigne, and at diuerse other times and places in the same countie, maliciouslie, and traitorously conspire and compass, not onelie to deprive and depose the same our soueraine ladie of hir roiall estate, title and dignitie, but also to bring hir highnesse to death and final destruction, and sedition in the realme to make, and the gouernement thereof to subuert, and the sincere religion of God established in hir highnesse dominions to alter and supplant.

Parrie sent  
letters to  
Gregorie the  
bishop of  
Rome: and  
what was the  
scope of them.

Parrie must  
be shewd to  
this man in  
his treasons.

And that, whereas thou William Parrie, by thy letters sent vnto Gregorie bishop of Rome, diddest signifie vnto the same bishop thy purposes and intentions aforesaid, and thereby diddest prae and requite the same bishop to giue thee absolution; that thou afterwards, that is to saie, the last day of March in the six and twentieth yeare aforesaid, diddest traitorously receiue letters from one called cardinall be Como, directed vnto thee William Parrie, whereby the same cardinall did signifie vnto thee, that the bishop of Rome had perused thy letters, and allowed of thine intent; and that to that end he had absolved thee of all thy sinnes, and by the same letter did animate and stir thee to proceed with thine enterprise; and that thereupon, thou, the last daie of August in the six and twentieth yeare aforesaid, at saint Giles in the fields, in the same countie of Spolester, diddest traitorously confer with one Edmund Penill esquier, bitering to him all thy wicked and traitorous deuises, and then and there diddest moue him to assist thee therein, and to ioine with thee in those wicked treasons aforesaid, against the peace of our said soueraine ladie the queene, hir crowne and dignitie. Wherefore thou William Parrie, art thou guiltie of these treasons whereof thou standest here indicted, or not guiltie?

Then Parrie said; Before I plead not guiltie, or confesse my selfe guiltie, I prae you giue me leaue to speake a few words: and with humbling himselfe began in this manner. God saue queene Elisabeth, & God send me grace to discharge my dutie to hir, and to send you home in charitie. But touching the matters that I am indicted of, some were in one place, and some in another, and done so secretlie, as none can see into them, except that they had eyes like vnto God: therefore I will not laie my blood vpon the storie, but doe mind to confesse the indictment. It containeth but the parts that haue bene openlie read, I prae you tell me. Where vnto it was answered, that the indictment contained the parts he had heard read, & no other. Whereupon the clerke of the crowne said vnto Parrie, Parrie, thou must answer directly to the indictment, whether thou be guiltie or not.

Then said Parrie, I do confesse that I am guiltie of all that is therein contained: and further too, I desire not life, but desire to die. Vnto which the clerke of the crowne said; If you confesse it, you must confesse it in maner and forme as it is compysed in the indictment. Wherevnto he said; I do confesse it in maner and forme as the same is set downe, and all the circumstances thereof. Then the confession being recorded, the queenes learned counsell being ready to prae iudgement vpon the same confession, maister vicechamberleine said: These matters contained in this indictment, and confessed by this man, are of great importance; they touch the person of the queenes most excellent maiestie in the highest degree, the heere state and welth of the whole commonwealth, and the truth of Gods word established in these hir maiesties dominions, and the open demonstration of that capitall enuie of the man of Rome, that hath set himselfe against God and all godlinesse, all god princes and god gouernement, and against good men. Wherefore I prae you for the satisfaction of this great multitude, let the whole matter appere, that euerie one may see that the matter of it selfe is as bad as the indictment purporteth, and as he hath confessed.

Whereunto in respect that the iustice of the realme hath bene of late verie impudentlie slandered, all paelled as a thing necessarie to satifis the world in particular, of that which was but summarilie compysed in the indictment, though in the law, his confession serued sufficientlie to haue proceeded thereupon vnto iudgement. Whereupon the lords and others the commissioners, hir maiesties learned counsell, and Parrie himselfe agreed, that Parries confession (taken the eleventh and thirtenth of Februarye 1584, before the lord of Hunsdon, maister vicechamberleine, and maister Secretarie) and cardinall be Como his letters, and Parries letters to the lord treasurer and lord steward, should be openlie read.

And Parrie, for the better satisfieng of the people and standers by, offered to read them himselfe: but being told how the order was, that the clerke of the crowne should read them, it was so resolved of all parts. And then maister vicechamberleine caused to be shewed to Parrie his said confession, the cardinals letter, and his owne letter aforesaid: which after he had particularlie viewed euerie leafe thereof, he confessed, and said openlie they were the same. Then said maister vicechamberleine; Before we proceed to shew what he hath confessed, what saie you (saie be to Parrie) is that which you haue confessed here true, and did you confesse it frelie and willinglie of your selfe, or was there any extort means used to draw it from you? Surelie (saie Parrie) I made that confession frelie without any constraint, and that is all true, and more too: for there is no treason that hath bene since the first yeare of the queene anie waie touching

Parrie an-  
ner to the  
indictment,  
whereby he  
confesseth it.

Parrie con-  
fesseth that he  
is guiltie of  
all things con-  
tained in the  
indictment.

Sir Christo-  
pher Hartons  
collection out  
of Parries  
indictment.

Certaine spe-  
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Parries con-  
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Voluntaria: ergo  
more credib-

touching religion, saving receipt of *Agnus Dei*, and persuading of others, wherein I haue not much dealt, but I haue offended in it. And I haue also deliuered mine opinion in writing, who ought to be successor to the crowne: which he said to be treason also.

Barries confession of his treasons was read by his owne assent, A letter of cardinal di Como vnto Barrie also read.

Then his confession of the eleventh and thirteenth of Februarie, all of his owne handwriting, and befoze particularlie set downe, was openlie and distinctly read by the clerke of the crowne. And that done, the cardinall di Como his letter in Italian was deliuered vnto Barries hand, by the direction of maister vicechamberleine, which Barrie there perused, & openlie affirmed to be whole of the cardinals owne handwriting, and the seale to be his owne also, and to be with a cardinals hat on it: and himselfe did openlie read it in Italian, as befoze is set downe. And the words bearing sense as it were written to a bishop: or to a man of such degree, it was demanded of him by maister vicechamberleine, whether he had not taken the degree of a bishop? He said, No: but said at first, those termes were proper to the degree he had taken: and after said that the cardinall did boughse as of a fauour to write so to him. Then the copie of that letter in English as befoze is also set downe, was in like manner openlie read by the clerke of the crowne, which Barrie then acknowledged to be trulie translated. And thereupon was shewed vnto Barrie his letter of the eighteenth of Februarie, written to the lord treasurer, and the lord steward: which he confessed to be all of his owne handwriting, and was as befoze is set downe.

Barries letter of the eighteenth of Februarie to the lord treasurer and the earle of Leice-ster read.

These matters being read openlie for manifestation of the matter, Barrie prayed leaue to speake; whereto maister vicechamberleine said: If you will saie anie thing for the better opening to the world of those your soule and horrible facts, speake on: but if you meane to make anie excuse of that which you haue confessed, which else would haue bene and do stand proued against you; for my part, I will not sit to heare you. When his maiesties attorne generall stood vp and said: It appeareth befoze you my lords, that this man hath bene indicted and arraigned of severall most heinous and horrible treasons, and hath confessed them, which is befoze you of record: wherfore there resteth no more to be done, but for the court to giue iudgement accordinglie, which here I require in the behalfe of the queenes maiestie. Then said Barrie, I praye you heare me for discharging of my conscience; I will not go about to excuse my selfe, nor to seke to saue my life; I care not for it, you haue my confession of record, that is enough for my life: and I meane to bitter more, for which I were worthy to die; and said: I praye you heare me, in that I am to speake to discharge my conscience. Then said maister vicechamberleine; Barrie, then do thy dutie according to conscience, and bitter all that thou canst saie concerning those thy most wicked facts.

Then said Barrie: My cause is rare, singular and vnnaturall, conceived at Venice, presented in generall wordes to the pope, vnder taken at Paris, commended and allowed of by his holinesse, and was to haue bene executed in England, if it had not bene prevented. Yea, I haue committed manie treasons, for I haue committed treason in being reconciled, and treason in taking absolution. There hath bene no treason since the first yeare of the queenes reigne touching religion, but that I am guiltie of (except for receiuing of *Agnus Dei*, & persuading as I haue said) and yet neuer intended to kill queene Elisabeth. I appeale to hir owne knowledge and to my lord treasurer and maister secretaries. Then said my lord of Hunsdon: Hast thou acknowledged it so often, and so plainlie in writing vnder thy hand, and here of

Barrie had for his credit a lorde time said true secretlie, that he had bene solicited

record; and now, when thou shouldest haue thy iudgement according to that which thou hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of, dost thou go backe againe, and denie the effect of all? How can we beleue that thou now saiest?

Then said maister vicechamberleine: This is absurd, thou hast not onelie confessed generallie, that thou wert guiltie according to the indictment, which summarlie, and yet in expresse wordes both confirme that thou haddest traitorouslie compassed and intended the death & destruction of hir maiestie: but thou also saidst particularlie that thou wert guiltie of euerie of the treasons contained therein, wherof the same was one in plaine & expresse letter set downe, and read vnto thee; Yea thou saidst that thou wert guiltie of more treasons to beside these; And diddest thou not vpon thy examination voluntarilie confesse, how thou wast moued first therunto by mislike of thy state after thy departure out of the realme? And that thou diddest mislike hir maiestie for that she had done nothing for thee? How by wicked papists and popish bookes thou wert persuaded that it was lawfull to kill hir maiestie? How thou wert by reconciliation become one of that wicked sort, that held hir maiestie for neither lawfull queene, nor christian? And that it was meritorious to kill hir? And diddest thou not signifie that thy purpose to the pope by letters, and receiuedst letters from the cardinall, how he allowed of thine intent, and excited thee to performe it, and thereupon diddest receiue absolution? And diddest thou not conceiue it, promise it, vow it, sweare it, and receiue the sacrament that thou wouldest do it? And diddest not thou thereupon as firme, that thy bowes were in heauen, and thy letters and promises on earth to bind thee to do it? And that what soener hir maiestie would haue done for thee, could not haue remoued thee from that intention or purpose, vntlesse she would haue desisted from dealing as she hath done with the catholikes, as thou callest them? All this thou hast plainlie confessed; and I protest befoze this great assemblie, thou hast confessed it more plainlie & in better sort, than my memorie will serue me to utter: and saiest thou now, that thou neuer meantest it?

Ah (said Barrie) your honours know how my confession vpon mine examination was extorted. Then both the lord Hunsdon and maister vicechamberleine affirmed, that there was no torture or threatening wordes offered him. But Barrie then said, that they told him, that if he would not confesse willingly, he should haue torture. Wherevnto their honours answered, that they vsed not anie speech or word of torture to him. Then said Barrie, that you would proceed with rigour against me, if I would not confesse it of my selfe. But their honours expresse affirmed that they vsed no such wordes. But I will tell thee, said maister vicechamberleine, what we said; I spake these wordes: If you will willingly bitter the truth of your selfe, it may do you good, and I wish you to do so; if you will not, we must then proceed in ordinarie course to take your examination. Wherevnto you answered, that you would tell the truth of your selfe. Was not this true? Which then he yielded vnto. And herevnto, hir maiesties attourne generall put Barrie in remembrance what speeches he vsed to the lieutenant of the Tower, the queenes maiesties sergeant at law, M. Candie, and the same attourne on saturday the twentieth of Februarie last at the Tower, vpon that he was by them then examined by order from the lords: which was, that he acknowledged he was most mildlie and fauourably dealt with, in all his examinations: which he also at the bar then acknowledged to be true.

Then maister vicechamberleine said, that it was wonder

Note all this charge of maister vicechamberleine to be acceptation of all of most the treasons of Barrie

Barrie charged the lords of the council with untruth.

Barrie was proued of false speeches, and so by himselfe also confessed.

Cham quare left by shop.

Cham quare left by shop.

Cham quare left by shop.

Cham quare left by shop.

The magnanimitie of the queenes maiestie notified by hir Chancery.

wonder to see the magnanimitie of hir maiestie, which after that thou haddest opened those traitorous practises in fort as thou hast laid it downe in thy confession, was neuertheless such, and so far from all feare, as that she would not so much as acquaint anie one of hir highnesse priue counsell with it, to his knowlege, no not untill after this thine enterpryse discovered and made manifest. And besides that which thou hast let downe vnder thine owne hand, thou diddest confesse, that thou haddest prepared two Scottish daggers fit for such a purpose: and those being disposed awaie by thee, thou diddest saie that another would serue thy turne. And withall, Barrie, diddest thou not also confesse before vs how wonderfullie thou wert appalled and perplexed vpon a sudden at the presence of hir maiestie at Hampton court this last summer, saeing that thou diddest thinke thou then sawest in hir the verie likenesse and image of king Henrie the seventh: And that therewith, and vpon some speeches vsed by hir maiestie, thou diddest turne about and wepe bitterlie to thy selfe: And yet diddest call to mind that thy bowes were in heauen, thy letters and promises on earth; and that therefore thou diddest saie with thy selfe, that there was no remedie but to do it: Diddest thou not confesse this? The which he acknowledged.

The lord of Hunsdon's speeches concerning Barrie manifestlie of his treason.

Then said the lord Hunsdon; Safest thou now, that thou diddest neuer meane to kill the queene? Diddest thou not confesse, that when thou diddest utter this practise of trecherie to hir maiestie, that thou diddest couer it with all the skill thou haddest; and that it was done by thee, rather to get credit and access therby, than for anie regard thou haddest of hir person? But in truth thou diddest it, that thereby thou mightest haue better opportunitie to perforce thy wicked enterpryse. And wouldest thou haue run into such feare as thou diddest confesse that thou wert in, when thou diddest utter it, if thou haddest neuer meant it? What reason canst thou shew for thy selfe? With that he cried out in a furious manner: I neuer meant to kill hir: I will laie my blood vpon queene Elisabeth and you, before God and the world: and therevpon fell into a rage and e, till words with the queenes maiesties attourneie generall. Then said the lord Hunsdon, This is but thy popish pride & ostentation, which thou wouldest haue to be told to thy fellowes of that faction, to make them beleue that thou diest for poperie, when thou diest for most horrible and dangerous treasons against hir maiestie, and thy whole countrie. For thy laies of thy blood, it must lie on thine owne head, as a iust reward of thy wickednesse. The lawes of the realme most iustlie condemne thee to die out of thine owne mouth, for conspiring the destruction both of hir maiestie, and of vs all: therefore thy blood be vpon thee: neither hir maiestie, nor we at anie time sought it; thy selfe hast spilt it.

Barrie abuses the honorable and worshipfull of the bench with termes vncomely and barbe speeches.

When he was asked what he could saie, why iudgement of death ought not to be awarded against him: Wherefo he said, he did see that he must die, because he was not settled. What meanest thou by that, said maister vicechamberleine: Said he, I looke into your studie, and into your new bookes, and you shall find what I meane. I protest (said his honor) I know not what thou meanest: thou dost not well to vse such darke speeches, vnlesse thou wouldest plainelie utter what thou meanest thereby. But he said, he cared not for death, and that he would laie his blood amongst them. Then spake the lord chiefe iustice of England, being required to giue iudgement according to law, and said; Barrie, you haue bene much heard, and what you meane by being settled, I know not; but I see you are so settled in poperie, that you cannot settle your selfe to be a good sub-

iect. But touching that you should saie to state iudgement from being giuen against you, your speeches must be of one of these kinds; either to proue the indictment (which you haue confessed to be true) to be insufficient in law; or else to please somewhat touching hir maiesties mercie, why iustice should not be done of you. All other speeches wherein you haue vsed great libertie, is more than by law you can aske. These be the matters you must looke to, what saie you to them? Wherefo he said nothing.

More libertie of speech giuen to Barrie than by law was allowable.

Then said the lord chiefe iustice; Barrie, thou hast bene before this time indicted of diuerse most horrible and hateful treasons, committed against thy most gracious soueraigne, and native countrie: the matter most detestable, the maner most subtil and dangerous, and the occasions and meanes that lead thee thereinto most vngodlie and villanous. That thou diddest intend it, it is most euiden by thy selfe. The matter was the destruction of a most sacred and anointed queene thy soueraigne and mistress, who hath shewed thee such fauour, as some thy better haue not obtained: yea, the ouerthrow of thy countrie wherein thou wert borne, & of a most hapie common-wealth whereof thou art a member, and of such a queene, as hath bestowed on thee the benefit of all benefits in this world (that is to saie) thy life, heretofore granted thee by hir mercie when thou hadst lost it by iustice & desert. Yet thou hir servant sworne to defend hir, mentest with thy bloudie hand to haue taken awaie hir life, that mercifullie gaue thee thine, when it was yielded into hir hands. This is the matter wherein thou hast offended.

Barries treasons recapitulated by the lord chiefe iustice, both for maner and matter.

The maner was most subtil and dangerous, beyond all that before thee haue committed anie wickednesse against hir maiestie: for thou making shew as if thou wouldest simple haue uttered for hir safetie the euill that others had contriued, diddest but seke thereby credit & access, that thou mightest take the apter opportunitie for hir destruction. And for the occasions and meanes that drew thee on, they were most vngodlie and villanous: as the persuasions of the pope, of papists, and popish bookes. The pope pretendeth that he is a pastor, when as in truth he is far from feeding of the flocke of Christ, but rather as a wolfe seeketh but to feed on & to sucke out the blood of true christians, and as it were thirsteth after the blood of our most gracious and christian queene. And these papists and popish bookes, while they pretend to set forth diuinitie, they do indeed most vngodlie teach and persuade that which is quite contrarie both to God and his word. For the word teacheth obedience of subiects toward princes, & forbiddeth anie priuat man to kill; but they teach subiects to disobey princes, & that a priuat wicked person may kill. Yea & whome? a most godlie queene, & their owne naturall and most gracious soueraigne. Let all men therfore take heed how they receiue any thing from him, heare or read anie of their bookes, and how they confer with anie papists. God grant hir maiestie, that she maie know by thee, how euer the trust such like to come so nere hir person!

The occasions and meanes that induced Barrie to these treasons.

The danger & damnable ness, of popish bookes which teach disobedience to princes, & that a priuat wicked person may kill.

But see the end, and why thou diddest it, and it will appeare to be a most miserable, fearefull, and foolish thing: for thou diddest imagine, that it was to releue those that thou callest catholikes, who were most likelie amongst all others to haue felt the worst of it, if thy diuinitie practise had taken effect. But why thou hast bene indicted of the treasons compassed in the indictment, and therevpon arraigned, and hast confessed thy selfe guiltie of them; the court doth a-ward, that thou shalt be had from hence to the place whence thou diddest come, and so drawne through the open citie of London vpon an hurdle to the place of execution, and there to be hanged and let downe

The forme of indictment against the traitor pronounced by the lord chiefe iustice.

aline, and thy priuie parts cut off, and thy entrails taken out and burnt in thy sight, then thy head to be cut off, and thy bodie to be diuided in foure parts, and to be disposed at hir maiesties pleasure: and God haue merite on thy soule.

Barrie vagerth at the iustice bar without all reuerence.

William Barrie the traitor executed.

Barrie (even at the time of his death) seeketh to cleare and purge himselfe as innocent of the treasons for the which he was condemned.

Barrie neuertheless persisted still in his rage and fond speech, and raginglie there said, he there summoned queene Elisabeth to answer for his blood before God: wherewith the lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to take him from the barre: and so he did. And upon his departure, the people stricken as it were at heart with the horror of his intended enterpryse, ceased not, but pursued him with outcries, as; Awaite with the traitor, awaite with him, & such like: wherupon he was conueied to the barge, to passe to the Tower againe by water: & the court was adioyned. After which, upon the second daie of this instant March, William Barrie was by vertue of procelle in that behalfe awarded from the same commissioners of oier and terminer, deliuered by the lieutenant of the Tower erlie in the morning vnto the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, who receiued him at the Tower hill, and thereupon, according to the iudgement, caused him there to be forthwith set on the hurdle: from whence he was drawne thereupon through the middell of the citie of London, vnto the place for his execution in the palace at Westminster: where, hauing long time of state admitted vnto him before his execution, he most maliciouslie and impudentlie, after some other vaine discourses of fowles & often deliuered in speech, that he was neuer guiltie of anie intention to kill queene Elisabeth, and so (without anie request made by him to the people to pray to God for him, or praier published vnto him by himselfe for ought that appeared: but such as he used, if he used anie, was priuat to himselfe) he was executed according to the iudgement. And now for his intent, how soeuer he pretended the contrarie in words, yet by these his owne writings, confessions, letters, & manie other pases afore here expessed, it is most manifest to all persons, how horrible his intentions and treasons were, and how iustlie he suffered for the same: and thereby greatlie to be doubted, that as he had liued a long time vaine and vngodlie, and like an atheist and godlesse man, so he continued the same course till his death to the outward sight of men. & Here endeth the true and plaine course and procelle of the treasons, arrest, arreignment, and execution of William Barrie the traitor.

### An addition not vnneccessarie for this purpose.

As much as Barrie in the abundance of his proud and arrogant humour, hath often both in his confession, and letters, pretended some great and grieuous causes of discontentment against hir maiestie, and the present state: it shall not be impertinent, for better satisfaction of all persons, to set forth simple and true, the condition and qualite of the man, what he was by birth and education, and in what course of life he had liued. This vile and traitorous wretch was one of the younger sonnes of a poore man, called Barrie ap Dauid: he dwelled in Southwales in a little village called Northop in the countie of Flint: there he kept a common alehouse, which was the best and greatest state of his liuing. In that house was this traitor borne, his mother was the reputed daughter of one Contwaie a priest, parson of a poore parish called Walkin in the same countie of Flint: his eldest brother dwelleth at this present in the same house, and there keepeth an alehouse as his father did before him. This traitor in his childhood

A description of Barrie both by lineage person, education, and quality, &c.

some as he had learned a litle to write and read, was put to serue a poore man dwelling in Chester, named John Fisher, who professed to haue some small skill and vnderstanding in the law. With him he continued diuerse yeares, and serued as a clerke, to write such things as in that trade, which his master used, he was appointed.

Barrie before he began his clerke brought by.

During this time, he learned the English tongue, and at such times of leasure as the poore man his master had no occasion otherwise to vse him, he was suffered to go to the grammar schoole, where he got some litle vnderstanding in the Latine tongue. In this his childhood he was noted by such as best knew him, to be of a most villainous and dangerous nature & disposition. He did often run awaie from his master, and was often taken & brought to him againe. His master, to correct his peruerse and froward conditions, did manie times shut him as prisoner in some close place of his house, and manie times caused him to be chained, locked, and clogged, to staie his running awaie. Yet all was in vaine: for about the third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, for his last farewell to his poore master, he ran awaie from him, and came to London to seeke his aduentures. He was then constrained to seeke what trade he could to liue by, and to get meat and drinke for his bellie, and clothes for his backe.

Barrie a verie runnaway and bawling robbet in his young yeares.

His god hap in the end was to be interteined in place of seruice about his desert, where he staied not long, but shifted himselfe diuerse times from seruice to seruice, and from one master to another. Now he began to forget his old home, his birth, his education, his parents, his friends, his owne name, and what he was. He aspired to greater matters, he challenged the name and title of a great gentleman, he wanted himselfe to be of kin and alied to noble and worshipfull, he left his old name which he did beare, and was commonlie called by in his childhood, & during all the time of his abode in the countie, which was William ap Barrie (as the manner in Wales is.) And because he would seeme to be in deed the man which he pretended, he took vpon him the name of Barrie, being the surname of diuerse gentlemen of great worship and honour. And because his mothers name by his father a simple priest, was Contwaie: he pretended himselfe to the familie of Sir John Contwaie, and so thereby made himselfe of kin to Edmund Penill.

Note Barries ambition, and how the priest forgetteth that ever he was parish clerke.

Being thus set forth with his new name and new title of gentleman, and commended by some of his god fauours, he matched himselfe in marriage with a widow in Southwales, who brought him some reasonable portion of wealth. She liued with him but a short time, and the welth he had with hir lasted not long: it was soon consumed with his dissolute and wastfull manner of life. He was then driven to his wanted shifts, his creditors were manie, the debt which he owed great, he had nothing wherewith to make payment, he was continually pursued by sergeants and officers to arrest him, he did often by sleights and shifts escape from them. In this his needie and poore estate, he sought to repara himselfe againe by a new match in marriage with another widow, which before was the wife of one Richard Westwood.

Barrie matcheth himselfe in marriage with a widow in Southwales.

Barrie a shifter, in debt & danger: he marryeth a rich widow, &c.

This matter was so earnestlie followed by himselfe, and so effectually commended by his friends and fauourers, that the illie woman yielded to take him to husband: a match in euerie respect verie vnequall and vnst. His wealth and peacelie liuelihood was verie great, his poore and base estate worse than nothing, he verie young, the of such age as for yeares he might haue bene his mother. When he had thus possessed himselfe of his new wifes wealth, he omitted

Barrie before he began his clerke brought by.

Barrie a verie runnaway and bawling robbet in his young yeares.

Barrie a verie runnaway and bawling robbet in his young yeares.

Barrie a verie runnaway and bawling robbet in his young yeares.

Barrie a verie runnaway and bawling robbet in his young yeares.



Barrie be-  
cloatheth his  
owne  
daughter, and  
sundry waies  
aboleth the  
old mother.

ted nothing that might serue for a prodigall, diso-  
lute, and most vngodlie course of life. His riot and  
excesse was vnruefullable, he did most wickedlie  
despise his wiues owne daughter, and sundrie  
waies pittfullie abuse the old mother: he caried him-  
selfe for his outward port and countenance (so long  
as his old wiues bags lasted) in such sort, as might  
well haue sufficed for a man of verie god hauour  
and degre. But this lasted not long, his proud hart  
& wastfull hand had sone potwred out old wetwoods  
wealth.

He then fell againe to his wonted thirst, borow-  
ed where he could find anie to lend, and ingaged his  
credit so far as anie would trust him. Amongst o-  
thers, he became greatlie indebted to Hugh Hare,  
the gentleman before named. Who after long forbea-  
ring of his monie, sought to reconer it by law. For  
this cause Barrie conceiued great displeasure a-  
gainst him, which he pursued with all malice, euen  
to the taking of his life. In this murderous intent,  
he came in the night time to Hares chamber in  
the Temple, broke open the doore, assaulted him, and  
wounded him grievouslie, and so left him in great  
danger of life. For this offence he was apprehended,  
committed to prison, indicted of burglarie, ar-  
reigned, and found guiltie by a verie substantiall iu-  
rie, and condemned to be hanged, as the law in that  
case requirerh.

Barrie con-  
demned for  
burglarie, is  
pardoned of  
the queene.

He standing thus convicted, his maiestie of his  
most gracious clemencie, and pittfull disposition,  
toke compassion vpon him, pardoned his offense,  
& gaue him his life, which by the law & due course of  
iustice he ought then to haue lost. After this he taried  
not long, but pretending some causes of discontent-  
ment, departed the realme, and trauelled beyond the  
seas. How he demeaned himselfe there from time  
to time, and with whom he conuered, is partlie in  
his owne confession touched before. This is the man,  
this is his race, which he feared should be spotted if he  
miscaried in the execution of his traitorous enter-  
prise, this hath bene the course of his life, these are  
the great causes of his discontentment.

Barrie pre-  
tended a con-  
science of re-  
ligion, being  
buriedd pro-  
fessing and of  
no religion.

And whereas at his arreinment and execution,  
he pretended great care of the disobedient popish sub-  
iects of this realme, whom he called catholikes, and  
in verie insolent sort seemed to glorie greatlie in  
the profession of his pretended catholike religion: the  
whole course and action of his life sheweth plainelie,  
how prophane & irreligious he did alwaies beare  
himselfe. He boasted, that for these two and twentie  
yeares past he had bene a catholike, and during all  
that time neuer refused the communion: yet before  
he trauelled beyond the seas, at thre severall times  
within the compasse of these two and twentie yeares,  
he did voluntarilie take the oth of obedience to the  
quenes maiestie, set downe in the statute made in  
the first yeare of his highnesse reigne; by which, a-  
mongst other things, he did testifie and declare in his  
conscience, that no forreine prince, person, prelat,  
state, or potentat, hath or ought to haue anie iuris-  
diction, power, preeminence, or authoritie, ecclesiasti-  
call or spirituall, within this realme; and therefore did  
utterlie renounce & forsake all forreine iurisdiccions,  
powers, and authorities, and did promise to beare  
faith and true allegiance to the quenes highnesse,  
his betres and lawfull successors.

With what conscience or religion he toke that  
oth so often, if so be he were then a papist in deed, as  
since the discouerie of his treasons he pretended, let  
his best friends the papists themselves iudge. But  
perhaps it may be said, that he repented those his of-  
fenses past: that since those thre oths so taken by  
him, he was thus reconciled to the pope, and so his  
conscience cleared, and he become a new man, and

Barries ho-  
mancie oth  
(thyle taken  
in 22 yeares)  
of obedience to  
his maiestie.

And this is  
most like, for  
what will not  
the pope  
pardon  
misdeeds

(which is more) that in the time of his last trauell, he  
cast awaie all his former lewd manners: that he  
changed his degre and habit, and bought or begged  
the graue title of a doctor of law, for which he was  
well qualified with a little grammar schole Latine:  
that he had plenarie indulgence and remission of all  
his sinnes, in consideration of his vnder taking of so  
holie an enterprise as to kill queene Elisabeth, a sa-  
cred annointed quene, his naturall and souereigne  
ladie: that he promised to the pope, & vowed to God  
to performe it: that he confirmed the same by re-  
ceiuing the sacrament at the Jesuits, at one altar  
with his two beauperes, the cardinals of Clandosme  
and Harbone: and that since his last returne into  
England, he did take his oth vpon the bible to execut  
it. These reasons may seeme to beare some weight  
in deed amongst his friends the Jesuits, and other pa-  
pists of state, who haue speciall skill in matters of  
such importance.

But now latelie in the beginning of this parle-  
ment in November last, he did effronterly in publike  
place take the oth before mentioned, of o-  
bedience to his maiestie. How that maie stand with  
his reconciliations to the pope, and with his promi-  
ses, vowes, and oth to kill the queene, it is a thing  
can hardlie be warranted, vnlesse it be by some spe-  
ciall priuilege of the popes omnipotentie. But let  
him haue the glorie he desired, to liue and die a pa-  
pist. He deserued it, it is fit for him, his death was  
correspondent to the course of his life, which was dis-  
solall, perjured, and traitorous towards his maie-  
stie; and false and perfidious towards the pope him-  
selfe, and his catholikes, if they will beleue his so-  
lemne protestations which he made at his arreinme-  
nt and execution, that he neuer meant nor intend-  
ed anie hurt to his highnesse person. For if that be  
true, where are then his vowes which he said were in  
heauen, his letters and promises vpon earth: Why  
hath he stolen out of the popes shop so large an in-  
dulgence and plenarie remission of all his sinnes,  
and meant to performe nothing that he promised?  
Why was his deuotion and zeale so highlie commen-  
ded? Why was he so speciallie praised for and remem-  
bered at the altar? All these great fauours were then  
bestowed vpon him without cause or desert: for he  
deceiued the pope, he deceiued the cardinals and Je-  
suits with a false semblance and pretense to doe that  
thing which he neuer meant.

Barries two  
beauperes the  
cardinals of  
Clandosme  
& Harbone.

What a nota-  
ble dissemble  
was this?

Barrie peti-  
red towards  
his maiestie &  
perfidious to  
the pope, &c.

So trust nos  
certeine deas-  
ing bled by  
Barrie to op  
fro.

But the matter is cleere, the conspiracie, and his  
traitorous intent is too plaine and euident: it is the  
Lord that reuealed it in time, and preuented their  
malice: there lacked no will or readinesse in him to  
execute that horrible fact. It is the Lord that hath  
preserued his maiestie from all the wicked practises  
and conspiracies of that hellish rable: it is he that  
hath most graciously deliuered him from the hands  
of this traitorous miscreant. The Lord is his onelic  
defense in whome he hath alwaies trusted, he will  
defend his maiestie, and fulfill for his sake no lesse  
than god king Dauid (sundry times adaltd with  
falseharted enemies) and all his subiects will har-  
tille praise for; namely such vengeance and heauie  
measure of iudgement to be proportioned and allot-  
ted them, as is wished against the malicious wic-  
ked in the eight and fiftith psalme, effectuallie set  
downe by the Paraphrast in these words following:

Confringe malas (o Deus) impudens  
Os comminatus contere dentibus:

Et rictibus sauis hiantes

Hos inhibe catulos leonum, &c.

Sensim liquecant, tardigradus velut

Limax: acerbo funere deserant

Fitale lumen, more fatius

Ante suum percussit ortum, &c.

Buch. in psalm.  
58.

A few obseruations gathered out of the  
verie words and writings of William Parrie the  
traitor, applied to proue his traitorous coniuration,  
with a resolute intent, imagination, purpose, and obstinate de-  
termination to haue killed hir maiestie, our most  
gratious soueraigne: whom the Lord hath  
faued, and euer maie he faue by  
his mercie.



**T**his William Parrie the traitor, 1 con-  
fesseth to haue conceived the treason at  
Venice, by conference with B. Palmio,  
of whome he still thinketh so well, as he  
can not but speake of him with reuerend mention;  
whereas, if he had neuer thought, or did now fore-  
thinke the treason, he would rather curse the time  
that euer he met with such a bloudie and treacherous  
ghostlie father. Well, this graue and learned frier  
Palmio (saith he) made the matter clere in religion  
and conscience, and commended the traitors deno-  
tion. This treason Parrie so apprehended, as he  
wrote presentlie to the pope, presenting the seruice.  
2 Returning to Paris, he conferred with Morgan,  
bowed to performe it for restitution of England, &c.  
3 Being dissuaded (as the credible man writeth) by  
Watts, he replied that he was gone so farre, as he  
could not go backe, but promised faithfullie to per-  
forme the enterpryse, if the pope would vpon his of-  
fers and letters allow it, and grant remission, &c.

Where this by the wate is to be noted, that if the  
opinions of these English priests (as he will needs  
make vs beleue) were differing from the pope, and  
our English Iesuits, varying from Iesuit Palmio  
and others beyond sea Iesuits, in the question of  
murthering a prince: some of them at least would  
haue giuen soall intelligence of such a treason con-  
ceiued and nourished in that man, who had made so  
manie priuie both beyond and on this side the sea,  
as could not be dissuaded from his purpose, but e-  
uer departed with a resolution contrarie vnto these  
cold dissuaders. It were no good policie to trust this  
popish traitor, but rather to suspect all pope created  
priests to be of the same mind with their supream  
head, and all English Iesuits to consent with fore-  
Iesuits their fellow members. They be all of one or-  
der and vowe, they haue one superiour; and if they had  
detested this fact in deed, some of them, seeing the  
wretch to persist, must needs haue belwaided it, and  
not to suffer him to go on headlong in such a sinne,  
leaving his roiall person to the will and malice (as  
much as in them laie) of a murthering ruffian.

But to proue his intent with continuance and  
growing of the same, 4 Again he writeth letters to  
the pope, in Januarie one thousand five hundred  
eightie and foure by that account, toke aduise vpon  
them in confession of A. Codrigo, was commended,  
again he confessed, toke the sacrament (verelie Cruen-  
tum sacramentum, & sacrificium cruoris) at the Iesuits,  
at one altar, with the cardinals of Mandosini and of  
Parbone. Hereof he had certificat to the pope, which  
he sent inclosed in his letters to his holinesse, to lead  
him to absolue him; which he required in considera-  
tion of so great an enterpryse undertaken without  
reward. 5 The letter and certificat he read to Agaz-  
zoni, and left with him to be sent to the pope, who wi-  
shed him god speed, promising he should be remem-  
bered at the altar. 6 He doubteth, least if Morgan di-  
ed, and he miscarried in the execution (as he did, God  
be thanked, and choked in the halter, notwithstanding  
their remembrance at the altar) and his intent  
neuer trulie discovered; that is to saie, that he did it  
for the catholikes, it might be a spot in his race.  
Marke here the verie word (intent) in his owne con-  
fession. 7 Morgan assureth him, that the lord Jerne-

hurst should go into Scotland, and be readie to en-  
ter vpon the first newes of our queenes fall. Thus  
much for his intent beyond the sea, and before his  
coniuration discovered.

Upon his arrivall in England, he wrote to court,  
that he had a speciall seruice of discoverie vnto the  
queene: but with what intent, let his owne words  
speake, 8 wrote to prepare access and credit, than for  
anie care had of his person. Admitted vnto his gra-  
tious audience, he discovered the coniuration; yet in  
that maner, let himselfe saie, euen couered with  
all the skill he had. His intent was with deepe trea-  
son: for (as he saith) so he did, he disclosed onlie so  
much as he thought good and necessarie to ground in  
his highnesse a settled confidence to wards him, wher-  
by he might effect his traitorous intent with better  
opportunitie, and his owne safetie. He belwaided him-  
selfe so farre as he might couer his chiefe drift, manie  
principall things concealed, nothing of lord Jerne-  
hurst with his Scottish forces, &c. 9 Receiuing from  
the pope himselfe commendation and allowance of  
his enterpryse, of encouragement, and plenarie in-  
dulgence by no meaner man than cardinal di Co-  
mo, though he shewed the letter to his maiestie (not  
for anie care of his person, but for his better access  
& credit, as the rest, yet let his owne words tell what  
his intent was at the verie receiuing and shew-  
ing of the same letter. Forsooth (saith he) this letter  
confirmed his resolution to kill the queene, making  
it clere in his conscience, as a thing lawfull and me-  
ritorious.

Now is his intent grown to a resolution, not doubt-  
full, but clere in conscience, not alone lawfull, but  
meritorious. *Papa dixit*, a cardinal is punctio. What  
other thing is this, than for the pope and his card-  
inals, like an other *Antoninus Commodus*, to make one  
*Inter scarios & gladiatores*? The diuell enforcing this  
traitors heart to execute his intent, 10 He was  
troubled looking vpon the queene, and remembering  
his excellencies: yet he saw no remedie, his bowes  
were in heauen, his letters and promises on earth.  
Yea, he stroue to close his eyes at these excellencies,  
and obliuious his hart by seeking reasons to quench  
all sparks of humanitie and allegiance arising in  
his thoughts. For thus reasoneth he against his con-  
science; Why shouldst thou care for hir? What hath  
she done for thee? Hast thou not spent ten thousand  
marks, &c. What more diueltish intent could possesse a  
traitor, than to labour to suppress a small remains  
of conscience, abhorring to kill so excellent a perso-  
nage, which God stirred vp in his thoughts to his  
iustier condemnation: 11 Doctor Allens booke re-  
doubled his former conceits, eueris word was a  
warrant to a prepared mind.

See how the smooth words of that catholike booke  
are interpreted and conceiued. One spirit occupieth  
the catholike reader with the catholike writer, and  
therefore can best expound the writers sense in his  
readers mouth, euen to be a booke fraught with em-  
phaticall speeches of energeticall perswasion to kill  
and depose his maiestie, and yet doth the hypocrite  
writer, that traitor catholike, dissemble and protest  
otherwise. 12 Parrie suffering repulse in a late  
for S. Bartharins, communeth with master Jewell,  
recommendeth the enterpryse as honorable & profit-  
table to the catholike common-weale. Being pro-  
fudiced in opinion of Allens booke (as before) he com-  
mendeth it, and deliuereth it to Jewell, thereby to  
make the same vile intent in him which it had alrea-  
die confirmed in himselfe. He toke now an other oth  
vpon the bible, after the maner of a protestant, to  
pursue the enterpryse, and ment (he saith) to performe  
it, so far forth as the place and maner of doing was  
appointed. This second coniuration he neuer be-  
waided.

Benedicto  
Palmio a Je-  
suit, mentio-  
ned before,  
pag. 1385.

Thomas  
Morgan and  
Watts the one  
termed a ca-  
tholike gentle-  
man, pag. 1385.

They cannot  
be found in  
localitie that  
are vnfound  
in religion:  
Ergo how  
can they giue  
Caesar his  
right, that  
denie God his  
due and true  
seruice?

Winball a Je-  
suit in Paris,  
of whome be-  
fore, pag. 1385.

Agazzoni  
the Punctio:  
see before,  
pag. 1385.

See before  
pag. 1385.

See before,  
pag. 1386.

Cardinal di  
Como, of  
whom see be-  
fore, pag. 1385,  
and his letter  
to Parrie,  
pag. 1385.

See before,  
pag. 1386.

See before,  
pag. 1386,  
part of Jo-  
hans voluntar-  
ie confession.

Note the pro-  
fudiciall be-  
haviour of Parrie  
in this booke  
principallie  
in the  
conceits of  
providence, see  
pag. 1386.

All  
our  
prou-  
id-  
ence  
in  
this  
case  
cont-  
nate  
son.

How  
this  
is a  
con-  
fession  
of  
guilt

waited in six moneths, till accused by Jewell, and then at first denied it.

13 If I willie, to declare his height of malice, he saith, if the queene had preferred him neuer so greatly, yet must this bloudie enterpryse haue holden, except he had releued the catholikes. Was this no intent. If neither benefit nor bountie could staie? Which neither feare of God, nor reuerence of excellencie could repell: Which neither dread of punishment, nor tract of time could remoue? Did he conceiue it, conserue and abuse of it, bow himselfe to the execrable seruice, present and offer it, harden his heart against others dissuasions, beat backe contrarie motions of his owne conscience, go so farre as he could not go backe, promise it faithfully, receiue a church sacrament thereupon, make certificat thereof, propound himselfe the end and reason of his intent, discourse vpon the contingent sequels, preuenting the spot of his race, receiue letters of allowance, commendation, incouragement, and absolution, could he bow in heauen, and promise on earth, could he doe all this in a thing which he meant not?

Could he resolute and confirme his resolution of a thing which he intended not; yea, could he intend & meane (for all these be his owne words) that which he neuer meant nor intended: could he redouble his conceits, and haue a prepared mind for that he intended not? Could such a craftie traitor practise with others by perswasive speech, & traitorous booke in such a matter, as the onelie broching thereof must capitallie indamage his kinsman and friend, and withall late his owne head in his friends hand? And yet notwithstanding, either he meant this treason, either else he little loued his friend, to tempt him so dangerously; whom yet, he saith, he loued so, as to suffer his finger in his dish, & his hand in his purse. But which is aboue all, would any man sweare a gaine on the bible, appoint time and place, conceale it with as much perill as if he had done it; would he denie it, would so ambitious a man discontent himselfe with all preferment, for the attaining of that which he meant not? Was this mischievous course, begun and continued, a long time, at home and abroad, in manye kingdomes, communicated with manye persons, of severall nation and qualitie, as pope, cardinall, Nuncio, frer, priest, kings secretarie and ambassadores, all this while not meant? Was it franklie and voluntarie confessed meant, finally, recorded by pleading guiltie in maner & forme with all circumstance, and yet could he die an innocent for intent?

All this falling vpon no simple man, but vpon one, not now the first time holding by his hand at barre, & vpon a doctor of law, the verie hood whereof is able to giue a man more iudgement, than to slip without light in all these things: I know not how he maie be excused without strong suspicion of the excuser. And if a prince may not iudge a wicked seruant out of his owne mouth, nor determine an offense by two or three mouthes, it were a notable world for traitors and murderers, thus to haue all proceedings set loose, as well of our common lawes, which condemne vpon all evidences, as of the ciuill lawes, which giue capitall sentence vpon confession onelie: yea, Moses wisdom is overreached, and Christs equitie in his euangelicall parable against the lewd seruant not vsing his talent is eluded. All this is also ratified by voluntarie letters of his to his maiestie apart, and to his honorable counsell. And if ante Italianat papist neuertheless will needs beloeue this repugnancie of his last speeches, let him yet take this one note of him, whereby to consider how credible a man he crediteth.

Either Parrie meant this monstrous murder according to his bowes in heauen, and swoyne promises in earth, and so died a desperat traitor, protesting the contrarie in his last words vpon his soule and damnation: or else was he perjured, to the foule abuse of pope & all poperie, most execrable prophaning Gods name by promising, swearing, bowing, &c: that which he meant not. Necesse is therefore must he perishe vpon perjured treason, or wretchedly vpon desperat deieration. Nothing auoideth this dilemma, but a popish bull of dispensation, which if he had, I know not how princes may not as safely suffer wolues and beares come to their presence, as such papists. And verie like it is that Parrie had a speciall bull, either else was it comprehended in his indulgence, that he might take othes contrarie to his catholike conscience, as he did the oth of supremacy in the beginning of the last parlement. Which if his coniuatours had not bene priue with that intention he did sweare, he neuer durst haue taken it, least they should haue now bewailed him as a man swoyne against the pope, therefore not to be trusted. But the truth is, this papist Parrie was both a traitor, and a manifold perjured traitor, (whome with all other of the like stampe) we leaue to the small iudgement of God at the last and dreadfull dome: registering (in the meane time) a proper epigram, and of no lesse fit than true deuise, in memoire of the said capitall traitor, requiting that propheticall poise concerning Daruell Gatheren and frer Forrest, of whome you shall read in the thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight; this of Parrie being as followeth:

William Parrie  
Was ap Harrie  
By his name:  
From the alehouse  
To the gallows  
Grew his fame.

40 Gotten westward  
On a bastard  
As is thought:  
Wherefore one waie  
Kin to Conwaie  
Hath he sought.

Like a beast  
With inceast  
He begon:  
Mother married  
Daughter caried  
Him a sonne.

Much he borrowed  
Which he sorrowed  
To repaie:  
Hare his good  
Bought with blood  
As they saie.

50 Yet for payment  
Had arraignment  
Of his detter  
Shce that gaue him  
Life to saue him  
Hanged a better.

Parrie his pardon  
Thought no guardon  
For his word:  
Wherefore sought  
That he mought  
Trauell forth.

Which obtained  
He remained  
As before:  
And with rashnes  
Shewed his bashnes  
More and more.

He did enter  
To aduentuer  
Euen his death:  
By whose fauor  
He did euer  
Draw his breath.

It was pittie  
One so wittie  
Malcontent:  
Leauing reason  
Should to treason  
So be bent.

But his gifts  
Were but shifts  
Void of grace:  
And his brauerie  
Was but knauerie  
Vile and base.

Wales did beare him  
France did sweare him  
To the pope:  
Venice wrought him  
London brought him  
To the rope.

Wherewith strangled  
And then mangled  
Being dead:  
Poles supporters  
Of his quarters  
And his head.

A dilemma of  
reason: of ad-  
uantage, con-  
cluding that  
Parrie died a  
perjured traitor.

before,  
1386.

ordinall of  
mo, of  
join for  
e, pag. 138.  
d his letter  
Parrie,  
1388.

of before,  
1386.

of before,  
ag. 1386.  
art of Par-  
ies voluntar-  
ie confession.

Note the pre-  
vious bear-  
ing of Parrie  
uerie was  
justill, Tem-  
principle quare  
repulo, dem-  
reps fibines or  
modisum  
us. pag. 1386.

All these cir-  
cumstances  
prooue that  
Parrie was  
resolute and by  
prepared both  
in hart and by  
hand to put in  
practice his  
conceiued vn-  
naturall trea-  
son.

How could  
this helhound  
die an inno-  
cent for in-  
tent; the pre-  
misses confi-  
rmed.

Abr. Fl. ex lib.  
manuscripto.

Situs nuper do-  
mus fratrum  
predicatorum vo-  
cata le Blacke-  
friars in villa  
Cantabrigie.

In this yeare one thousand five hundred eightie & foure, sir Walter Spilmaite knight, one of his maiesties most honorable priuie counsell, founded a college in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, and named it Emmanuell college. & The same was sometimes a house of friers, and came to king Henrie the eight by dissolution, as appeareth by the sequale, being an extract out of a substantiall and large booke written in parchment (which I haue seene, and whense I had this transcript) containing the entrie or inrolment of certeine letters patents, writings and euidences touching the said college. First the premisses came vnto king Henrie the eight by act of parlement touching the dissolution of monasteries; & afterwards the said king by letters patents vnder the great seale of England, dated *Decimo sexto Aprilis, anno tricesimo quinto regni sui*, did grant the same to Edward Clrington and Humfrie Petcalfe, and to the heires of the said Edward for euer. After that, the said Edward Clrington and Humfrie Petcalfe by their deed pold dated *Quarto Martij, anno tricesimo sexto Henrici octavi*, did grant the premisses to William Sherwood gentleman & his heires for euer. Then George Sherwood gentleman, sonne and heire to William Sherwood by deed pold dated *Vicesimo nono Septembris, anno vicesimo tertio Elisabetha regina*, did grant the premisses to Robert Tailor squier and to his heires for euer.

And afterwards, the said Robert Tailor by deed pold dated *Duodecimo Iunij, anno vicesimo quinto Elisabetha regina*, did grant the premisses to Richard Culuerwell citizen & mercer of London and Laurence Chaderton of Cambridge bachelor of diuinitie, and their heires for euer. And after that, the premisses were conuertyd to sir Walter Spilmaite, who hath conuerted the same into a seedplot of learning, for the benefit of the church & common-wealth: so that the students maye verie trulie saie this, and moze too of so good, so honoorable and vertuous a founder:

*fluuijs dum cruerit aquor,  
Dumque vagas stellas pascet uterque polus,  
Dum steriles altis lustrabunt montibus umbræ,  
Virtutis stabit fama decusque tua.*

1585  
The parlem-  
ment dissol-  
ued.

On the nine and twentieth daie of March, which was in the yeare of Christ 1585, the parlement was dissolved: at the breaking up whereof, the queenes maiestie in the parlement house made an oration, to such effect as followeth.

### The queenes maiesties oration in the parlement house.

The queenes  
maiesties ora-  
tion in the  
parlement  
house.

**M** Lords and ye of the lower house, my silence must not inturie the owner so much, as to suppose a substitute sufficient to render you the thanks that my heart yeldeth you: not so much for the safe keeping of my life (for which your care appeareth so manifest) as for the neglecting your priuat future perill, not regarding other waie than my present state. No prince herein (I confesse) can be lurer tied, or faster bound than I am, with the linke of your good will; and can for that, but yeld a hart & hand to seeke for euer all your best. Yet one matter toucheth me so nere, as I may not ouerskip: religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take roote, and being corrupted may marre all the tree: and that there be some faultfinders with the order of the cleargie, which so may make a slander to my selfe & the church, whose ouer ruler God hath made me; whose negligence can not be excused, if anie chislines or errors hereticall were suffered.

Of the care  
that his ma-  
iestie hath of  
true religion,  
the lord of life  
lengthen his  
graces life.

Thus much I must saie, that some faults and negligences may grow and bee (as in all other great charges it happeneth) and that vocation without: All which if you my lords of the cleargie do not amend, I meane to depose you: loke you therefore to your charges; this may be amended without heedelesse or open exclamation. I am supposed to haue manie studies, but most philosophicall: I must yeld this to be true, that I suppose few (that be no profesoers) haue read moze. And I need not tell you, that I am so simple that I vnderstand not, nor so forgetfull that I remember not; & yet amongst my manie volumes, I hope Gods booke hath not bene my domestick studies, in which we find that, which by reason (for my part) we ought to beleue, that seeing so great wickednesse and griefs in the world, in which we liue but as waite-faring pilgrims, we suppose that God would neuer haue made vs but for a better place, and of moze comfort than we find here. I know no creature that breatheth, whose life standeth bouelle in moze perill for it than mine owne, who entered not into my state without sight of manifold dangers of life and crowne, as one that had the mightiest and greatest to wrestle with. Then it followeth, that I regarded it so much as I lest my selfe behind my care.

And so you see that you wrong me too much (if anie such there be) as doubt my coldnesse in that behalfe. For if I were not persuaded that mine were the true waie of Gods will, God forbid I should lue to prescribe it to you. Take heed, lest Ecclesiastes saie not too true; They that feare the hoie frost, the snow shall fall vpon them. I see manie ouer bold with God almighty, making too mante subtill scannings of his blessed will, as lawiers do with humane testaments: the presumption is so great as I may not suffer it (yet mind I not hereby to animate Romanists, which that aduerfaries they be to mine estate is sufficientlie knowne) nor tolerate new fanglednesse. I meane to guide them both by Gods true rule: in both parts be perils, and of the latter I must pronounce them dangerous to a kinglie rule, to haue euerie man according to his owne censure to make a dome of the validitie and priuatie of his priuies gouernement, with a common velle and cover of Gods word, whose followers must not be iudged but by priuat mens exposition, God defend you from such a ruler that so euill will guide you. Now I conclude, that your loue and care neither is nor shall be bestowed vpon a carelesse prince, but such as for your good will passeth as litle for this world as who careth least; with thanks for your fre subsidie: a manifest shew of the abundance of your good wills, the which I assure you, but to be imploied to your weale, I could be better pleased to returne than receiue.

His maiesties  
reuerend esti-  
mation of  
Gods word  
and sacred  
scriptures.

Of most  
princelie resolu-  
tion and  
persuasion!

The God of  
vengeance and  
iustice wote  
them out, that  
the Lords an-  
ointed maye  
be free from  
all feare of  
hurt.

what subiect  
would thinke  
life and lands  
to deere to  
lose (if not  
deere) for so  
gracious a  
queene

This is the summe of his maiesties oration vttered in a solemne assemble, and well worthy the recording, as testifying no lesse in sinceritie and truth, than euerie god subiect may seale vnto himselfe, and laie his hand vpon his hart to be faithfullie meant for his securitie. Wherein is spectallie to be noted the religious care which his maiestie hath vnto to haue of the propagation and supposition of the gospel; according to that which is reported of his by waie of prophesie in the vision of queene Anne in a dream; where (after a repetition of miseries foretold to befall in queene Maries daies) these words are inferred:

*Ecce malis tantis tua parua medebitur infans,  
Iamque tenella geret post sceptrum patris adulta,  
Solamen magnam patriæ, solamen amicis:  
Qua regnante diu, cælis ea fata feruntur,  
Britanni populus felix, erit Anglia felix,  
Et longa tibi sub principe pace fruatur.*

C. O. in sua El-  
isabetha.

*Papa relegatus fallax ad littora Tybri  
 Ausonij, propria ditione iubebitur esse  
 Contentus, vniuersumque domi protrudere merces.  
 Hic iuris papalis erit tum terminus Angliæ.  
 Vestra dabit proles papa immedicabile vulnus,  
 Non post idoli genua incuruare licet  
 Amplius, aut status bene olentia terna cremare;  
 Hinc papa incassum furibunda mouebitur ira,  
 Dentibus infrensens & quæret tollere prolem  
 Illegitimum insidijs structus, quæ numine cæli  
 Protectore suo semotis hostibus æuum  
 Pace colet, seros ornabit honoribus annos,  
 Pace suos placida cines: sua regna beabit.  
 Non tamen in claram bacchari desinet atrox  
 Reginam, pus ore uomens & virus ut aspis,  
 Promisset calum verbis (quis crederet illud?)  
 Principis obsequium quicumque reliquerit ultro,  
 Cum pacto hoc miseros reuera in Tartara mittat.*

the Flem.  
 The death of  
 pope Gregorie  
 the thirtieth;  
 read of this  
 popes practi-  
 ces against  
 England in  
 parties trea-  
 sons, pag.  
 139, 140.

the  
 the refor-  
 and  
 action!

ie God of  
 dance and  
 e rote  
 out, that  
 ,ozds and  
 ed maie  
 & from  
 ire of

t subiect  
 d thinke  
 nd lands  
 ere to  
 if need  
 : ) for so  
 ious a  
 ne?

The pope is  
 bene busie by  
 his owne pre-  
 sumptuous &  
 proud enter-  
 prises to im-  
 peach christian  
 libertie,

This hath  
 bene done in  
 such sort by a  
 mathematici-  
 an stranger,  
 that he is bold  
 to challenge  
 the contrarie  
 opinion to a re-  
 proofe of his  
 summation,

in sua Eli-  
 ba.

In this peare of Grace, on the eleuenth of Aprill died pope Gregorie the thirtieth, termed the last & lewd pope of that name; one that wanted not the waies to applie his vsurped supremacie to the common abuse of all christendome, according to the received custome of his predecessors; who rather than they would abide anie be it neuer so small an eclipse of their worldlie pompe, all the world shalbe set together by the ears, in so much that heauen & earth shall ring with the noise of the tumults. This is he that (among other acts by him vnderaken & done) after the old Romane or Iulian kalendar was by popish arguments accused & charged with manifold imperfections, whereinto by continuance of time it was fated to fall, thrust forth into the world a reformed kalendar, exhibited to his holiness by one Antonie Lillie doctor of arts & physicke, wherein (by a certaine new cycle of epacts by one Aloisius the said Antonies brother germane deuised, and to an vndoubted rule of the golden number directed, as also to whatsoeuer magnitude or greatnesse of the peare of the sunne applie) all things that in the old kalendar were faultie, may by constant reason and for euer to last be so reformed; that the kalendar once reformed according to this plot, need neuer hereafter either to be altered or amended. Howbeit, in commending the perfect reformation of this new kalendar, whereby not onelie all things erroneous are abolished; but also such foresight is had of the time to come, that the calculation of this kalendar shall neuer hereafter seeme subiect unto change: an occasion of some demerits may hereof arise, touching christian libertie; namelie, whether the church be tied to a certaine time according to the reformed calculation astronomi- call, in the celebration of pearelie festiuals: whether it be lawfull for the bishop of Rome to reforme the time and the kalendar: whether the church of Christ be bound by necessitie of religion to receiue that kalendar, at the first originall beginning proceeding from the pope, though the same afterwards were set forth under another title: whether it profiteth or be requisite that for the keeping of peace and concord, in contracts, bargainings, and intercourse of traffike and merchandise; the one partie should submit himselfe to that kalendar, whereunto the pope hath yoked his popelings; and persuaded manie more to do the same, &c. Although these and the like interrogatories may be made against the papists; yet because to giue an instance is not to answer a doubt, it is to be wished that this kalendar were thoroughly sifted by some sound and sober mathematician, and the three heads, whereof this new reformed kalendar of Gregorie doth consist, disproued: which three heads, repeated by Gregorie in his bull before the said kalendar, are these.

1 The refozving and coupling of the equinoctiall

in the spring to the one and twentieth daie of March, with such a caveat giuen, that from thence, as from the proper and fixed seat, it may not possible hereafter at anie time remoue. 2 The correction of the golden number by the cycle of epacts, in such sort, that the numbers of epacts may thew not onelie the daie of the new moone in euerie moneth of all yeares; but also, and that principally the terme of Easter: that is, the certaine & full daie of the verie next full moone following after the equinoctiall of the spring; and that euerie yeare without error or deceit. 3 The verie full and certaine sundae of Easter, that ought to be celebrated and kept on the verie next sundae after the full moone, which first doth follow after the full equinoctiall of the spring. These three heads being so anatomized and opened by mathematicians as were met, it should be found in the end, that this new kalendar, in all and euerie part thereof, euen wherein it is best reformed, or so thought to be, is manie waies faultie, & erroneous in the verie grounds: in which qualitie leauing it, as not to be put to the touch in a publike chronicle, but otherwile to be had in triall, Gregorie the preserver thereof is now to be handled by description, which is no fiction or imagined bable, but deriued out of an oration or funerall sermon at Rome, at the buriall of his holiness, containing his maners, life, deeds, and last words at his death: together with the lamentations of the cardinals and whole Romish clergie. Otherwile to be intituled: as followeth.

Vide M. Michae-  
 elm. Meßlinum  
 Geppingensem  
 in Tibuigenst  
 academia Mathematicum, &c.

A sermon full of papistick adulation,  
 and matter sufficient to procure the wise and ver-  
 tuous minded to contemne such grosse and pal-  
 pable blindnesse, and all persons to laugh at  
 the Romanists absurd and erroneous  
 follies.

There is nothing so certaine as death, ei-  
 ther vncertaine as the moment thereof.  
 Therefore the holie doctor saith: keepe  
 thy selfe continually in that estate wher-  
 in thou desirest to die. And the proverbe goeth, that  
 manie a one thinketh himselfe in perfect health, when  
 he beareth death in his bosome. So saie the truth, we  
 doe continually carrie death about with vs, it is in  
 vs immediatlie after we take life and mouing in  
 our mothers wombe; and wheresoeuer we walke, it  
 is still at our heeles: if we take horse, it is with vs:  
 if we be on the water, it is the guide of our ship: so  
 as we can neuer saie death to be absent from vs: for  
 our selues are verie death, and no part of our bodie  
 immortall. Wherefore those that suppose themselves  
 to liue in this world are far deceiued in their owne  
 opinions, and the pilgrimage of man in this world  
 is but a shadow of life, which vnto vs seemeth life, but  
 in deed is none. The better therefore to describe the  
 said shadow, I will make an abstraction of the dead  
 time of mans age, from the full and greatest age that  
 a creature can liue in the world.

First, the longest age that man can liue is but thirtie  
 yeares. From thirtie yeares we must deduct the nights,  
 for man when he slepeth liueth not. Besides that, sleep  
 is termed the image of death: so that deducting the  
 nights, which comprehend one halfe of the time,  
 man liueth but thre score yeares in the world.  
 Whiles man liueth these thirtie yeares, he liueth but  
 the one halfe of them, for if he haue one daie of mirth  
 and quiet, he hath another of sorrow and care, because  
 griefe doth still secretlie creepe into mirth. And anie  
 person troubled with cares and bersed in mind, doth  
 rather die than liue. We must therefore take from the  
 thirtie yeares aforesaid the one halfe, and so there re-  
 maine but thirtie. Now, let vs see whether in the  
 space

A good and  
 plausible be-  
 ginning, if the  
 proceedings  
 were agree-  
 able,

Whopish be-  
 uines do ra-  
 ther imitate  
 anie duns  
 than the pro-  
 phet David,  
 who setteth  
 downe the  
 age of man to  
 consist of 70.  
 yeares.



A further ex-  
amination of  
mans age by  
popish lear-  
ning.

space of six score yeares a man may not passe awaie  
ten at the least in sicknesse, mishances, or other in-  
firmities: I may tell you there is no man that lieth  
six score yeares in the world, but at severall times  
and during the said age he hath about ten yeares in-  
firmities: and therefore we must take from the thirtie  
yeares which are the remainder of mans life yet ten  
yeares, & then there are but twentie left, which are  
now the twentie yeares of his life. We must take  
them at his infancie & in his oldest age: that is, ten  
yeares from his berie childehood, & the other ten from  
his extreme old age. But sith as well in infancie as  
in extremitie of age there is no life, but rather a li-  
ving death, I conclude, that man hath not one onlie  
houre of life in this world, also that whosoever seeketh  
life in this world doth much deceiue himselfe. In  
heaven therefore it is that we must assure our selues  
to liue, and seeke for life; but not upon earth where  
death doth continually haunt vs. For we ought to  
die to the world, to the end to be borne in Iesus  
Christ; according to the soueraine sentence and de-  
cree, *¶* Ye inhabitants of Rome we see your great  
bishop and mine is dead: behold our crowne is fal-  
len: our lodestar banished awaie and our lighte,  
tinguished.

Happie newes  
to the true  
church, when  
the members of  
antichrist de-  
crease.

And for mine owne part, O miserable man,  
who am depriued of him, of two things I wish for  
one, that is, either neuer to remember the god that  
we haue lost; either else calling the same to mind, to  
find some one that were able to giue me comfort cor-  
respondent to the greatnesse of the heavinesse wher-  
into I am fallen. And indeed my selfe do now come  
into the pulpit upon two severall occasions mere  
contrarie eche to other, to wit, to reherse the gretnes  
of the god that is taken from vs, & to comfort those  
that susteine the losse: naie rather, to doo two things  
which seeme to repugne eche other. For if it be true  
that nothing doth more aggrauate the griefe of the  
losse, than the remembrance of the value of the thing  
lost; then doth nothing seeme more contrarie to the  
comfort of the living, than the praises of him that is  
dead, as in this case, wherein so far do the merits of  
the deceased exceed, that the arrowes which pearce his  
hart that is depriued of him are the more sharpe and  
griuous. Whobest some man would answer, that  
contrariwise by the commendations of him that is  
departed, we do declare that he is not dead, but li-  
ueth, and thus we may by litle and litle allwaie the  
sorrow of our losse and damage in whatsoeuer ma-  
ner.

A comparison  
abused to the  
commendation  
of lewd  
pope Grego-  
rie.

But as it were hard for a painster in the face of a  
sorrowfull person to represent a smiling coun-  
tenance, so doth it seeme to me a difficult enterprize to  
vndertake to comfort a man by rehearsing the ver-  
tues of him that is taken awaie from vs: and that  
the more, if we should enter into consideration of  
him that is spoken of: of your selues that are the  
hearers: and of me that do make the discourse: for  
in each of these three, the same circumstances that  
seeme to make mine enterprize easie, are those that  
indeed doo yeld it most difficult and troublesome. As  
if a man should in respect of him saie, that if the mul-  
titude of his great vertues doo seeme to abridge my  
labour, in seeking some argument wherupon to  
ground his praises: so contrariwise the abundance  
of so great vertues doo hold me so short, that I can  
not certeinlye resolve upon the choice of one onlie  
wherupon to commend him. For you, if  
a man should saie, in that you all knew him and used  
him to your great profit, it should seeme sufficient  
for me onlie to decipher matters: so contrariwise  
your own perfect knowlege, together with your dea-  
lings with him, would sufficientlie open vnto you  
all my defaults in displaing of him. And for mine

Childish rea-  
sons and  
woofe dimini-  
sh.

owne part, if infinit courtesies and great fauours,  
wherewith he hath alwaies gratified me, doo seeme  
without seeking and cuning to breed in me as much  
affection as is requist: so by contrarie reason, the  
great fauours and benefitts, wherewith he hath al-  
waies gratified me, doo not leaue me and running  
meanes to hinder me from having greater affecti-  
on than is here to be required of me. And this was  
the principall reason that moued me somewhat to  
refuse this so honorable a commission, and vnto me  
in manie other respects most welcome, and to re-  
quest you to appoint and commit to some other the  
charge to discourse hereupon, and to leaue vnto me  
teares and lamentations onlie.

How did this  
fellow flatter  
Gregorie a-  
lone, whom he  
so magnified  
being dead?

But now vnto thee, O my god master and fa-  
ther (for so will I alwaies call thee) do I turne my  
selfe. Maie it be possible that this my oration, which  
latelie in thy life thou diddest harken vnto, should  
now be imployed in praising of thee being dead, ei-  
ther that this my tongue, which imploring me to the  
seruice of this countrie, thou diddest so greatlie ho-  
nor, should now be occupied, alas, in lamentations  
for thy so hurtfull death to all christendome: And  
what? Hast thou then brought me so foolishlie to  
Rome, to the end here to celebrate thy funerals: O  
how that commission to read Hieremie might well  
forgethew vnto me (but I perciue it not) that my le-  
cture thereof should end in lamentations, and now  
behold that diuination accomplished! See *Quomodo*  
*sedet sola ciuitas*, how the citie sitteth desolat, notwithstanding it be *Plena populo*, full of people: also how this  
spouse, the church of Rome, who by great brightnes  
seemed to be *Domina gentium*, ladie of nations, now  
hauling lost thee, *Est facta quasi vidua*, is made as it  
were a widow: and as a widow all dipped in teares  
and lamentations, willet me to celebrate the pra-  
ises of hir deere spouse, which she all wholie together  
can not celebrate: wherein although I can not (as in  
truth I am not able) attaine to the least parcell of thy  
deserts, which are not well to be exprest, yet at all  
aduentures I assure my selfe, O happie soules, that  
as in thy life time thou diddest pardon me a number  
of other imperfections, so now thou wilt likewise  
forgiue me this: I know that as thou wert accus-  
tomed, thou wilt make better account of the god will  
than of the glose and pompe of wordes, and as discret  
thalt well see, that not onlie I, but also that no ora-  
tour is able to attaine to the type of thy commenda-  
tions.

A fit child  
scholar for  
bad a father  
and master.

No spouse but  
a strumpet  
spotted with  
spirituall for-  
nication.

Beastlie and  
blasphemous  
diuinitie, fit  
for so lewd a  
bishop, and so  
vnclearned a  
chaplicane.

Among the which my lords, and ye my hearers, I  
doo freely confesse, that I haue greatlie doubted  
whether I were best to begin, as I take the maner to  
be, at the greatnesse and eminencie of the familie  
from whence he is extract: and at the first I was pur-  
posed so to doo, and that the rather because it is not  
yet scarce two months since that my selfe heard him  
in this temple, discourse how our saviour Iesus  
Christ was content to be borne of a mother though  
poore, yet noble, and descended of a noble race; also  
that nobilitie was verie effectually euen to spirituall  
life, as it may be said of him that is noble, that whe-  
ther it be through conformitie or resemblance of  
mind with his predecessors, either thorough the re-  
membrance of such things as they haue done, either  
else thorough the effect of god bringing vp, or for what  
other reason he is better disposed to doo well; that  
nobilitie serueth him as a spur to godnesse and a bri-  
dle to euill: also that as the pretious stone being set  
in gold maketh a greater thew than in iron, euen so  
the same vertuous deeds do giue a more effectually ex-  
ample, when they proceed from noble personages  
than from men of base estat, with other things which  
he spake to the same purpose.

Robbie borne  
(no doubt)  
was this  
Gregorie, or  
therwise cal-  
led Hugh the  
good fellow.

A similitude  
of a pectious  
stone set in  
gold, and de-  
scribes in per-  
sonages noble  
descended.

Whobest I will not speake thereof, in that it  
might

did this  
flatter  
orie a-  
whom he  
gnified  
dead:

child and  
ler for to  
a father  
mauler.

o spouse but  
rumpet  
sted with  
ritual for  
ation.

seafic and  
asphemous  
untie, sit  
; so lewd a  
shop, and so  
learned a  
napleinc.

Public borne  
no doubt)  
was this  
Gregorie, o-  
herwise cal-  
d though the  
wd fellow.

A similitude  
of a peccious  
lone set in  
gold, and ber-  
ues in per-  
ages noble  
effended.

might be accounted rashnesse in me, euen in Rome to saie to make his holinesse familie moze famous than it is. It may be that some may saie that this familie doeth want glorious titles, preeminence, riches, possessions, iurisdictiones, pretensions of rights, patronages, ancient pedigrees of their predecessours, commendations of learning, praise of armes, noble and famous aliances either in Italie or with out, and to be briefe, all such things collected into one, as being seuerallie taken are sufficient to set a faire shew vpon a whole progenie. Notwithstanding all these things which are terrestriall & too common with others, and for the causes aforesaid his holinesse perceiuing (as he perceiued all things) that it is not enough for a hoist to be of a god race, except himselfe be also god, and that they are happie and wise, who as the sea, do not receiue the sweetnesse of this vaine glorie of the riuers of their predecessours, but returning their course and swelling ouer the mouths of the riuers themselves, can yeld to their forerunners the reward of firme and permanent commendation; so of that great nobilitie which he had brought forth of his mothers wombe with him, he did therein onelie yeld thanks to God, for that his actions with their circumstances, thereby, and in respect thereof, were moze notable and exemplarie.

Gregorie per-  
ceiued all  
things: but it  
would be kno-  
wen how.

A long similit-  
ude most fode-  
lic and most  
ridiculous-  
lie applied.

Marke this  
principallie,  
that Gregorie  
was mortified  
if the text lie  
not.

Jesu! what a  
wonder is  
this: and  
well worthie  
to be placed in  
Legenda au-  
tea.

The head  
which sought  
to ouerthrow  
the church,  
to distru-  
ct: sinners from  
their allegi-  
ance to their  
Prince, and to

Wh most happie person, who in the middell of so great emminence of birth, could so well subdue pride, and in himselfe giue example vnto other! Euen like vnto the pearle, which although it lieth in the bottome of the sea, yet keeping it selfe close in the shell, and neuer opening untill it ascendeth to receiue the dew of heauen, we find therein no smell, no fauour, or drop that tasteth of his sea; but being pure, cleare and white, it seemeth to be formed euen in heauen. We must not therfore take commendations of this people at the transitorie things of the sea of this world, and although he be therein extract of a most noble birth, yet will I not saie anie moze thereof as of that which is none of his.

But discoursing and speaking of that which pro- perlie apperteineth to himselfe, I would aske whe- ther his mind commanded not his bodie: Also whe- ther it were possible to find a bodie moze withered, afflicted, macerated, dried vp, or pale through the effect of austere and hard penance: Other mens bod- dies (Christian hearers) are for the most part with- ed to be of this or that forme, because they yeld such or such inclination to the mind. But in this I will shew you a matter worth the noting; that is, that here the case was altered, for it was the mind that ministered inclination to the bodie: so that being wayen altogether spirituall, had not eytream need forced him, he neuer desired meat, drinke, or bodilie rest: and he liued in such sort as it was a miracle (whereof, alas, we haue but too sone sene the issue) how he could liue so manie yeeres, but rather liuing was dead. And for my part I assure you, I neuer, euen in the hart of summer, kissing his holie hands (god God shall I neuer do so moze:) found them o- ther than cold, wherein there was no heat, except the same proceeded of some excess or immoderate labor, or of some motion of a sudden feuer. A most dære bodie! A most holie members! But loke yet once againe vpon them, O ye Romane people, and saie: Are not these the verie hands which so often haue bin ioined together, and lifted vp to praise and offer sacri- fice for vs? Be not these the feet that haue trauelled so far for our sakes? Is not this the head that neuer imagined anie thing but for our benefit? Is not this the heart that burned in loue of vs? O dære members! O members so dære! What? Shall you then go vnder the earth? And what? Shall you be buried? Alas my God! who is that thou hast taken

awaie from vs? And wherefore do ye hide your main- taine his felness? For my part, none but onlie death shall euer plucke out of my heart the liuelie image of that so well beloued countenance: especiallie in this act, wherein with your eyes toward heauen as it were smiling, and with an angelicall countenance I see you depart and remaine dead.

maintaine his  
owne pompe  
and glorie.

But it is time for vs (Christian hearers) to pro- ceed to matters of greater importance, which are so manie & withall so intangled one within an other, that I could not find anie moze fit meane to part and diuibe them; neither do I thinke that we can take anie better course, than the verie course of his holie life: and there to begin. When he was a little child he was verie deuout, and it is well knowne that God, euen in his first youth, wrought in him maruellous signes of singular godnesse. The like is read of saint Basil, saint Gregorie, saint Domi- nique, saint Francis, and manie others, as was to be sene in this yong child (saie they that do remem- ber it) namelie, that at his returne from the college, all the delite that that age used to take in anie other thing, he toke onelie in framing of little altars, adorning of small chapels, and counterfetting of holie things. Matters, which although the wisest maie thinke too base for this place, and for the occa- sion now ministered, yet would I not onelie not dis- baine, but also take great and singular pleasure in the same.

For all that is  
hitherto spo-  
ken is more  
ridiculous, idle  
and more like  
labour.

Notes that  
he would in  
time proue a  
strong pillar of  
idolatrie.

And although some do saie, that among such serious affaires such small trifles should haue no place: yet do I delite to shew how commenda- ble, ne onelie graue matters, but euen such small things were in him. Concerning the rest, according to the proportion of his age, or rather beyond the reach of that age (as occasions do increase so must my stile arise) his holinesse being past the inferior scholes, and comming to studie the law, it is not pos- sible to make an end of writing with what modestie and grauitie he there passed the yeares of his studie: he was apparelled in clerks attire, but, which was of greater importance, he obserued clergie maners, much continencie, & (as is supposed) perpetuall virgi- nitie, with modest behauiour, no vanitie, continuall studie: these were his exercises. And to be briefe, al- though thorough our misshaps, the vniuersitie wherein he studied were not vsuallie either the quietest or the holiest in the world, yet might the writing of Pazi- anzen concerning the great Basil and the towne of Athens be applied to him. Like as there is one riuer, which flowing thorough the sea, taketh no bitternesse thereof; also a certeine beast that liueth in the fire and consumeth not: euen so he with great quietnesse passing these troubles, and with soueraine vertues such vices, did first and most worthilie attaine to the doctorall degre, & afterward was called to Rome, and made cardinall, onelie thorough desert, for his learned studies, and not by fauour, as the most part do now vsuallie practise.

The conti-  
nencie and  
virginitie of  
the popish clere-  
gie doth com-  
sist in keeping  
of concubines.

Note how  
Gregorie is  
extolled by  
some of coun-  
parison.

A happie departure, a blessed tournee for all the holie church, but especiallie for this great cite of Rome, which haue receiued so great benefites and so much comfort at his hands. Notwithstanding, what soeuer affaires he had in hand, yet did he baille ap- plie his studie at a certeine houre, & so continued his studie euen to his death, with so deepe iudgement and good successe, that although his intellectuall habi- tudes had not bene verie farre surmounted & dark- ned thorough the marvellous brightnesse of his mo- rall and theologicall vertues: yet in respect of his learning and studie onelie, he deserued great praise, and in truth he was neuer other than most learned and a great fauourer of learned men. Who did euer shew them moze pleasure, or receiue them moze

A great stu-  
der was Gre-  
gorie, but in no  
good facultie.

So little, by, courtesy

Better had  
that liberalitie  
bene exhibited  
to theues  
than to sacri-  
legious beasts  
&c.

Gregorie a  
good compani-  
on to traitors,  
but an ill com-  
panion to the  
godlie.

It is imposs-  
ible (if you will  
believe this  
flattering pa-  
ralite) to re-  
hearse Gre-  
gories works  
&c.

The Wolfe is  
dead, and the  
sheepe want a  
good sheepe  
heard.

How could the  
pope need the  
prayers of  
men, with him-  
selfe can for-  
give sinnes?

Two things  
made Grego-

courtesoule: Besides the seminaries and colleges, as well at Paule as here, the lectures, the stipends, with such & so manie things done to the behoofe of learning, and besides the books which he hath of him selfe written: and now that the byble of his modestie doth no longer defaine, I hope, as my selfe haue seene them, so comming to light, all the world shall behold them, and in them perceiue as in him selfe whether were more his holie writings or good manners. This loue of learning and holinesse of life he practised so diligentlie in himselfe, that thorough Gods grace, and the inspiration of the holie ghost, he was in respect of his vertues, knowledge, and holie life, elected pope, and his name from Hugh good Companion, was changed and called Gregorie the thirteenth. During his papacie he liued so religiouse and deuoutlie, that the whole life of a man were little enough to rehearse the same. But herein I repose my selfe vpon that zeale which I perceiue in euerie one to commend him, whereby I maie shortly see so manie poesies, verses, and rimes, with such histories, so manie orations, and volumes to his honor, that all these things, as well such as I can not touch, as the rest which I mention and speake of, shall brieflie be deciphered and liuelie set forth.

For to rehearse all the holie works of our good shepheard, or to indenuer to set forth that vertie patterne of a bishop which he hath expressed in himselfe, to saie truth, I thinke impossible, and much lesse to believe that the vertie summaries of those things that he hath done maie be drawne into anie annals or chronicle. Neither can I conceiue anie means to attaine thereto, vnlesse some one haue in forme of remembrances bene dailie collecting the course of his deeds and works. For my part in this short discourse that I haue to prosecute, as one not able to restreine the whole sea, I will go see if I maie gather the water at the riuers and brooks from whence this sea doth arise, that is, from his vertues, which in him haue wrought so manie holie works. Notwithstanding I might at once in generall words saie, that all vertues becomming a bishop, which saint Paule & others do speake of, were to be found in him.

Alas how this holie passio burning in loue, made himselfe leane for you, O ye poore artificers, ladies, yong infants, and poore beggers! Alas ye all haue lost your father, the shepheard is dead, & the sheepe remaine a prete to the wolues. How soeuer it is, hereof maie we plainlie see O Rome, that he bare the singular good will: and in deed (for I will not conceale thy commendation) it is euident that thou diddest answer his good will with reciprocal amitie, withnesse this thy assemblie: these sobbs & these teares do testifie thy acknowledging thereof, besides all other things, alas, too bitter and too sweet together; even the night of his departure was to you and to me infortunate. O great, O great pittie, what could be seene more worthy compassion and teares, than the fearefull streere of the people? It seemed, when the most horrible sound of the bell called *Aue Maria*, that gaue notice of his death, to the end to praise to God for him, sent furies to all both men and women.

One can here, an other there, some two together, others without order or reason: all wept, all cried, all howled out, saying: Ah, good God whereto are we brought? What shall become of vs? If the infection doth afflict vs, who shall praye for vs? Ah that we had not deserved it! Oh how God is worthy with vs! With manie other exclamations sufficient to haue rent the marble stones, and clouen the wals in sunder. He was a man of much prayer and reading, as euier was anie, and in priuat behauior had not his like. Two things there were that made him wonderfull wise. The one, he would in all affaires heare

counsell. The other, he had still recourse vnto prayer. Cruelle he was as wise as helie. I confesse that in respect of his example onelie, I learned to vnderstand this place of saint Paule concerning his care of all the churches: *Quis infirmatur & ego non infirmor? Quis scandalizatur & ego non eror?* Who is weake and I am not sicke: Or who is offended and I burne not? And that which followeth.

To be briefe, toward the end of his daies, and being hoze haired, he conceiued two excellent imaginations. The one, concerning that great and wonderfull college that is now at building in your Rome, for the teaching (a wonderfull matter) of all languages in the world. The other, the same which he propounded and began to put in execution touching the recouerie of the gods of the catholike apostolike Romish church. The same was it which he did so highlie commend to the clergie, yea to the christi- an princes, and vnto his successor, to the end that the Romane see might recouer the full brightnesse of his glorie, and to depriue the enemie of mankind of that innumerable gaine of soules, that through his subtiltie he doth dailie make. These were his last words when he left vs with the water in our eyes, and sorrow in our hearts, for the losse of a thing of so great value. Neuerthelesse, sith it is to no purpose to weepe, it resteth that we do two things. The one, that so much as in vs lieth, we indenuer to reteine those notable institutions, and walke in that path which he hath prescribed for vs. The other, that we haue recourse to God with prayer, that he will send vs a successor worthy him: and that as Simplician succeeded saint Ambrose, so to this Ambrose an other Simplician in vertue and holinesse maie succeed.

This is that small matter, Oh blessed soule, which my foolish and vnmete tong is able this day to viter of thee in middelt of these sighs and lamentations. Now shall it cease: howbeit, at time convenient, both this daie and euier, my heart shall discourse of thee. Oh wretch that I am! O ye Romane people, to whome happeneth still the contrarie of that which happened to the Romane soules, that was wounded and maimed vpon one of his legs, at a certeine victorie that he obtained. For he said, that at euerie step that he set, and vpon the least paine that he felt of his leg, he called to mind the most honorable blason of his glorie: but I contrariwise, in the least commendations that I may obtaine, shall thinke vpon my losses. For when soeuer I shall boast, that I haue bene seruant to such a holinesse, and so great a personage, I must necessarilie with all remember what a god I am depriued of. Let vs therefore praye to our god God, that it may please him of his grace with his holie spirit to inspire the most reuerend cardinals, the electors of the holie apostolike and Romish see, to the end his holinesse successor, succeeding in the holie see, may likewise succeed in those vertues and holinesse, wherewith he was indued and replenished.

This is the parasiticall and flattering sermon of a popeling, patched together like a beggers mantle of sundrie rotten rags diuerslie colored: wherein there is as much learning as wit; and as much of both as of truth and godnesse in this praiser and the praised: of whome (because it is sinne against the holie ghost to speake otherwise than according to the motion of a god and sound conscience) an epitaph imprecatorie (as fit for him as a pudding for a friers mouth) is here placed as a conclusion of this his memorizall, and applicable vnto all and euerie one of that antichristian and diabollicall succession.

*Albus an ater (leſor) cognoscere ſe ſciſ*

*Papa, tibi dicam quare ratione licet;*

*Tu metamorphoſin lepidam ſpectabis: olorem*

no wife of you  
will believe  
the reporter.

Two image  
nations in  
Gregories  
head toward  
his death.

Some traito-  
rous deuile  
for the perſe-  
cution of the  
goſpell.

God rot out  
all of that ſuc-  
ceſſion, & enue  
his truth free  
paſſage a-  
gainſt poperie.

Blasphemous  
ſoule that haſt  
loſt thy ſoule  
and comfort.

Faithfullie  
translated out  
of the French  
copie printed  
at Paris ſet  
Peter Feber  
dwelling in  
ſharpe ſtreet,  
with ſix kings  
priviledge 1585

*Eae papam, certum protinus ater erit.  
Et quocunque meat, fordes testudo relinquit,  
Sic immundiciem linquit ubique suam.  
Monstrum tale vorax absorbeat ergo barathrum,  
Atque Deo penas tempus in omne laet.*

When this Gregorie was deceased, shortly after (least the ouerlong vacancie of the sacred and apostolike see should preiudice the Romish prelacie and cleargie) the succession came to *Sixtus Quintus*, who according to the disposition of his predecessors intended to mainteine the title of his supreamie, and to beare rule ouer mens consciences, as though peremptorie authoritie had by priuilege passed vnto the bishops of that see to controll and giue the checke to all christendome; one not or minute whereof the beast now residing at Rome not meaning to relinquish, but rather to fortifie and aduance, vnderooke to intermedle with princes of renowne, as professing to bring them within the compasse of his iurisdiction: in somuch that falling to the extreame point of his antichristian power, he let stie (but as paper shot) his excommunications, thinking that if anie thing were able to daunt and appall the courages of mightie men, this were the waie. But herein *Sixtus Quintus* was foliied, for profe whereof behold an answer to the excommunication latelie denounced and published by the said *Sixtus Quintus*, pope of Rome so called, against two christian princes vndermined, and sent to Rome as followeth.

Excommunic-  
ation a perill-  
ous bolt to  
shot at pain-  
les.

The answer of Henrie king of Nauarre,  
and Henrie prince of Conde, to the excom-  
munication of Sixtus Quintus,  
now pope, &c.

The popes  
excommunic-  
ations against  
foreign princes  
are to be este-  
med but as  
paper shot.

The king of  
Nauarre gi-  
ueth the pope  
this.

The king of  
Nauarre de-  
nounceth per-  
petuall warre  
against the  
pope.

This theie  
forgetfullnesse  
is willfull, as  
agreeable to  
their ambitio-  
ous humors.

**H**enrie by the grace of God king of Nauarre, prince of Bearne, chiefe pèere and prince of France, opposeth himselfe against the excommunication of *Sixtus Quintus*, terming himselfe pope of Rome, auouching the same to be false, and appealeth to the court of pèeres of France, of whome he hath the reputation to be the first in degré. And as concerning the crime of heresie, whereof he is falslie accused by the said excommunication, he answereth and affirmeth, that my lord the pope, sauing his holinesse and reuerence, hath therein most falslie and wickedlie lied: and that the pope himselfe is an heretike, which he offereth to proue publikelie in a generall or common counsell lawfullie assembled. Where if he shall refuse to appeare and submit himselfe, as by his owne canons and decrees he is speciallie bound, the said king doth and will hold and repete him a verie antichrist, and in that qualitie of antichrist denounceth perpetuall warre against him: protesting in the meane time, the popes wicked sentence to be vnlawfull and insufficient, and to prosecute against him and his successors (for reparation of honors) reuenge of the iniurie thereby offered to him and all the princes of his blood, as the lewdnesse of the act and the present necessitie doe require. For in times past, the princes and kings his progenitors haue bene able to chastise the insolencie and arrogancie of such companions as the pope is, when they forgot their duties, and exceeded the limits of their vocacion and place, confounding and intermingling their spirituall iurisdiction with the tempozall: the said king of Nauarre being in state nothing inferior to them, doth hope, that God will giue him the grace to reuenge the wrong and iniurie hereby done to his soueraigne, his familie and blood, and to the supream courts and seats of iustice and parlement in France, vpon the said pope and his successors: and to that end and pur-

pose he imploereth the aid, succour, and assistance of all true christian kings, princes, common-weales, whome this case doth concerne, together with the allies and confederats of the crowne of France, against the tyrannie and usurpation of the said pope and of the associated conspirators against the state of their soueraigne, enemies to God, France, and the common peace and quiet of christendome. The like protestation is also made by Henrie of Bourbon prince of Conde, vnto whome the excommunication likewise reacheth. ¶ Fired and set by vpon the Pasquile at Rome to the view of all men.

¶ Thus farre of two popes, who though they be but prophane priests, & more foreigners to England both by birth and beliefe; yet sith they haue bene ouerbold to busie themselves with the affaires not onelie of other christian princes, but also with the state of our nation, wherinto they haue had too far an insight, by the aid of certeine vnnaturall and degenerate people; manie of them being fugitiues, and carieng about them euen in their bosome a conscience bespotted with sinnes of exceeding horroz and heinousnesse: in consideration hereof, as also of other practises tending to an vniuersall desolation of truth and louers of truth, as also to the dissolution of ciuill policie and destruction of our most gracious soueraigne ladie quene Elisabeth, the lords annointed and lieutenant, principall within hir owne dominions: what faithfull subiect can but note them; howbeit, none otherwise than the reports of them haue passed vnder manie eyes and through manie hands, printed euen in foreign speech, before the same were published in English. At which popes, meaning now to make a stop, we will come againe to matters of our owne.

¶ In this yeare 1585, euen in Aprill, at the pleasant prime, sir Walter Raleigh knight, being incouraged by the reports of his men of the goodnesse of the soile and the fertilitie of the countrie, which they had discovered this yeare last past, and now by his maiestie called Virginia, with knightlie courage counteraileable to his double desire of honour, by vndertaking hard aduenturs, furnished to his great charges eight sailles of all sortes, and immediatlie set them to the sea, ordeining sir Richard Grenfield his kinsman (a gentleman of verie god estimation both for his parentage and sundrie god vertues, who for loue he bare vnto sir Walter Raleigh, together with a disposition that he had to attempt honorable actions worthie of honour, was willing to hazard himselfe in this voyage) his lieutenant, intaining him either to carrie himselfe, or to leaue some gentleman of god worth with a competent number of soldiers in the countrie of Virginia, to begin an English colonie there. Who with the ships aforesaid, hauing in his companie sir John Arundell, Thomas Candish, Rafe Lane, Edward Forges, John Stuklie, Edward Stafford, Phillip Amadis, Arthur Barlow, Thomas Veriot, and diuerse other gentlemen with a competent number of souldiers, departed from London in Aprill aforesaid. But after they had sailed certeine numbers of leagues at the sea, by force and violence of fowle weather they were separated one from another; so that sir Richard Grenfield being singled from his fleet, all alone arriued in the Island of Hispaniola in the west Indies, about the middes of June following, where he determined resolutelie to remaine, vntill he had built a bote (for he had lost his owne bote in the tempest aforesaid.)

Wherevpon immediatlie after his landing, finding a place to his liking, he esconced himselfe in despite of the Spaniards, who by all possible means did there best endeavour by proffering of sundrie fairmit-

The king of  
Nauarre im-  
ploereth the aid  
of all christian  
kings, as  
against the ty-  
rannie and us-  
urpation of  
the pope.

*Abt. Flex chi-  
rographo D. G.  
militis.*

Sir Walter  
Raleighs  
chargeable  
voiage to the  
foresaid land  
intelic discou-  
ered, and by the  
quenes mai-  
estie named  
Virginia.

Sir Richard  
Grenfield  
lieutenant to  
sir Walter  
Raleigh for  
this voiage.

Gentlemen  
that associated  
with Richard  
Grenfield,

Sir Richard  
Grenfield  
singled from  
his companie  
by fowle wea-  
ther arriueth  
in Hispaniola.



The valiant-  
ness of sir Ri-  
chard Greene-  
field against  
the Spaniards.

A parties ten-  
ding to the  
concluding of  
an amitie be-  
tweene the  
English and  
Spanish.

what kind of  
cattell for vit-  
telling sir Ri-  
chard Greene-  
field transpor-  
ted to Virgi-  
nia.

Sir Richard  
Greenefield  
meeth with  
the rest of his  
fleet and is in  
danger of  
shipwracke.

Sir Richard  
Greenefield  
establisheth  
an English  
colonie in  
Virginia by  
commission.

Sir Richard  
Greenefield  
descrieth a  
Spanish ship,  
chalet and  
surpriseth hir.

In other boi-  
age resolved  
upon by sir  
Walter Ra-  
leigh for the  
supplie of those  
that were left  
in Virginia.

Four thousand  
men trained  
up with  
shot in the citie  
of London.

Shirmithe be-  
fore the queens  
maiestie at  
Greenwich.

thes, to enforced him to retire to his ship: but he no-  
thing appalled with their brags kept his ground.  
Twelve daies after his arrivall there, after Thomas  
Candish arrived at the same place, where sir Richard  
Greenefield was encompassing of himselfe, to the great  
reioysing both of themselves & their companies. The  
Spaniards finding it too hard for them (notwith-  
standing their multitudes) to remove these few re-  
solute Englishmen by violence, came to a parlee, and  
in the same concluded an amitie, that the one na-  
tion might in safetie traffike with the other. Now  
when sir Richard Greenefield had taried in that Is-  
land almost a moneth, and had built his bote, reit-  
telled himselfe, and laden his ships with hozles,  
mares, kine, sheep, swine, &c: to transport with him  
to Virginia (because these sorts of cattell heretofore  
were not to be found in that countrie) he departed  
thence; and in his waie he made discoverie of manie  
Islands and haucens upon the continent adjoining,  
and arrived safelie in the new discovered countrie  
(where he met with the rest of his fleet that attended  
his comming thither) about the middell of Julie  
next ensuing, not without great danger of ship-  
wracke. For at the verie entrance into the harbor-  
rough, his ship strake on the ground, and did beat so  
manie strokes upon the sands, that if God had not  
miraculously delivered him, there had bene no  
waie to avoid present death. In this danger his ship  
was so bryled, that the saltwater came so abound-  
dantly into hir, that the most part of his corne, salt,  
meale, rice, biscuit, & other provisions that he should  
have left with them that remained behind him in  
the countrie was spoiled.

After he had remained there certeine daies, accor-  
ding to his commission from sir Walter Raleigh,  
he began to establish a colonie, appointing master  
Kafe Lane (a gentleman of good account) generall  
of those English which were to remaine there, being  
in all to the number of an hundred and seaven per-  
sons, amongst whom diverse gentlemen remained;  
namelie, Philip Amadis, Edward Stafford, Per-  
vint, Kendall, Wibeaur, Adon, Heriot, and others.  
When he had taken sufficient order for the establish-  
ing of master Lane and his companie aforesaid, lea-  
ving with them as much of all provisions as his  
plentie would give him leave, he weighed anchor for  
England. But in his returne, not having failed ma-  
nie leagues from the coast of Virginia, he descried  
a tall ship of foure hundred tuns or thereabouts, ma-  
king the same course that he did, unto whom he gaue  
chase, and in few houres by goodnesse of saile over-  
tooke, and by violence wan, richly laden with sugar,  
hides, spices, and some quantitie of gold, silver, and  
pearles: the was the viceadmirall of the fleet of *San-  
to Domingo* that yere for Spaine. After this good for-  
tune, having a merie gale, not manie daies after he  
arrived at Wilmouth in October next ensuing;  
where sir Walter Raleigh meeting with him, did  
presentlie resolve upon another voyage, to supplie  
Kafe Lane, and his companie that were left with  
him in Virginia, the next spring following: which  
accordinglie was performed with all expedition.]

In Aprill about the fourteenth daie, by command-  
ment of hir maiesties most honorable private  
councell, the citizens of London appointed out of the  
companies of the same citie to the number of foure  
thousand men, with armour, ensignes, drums, fises,  
and other furniture for the warres, the greater part  
whereof (or almost all of them) were shot, the other  
were pikes and halberds in faire coxlets: all those  
to be trained by vnder expert capteins, with serge-  
ants of the bands, widlers, and other necessarie offi-  
cers, mustered and shirmithe dailie at the Apples  
end, and in saint Georges field, and on the eighteenth

daie of Maie (having overnighit set forward out of  
saint Georges field) mustered in the parke at Green-  
wich, and shirmithe before the queens maiestie,  
who gaue to them great thanks for their actiuenesse  
and paines: sith hir maiestie might perceiue the ap-  
pliablenesse of those hir people, even in pastime not  
bold of perill, to delight hir eyes and reioise hir hart;  
esteeming nothing too deere to part withall, so it  
might anie waies concerne dutie to hir highnesse.  
In discharge whereof as she hath no forwarder sub-  
iects in hir land, so to discover, inquire, and persecute  
the disloyall none readier, even to the hazard of their  
lives, for the safetie of hir life, which is the life of the  
whole land, and the prop of true religion: in respect  
whereof we saie and praise with the well wishing sub-  
iect, that upon seeing & hearing of hir highnesse, fell  
into such an admiration of hir excellencie, that he left  
these verses among manie after his goodlie death:

*Incyte da longum dici, Deus, Elisabetha Est,  
Elisabetha tua Est, religioque tua Est:  
Da Deus haud unquam dici, Fuit Elisabetha,  
Elisabetha Fuit, religioque Fuit.*

¶ On the nineteenth of Maie being Ascension  
eue, Edward Wotton esquier, descended of a  
worthy parentage, was ambassado: into Scot-  
land, to establish a league of amitie betwene the  
two nations of England and Scotland: whome I  
will now leave in that countrie executing his com-  
mission, and turne my pen to some persons of that  
surname, who for their singularity of wit & learning,  
for their honour and gouvernement in and of the  
realme about the pynce, and elsewhere at home and  
abroad, deserue such commendations, that they me-  
rit *Nineo signari lapillo*. In treating of whome I will  
neither make mention of the antiquitie of that wo-  
rthy familie from the first originall, nor yet treat  
of Richard Wotton, living in the time of Edward  
the first, the father of John Wotton coroner of  
Dunstable an officer of great account in those daies  
and father to an other John Wotton, &c: of Ri-  
chard Wotton or Wotton, an officer of the exchequer  
in the time of Edward the second, nor of sir Nicho-  
las Wotton knight, living about the daies of Ri-  
chard the second, nor of anie other Wottons whereof  
this Edward Wotton is descended: but onelie of  
such Wottons his ancestors, who of late time lived  
with in the compasse of my memorie, and were the  
sonnes of sir Robert Wotton of Boston Palherbe  
in Kent knight, deseruing not to be forgotten, in  
that he was father to two such worthy sonnes, as I  
do not remember that euer England nourished at  
one time for like honour, disposition of mind, fauour  
and service to their countrie.

The sonnes of this sir Robert Wotton, whereof  
we intend to intreat, were sir Edward Wotton  
knight the eldest, and Nicholas Wotton doctor  
both lawes the yonger sonne. Whereof the first be-  
ing a man of great estimation in the countrie for  
his orderlie and wise managing of the priuat af-  
faires of his countrie of Kent, was for his fidelitie  
and good carriage in small things made lord and ru-  
ler of great things. For king Henrie the eight, un-  
derstanding the grauitie of the man, his rare wit,  
deepe indgement, great experience, and other parts  
required in a found cancellor, did admit this sir Ed-  
ward into his owne bosome, and made him of his  
primate counsell: whose modest mind being so farre  
estranged from desire of honour, as that he would  
not accept it by great inforcement (a vertue verie  
rare, and such as declareth a noble mind iudiciallie  
grounded upon the truth of diuine philosophie) re-  
fused the honorable place of the chancelloship of Eng-  
land, accounting that the vertue of the mind made  
a man honorable, and not the honorable place. For  
as

The London-  
ers commen-  
ded.

Fr. Thin.

A league of a-  
mitie betwene  
England and  
Scotland  
established:  
Edward  
Wotton esqui-  
er ambassado:

The Wot-  
tons an an-  
cient familie,  
and of special  
name in de-  
scribing kings  
reignes.

Sir Robert  
Wotton of  
Boston Pal-  
herbe in Kent,  
a man of sin-  
gular note.

Sir Edward  
Wotton and  
Nicholas  
Wotton do-  
ctor of both  
lawes, the  
rare sonnes of  
a rare father.

Sir Edward  
Wotton one of  
king Henrie  
the eighths pri-  
me counsell.

Sir Edward  
Wotton refus-  
eth to be lord  
chancellor of  
England.



Chrysostomus  
de re  
cognitione sap.

sa faith saint Chrysostome; Honor verus virtutis animi  
est, hic honor nec a Caesaribus praestatur, neque adulatione  
conquiritur, neque pecunia preparatur; nihil fucati in se  
habent, nihil simulati, nihil occultis huius honoris successor est,  
nullus est accusator: nullus ingratus.

Enchiridion  
quadrages.

Therefore not being ambitious of honour (after  
which the best do often hunt, although such greedie  
desire of honour and ambition be, as faith Barnard,  
Futile malum, secretum virus, pestis occulta, doli artifex, ma-  
ter hypocrisis, liuoris parens, vitiorum origo, tineae sanctitatis,  
exceatix cordium, ex remedijs morbos creans, ex medicina  
linguorem generans) did further increase his honour  
and aduance him to greater credit; as appeareth by  
this, that king Henrie the eight, whom this man had  
long and faithfullie serued in his life time, made  
him one of his executors, and the disposer of his tes-  
tament at the time of his death; with whom also in  
the same authoritie he ioined his brother doctor Ni-  
cholas Wotton, a man of no lesse merit than the  
other, and rightlie deservuing to be here ioined in re-  
membrance with his brother after their deaths, since  
almost equall honoz, like loue, the same authoritie in  
the common-weale, one blood, and one Christ did  
ioine them together in perfect amitie during their  
lives: of which Nicholas Wotton I will not speake  
anie more (except that as his brother refused the  
chancellorship, so he in the beginning of the reigne  
of this queene refused the bishopricke of Canturbu-  
rie) but that which this worthy gentleman Thomas  
Wotton of Botton Walherbe esquire now liuing  
(sonne to the said sir Edward, and nephew to the  
said Nicholas, this Thomas being a great and fast  
fauor of his countrie, not withstanding full vnto him  
therefore) hath set downe in a statelie and rich toime  
of curious workmanship, formed after the order of  
a pyramis, and placed in the church of Canturbu-  
rie, on which is ingraued in a faire stone of marble  
this epitaph following: wher in his birth, his parents,  
his honors at home, his ambassages abroad, and o-  
ther things necessarie the knowledge are faithfullie  
set downe.

Nicholas  
Wotton doc-  
tor of both  
lawes refectus  
to be archbi-  
shop of Can-  
turburie: a  
rare note in  
him (as also in  
his brother) of  
contentation  
with their  
estates.

Thomas  
Wotton of  
Botton Wal-  
herbe (sonne  
to the said sir  
Edward) a  
great regard  
of his progne-  
toys education.

Epitaphium ce-  
lebre Nicholai  
Wottoni primi  
post monasteriorum  
dissolutionem  
Cantuar. decani.

Nicholaus Wottonus Roberti Wottoni equitis aurati ex  
Anna Belknap filius, viri sp. iuris doctor, ecclesia huius  
primus itemq. metropolitanae ecclesiae diui Petri Eboracensis  
decanus, Henrico 8. Eduardo 6. Maria & Elisabetha An-  
glie regibus a secretis concilijs ad Carolum 5. Caesarem bis, ad  
Philippum Hispaniarum regem semel, ad Franciscum primum  
Francorum regem semel, ad Henricum secundum eius filium  
ter, ad Maria Hungariae reginam Belgarum praesidem semel,  
ad Gulielmum Cleuensem duce[m] bis, legatione functus. Re-  
nouatae pacis inter Anglos, Francos, & Scotos, inter Guinas  
& Arderam anno 1540 similiter, & ad castrum Cameracense  
anno 1559. Deniq. Edinburgi Scotia anno 1560. ora-  
torum unus, hic tandem fere septuagenarius requiescit. Haec  
ille ante mortem & ante morbum quasi fatalem diem praesen-  
tiens, & cygneam canticum prophetice canens, sua manu in  
misco scripta reliquit.

Annus etatis  
cum & vix ex-  
cessisset.

Qui apud tales principes (diuina providentia gubernante)  
laudabiliter, & in tot ac tantis causis (quarum magnitudo  
grauissima, utilitas publica fuit) feliciter bonam vitam suam  
partem consumpsit; eum virum sapientem & experientissimum  
ipsa inuidia iudicare debet. Quam semper ab omni con-  
tentione honorum fuerit alienus, illud decalarat, quod ad hanc  
ecclesiasticam dignitatem non ambitione vlla sua inflamma-  
tus, nec amicorum opera usus, aspirauit: sed eam utramq.  
Favoris octatus (hominis merito & virtute protectus)  
vltro detulit. Cumq. idem rex illustrissimus morbum lethalem  
ingrauescere persentiret, & Eduardus principis sane excel-  
lentissimi, adhuc tandem pueri & republicae administranda  
impari, imbecillam aetatem senilis prudentia secretioris con-  
silio sui, regendum existimaret, illis instituit hunc Nicholaum  
(absentem tunc in Francia legatum) unum esse voluit.  
Eduardi regi iam medio regni curriculo prope confecto, unus  
primarius secretarij fuit, quem locum tenere potuisset, nisi &

Homo summa  
laude dignus  
Wottonus vel  
ipsa inuidia in-  
dice.

Dignitatis gra-  
dus quibus  
Wottonus iuste  
est insignitus  
regnantibus  
duobus princi-  
pibus.

suu & assiduus amicorum precibus abdicandi veniam impe-  
traisset. Corpus illi erat gracile, qui sem & paruum sed erectum;  
habitu sano, vultus liberali, vultus exquisitus, quem semel  
tantum in die capere consueuerat: valitudo adeo firma, ut ra-  
ro morbum aliquem sentiret: animus vero totus libris ac literis  
dicatus: artium medicina, iurisperitentie, & theologiae su-  
dio intentus: linguarum Romanae, Italicae, Gallicae, & Ger-  
manicae inferiori cognitione pulchre exornatus. Ita vir iste  
nove florens, labore fractus, aetate confectus; postquam decanus  
huius ecclesiae annis 25. dies 293. praefuisset, Londini Ianuarius  
26. anno nostra salutis 1566. pie & suauiter in Domino ob-  
dormiuit. Thoma Woottono nepote herede relicto, qui ei hoc  
monumentum non honoris ergo quo abundauit vixit & fla-  
rescit mortuus, sed amoris causa quem memoria colere ut debet  
semperiterna, consecrauit.

Reman quatuor-  
dum m. 1566. os-  
tione memorabi-  
lium lucens a  
descriptio.

Idelicet eccle-  
siasticam  
Christi Canma-  
riensis.

Monumentum  
in memoriam  
memoriae amo-  
ris ergo extructum

In which epitaph it appeareth what he was, & how  
greatlie learned and reuerenced he was; the same. There-  
fore needing not to speake anie more of him, sith I  
shall not be able with due maiestie of stile to expresse  
his worthinesse; I will yet, leauing what other wise  
his merit might challenge to be spoken, note one  
strange and rare thing, which to my remembrance  
neuer happened to anie one man before the same, be-  
ing this that he had not onelie bene counsellor to  
fourte kings and queenes of England following in  
succession of time, but also that he had ben thirtie  
seuerall times ambassador; and orator to diuerse  
princes for the affaires of the publike wealthe, and the  
princes honoz. Thus leauing this worthy doctor  
with his nephew Thomas Wotton, father to Ed-  
ward Wotton sent ambassador to Scotland, which  
occasioned me to treat thus much of the Wottons,  
I conclude, that it is a singular blessing of God, not  
commonlie giuen to euerie race, to be beautified  
with such great and succeeding honoz in the descents  
of the familie. Whereof this Edward Wotton now  
liuing, hath in the life of his father giuen great profe  
of continuance to descend to their posteritie, in that  
he in these his yong yeares, hath bene (after his tra-  
uell ouer the most part of Europe) twice imploied in  
ambassages for the seruice of his countrie; first to  
the king of Portugall, & now to the king of Scots:  
with whom I will at this time set end to this dis-  
course of the Wottons.]

This is touch-  
ed in the  
former epitaph  
among other  
his prefer-  
ments.

Commendati-  
on of Edward  
Wotton, in  
respect of his  
great traue-  
ling ouer the  
most part of  
Europe and  
his imple-  
ments in  
ambassages &c.

On the one and twentieth daie of June, Henrie  
Perrie earle of Northumberland, prisoner in the  
Tower of London vpon behement suspition of  
high treason, was there found dead, and also of his  
owne diuelish intent, and of his malice before pre-  
tended to haue murdered himselfe, as more mani-  
festlie and at large may appeare, by an inquisition  
made by a substantiall iurie, taken before the cor-  
oner as followeth verbatim with the record.

Earle of  
Northumber-  
land found to  
haue murder-  
ed himselfe  
in the tower  
of London.

A Copie of the said inquisition.

A inquisition taken at the citie of London, that  
is within the tower of London, in the parish of  
Alhallowes Barking, in the ward of the Tower of  
London, on spondaie being the one and twentieth  
daie of June, in the ycare of the reigne of our soue-  
reigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God queene of  
England, France, and Ireland, defendor of the faith  
&c, the seuen and twentieth: before William Squier  
gentleman coroner to our said souereigne ladie  
the queene within the citie of London and the liber-  
ties of the same, vpon the view of the bodie of Hen-  
rie Perrie knight, late earle of Northumberland,  
late prisoner there within the Tower of London a-  
foresaid, for suspition of high treason by him suppo-  
sed to be done, there lieng dead, and slaine: by the  
othes of Nicholas Wheeler, Simon Wodepole,  
Thomas Gardener, William Leakeston, Owen  
Wozgan, Henrie Lodge, William Abraham, Wil-  
liam Horne, Thomas Russell, John Porter, Robert  
Dolue,

A quest of  
inquirie vpon  
his violent  
& voluntarie  
death.

Dolwe, Anthonie Hall, William Curtis, Thomas Wood, Matthew Dolman, Thomas Martin, Richard Sleford, John Crof, Philip Smith, Thomas Tallo, and Henrie Bowdler, of god and lawfull men of the same ward, and of thre other wards to the same ward next adjoining, as the maner and custome is in the citie aforesaid, to inquire how, in what maner, and when the said Henrie Percie late earle of Northumberland came to his death.

The verdict of the iurie deliuered vpon their oths.

Which iurie do saie vpon their oths, that on the one & twentieth daie of this instant moneth of June, in the yeare of the reigne of our soueraigne ladie Elisabeth by the grace of God queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendoz of the faith, &c: the seuen and twentieth aforesaid, and long before the foresaid Henrie late earle of Northumberland prisoner in the Tower of London situate in the parish of Alhallowes Barking aforesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London, aforesaid, for suspicion of high treason aforesaid, by him against our soueraigne ladie the queene supposed to be committed; and the foresaid earle so remaining prisoner, and being placed in a certeine chamber within the Tower of London aforesaid, there prisoner remaining, imagining and intending himselfe diuelishly and feloniously to kill and murder before the foresaid one & twentieth daie of June: that is to saie, the sixteenth daie of June in the seuen and twentieth yeare aforesaid, did prepare a certeine dag of iron and Steele of the value of ten shillings: and also certeine bullets of lead, and a certeine quantitie of gunpowder, contained in a certeine small box, and caused the foresaid gun, the bullets of lead and the gunpowder to be brought in to the foresaid chamber vnto him the same earle of Northumberland, and to be deliuered to the same earle then and there by the hands of James a Vice peoman, to execute his diuelish and felonious purpose and intention.

The meanes that the earle made and prepared to deuill himselfe.

Which dag aforesaid, the foresaid earle caused secretly to be hidden in a certeine mattris vnder the bolster of his bed in the chamber aforesaid, and then and there, the foresaid one and twentieth daie of June in the seuen and twentieth yeare aforesaid, betwene the houres of twelue and one in the night of the foresaid one and twentieth daie of June, thinking and intending to prosecute and follow his diuelish intention and purpose aforesaid, did bolt the doze of the foresaid chamber, and the inner part of his said chamber towards himselfe, least anie man should foresee or withstand his diuelish, felonious, and malicious intent: and the said doze of his foresaid chamber, being so bolted; the same earle then and there into his bed himselfe did lye, and vpon this after ward, that is to saie, the foresaid one and twentieth daie of June, in the seuen & twentieth yeare aforesaid, about the houres aforesaid, within the Tower of London aforesaid, situate and being in the parish of Alhallowes Barking aforesaid, in the ward of the Tower of London aforesaid, not hauing the almighty God or his feare before his eyes, but being moued and seduced by the instigation of the diuell, of his malice afore pretended; did take vp into his hands the foresaid dag of iron and Steele, then and there made readie, charged with gunpowder, and thre bullets of lead, and the foresaid dag to the left part of his breast nere vnto the pape of the same part of his breast, then and there feloniously and diuelishly did put, and vpon the same part of his breast the foresaid dag did discharge.

The order of the action that was the earls destruction.

By reason of the violence of which gunpowder, and of the foresaid thre bullets of lead, the foresaid earle into his bodie and heart, and through his chine bone, even into his right shoulder, himselfe then and there with the foresaid bullets of lead feloniously and

voluntarily did strike; giuing vnto himselfe then and there one mortall wound, of the depth of twelue inches, and of the breadth of two inches: of which mortall wound aforesaid, the foresaid earle within the Tower of London aforesaid, the daie, yeare, parish, and ward aforesaid, instantly died. And so the iurie doth saie vpon their oths aforesaid, that the foresaid earle, the daie, yeare, and place aboue written, of his diuelish intent aforesaid, and of his malice before pretended, feloniously and voluntarily himselfe did kill and murder in maner and forme aforesaid, against the peace of our soueraigne ladie the queene, hir crowne and dignitie. But what goods and cattels the foresaid earle in the time of the felonie and murder to himselfe aforesaid committed, had, or as yet hath, the iurie knew not, &c: in witness whereof, &c. This was the verdict of the iurors, wherby the maner how, and the matter whereby the earle dispatched himselfe is trulie declared: which being taken for truth (as deseruing no lesse, the parties well worthy of credit) it remained to provide for the bestowing of his wretched carcase, which on the thre and twentieth daie of June was buried in saint Peters church within the said Tower of London. This was the end of that gracelesse earle, the maner of whose murder, and part of his treasons are here dilated, as the same was publickly deliuered in the Star chamber, and after published in a booke intituled;

The breadth and depth of his wound.

Henrie earle of Northumberland buried in the Tower.

30 A true and summarie report of the declaration of some part of the earle of Northumberland's treasons, deliuered publickly in the court at the Star chamber by the lord Chancellor and others of hir maiesties most honorable priue counsell, & counsell learned, by hir maiesties speciall commandement, together with the examinations & depositions of sundrie persons touching the manner of his most wicked and violent murder committed vpon himselfe with his owne hand, in the Tower of London, the 20 daie of Iune, 1585.



Alice, among other essentiall properties pertaining to hir ouglie nature, hath this one not inferior to the rest and the worst, incredulitie, wherewith the commonlie possessed the minds and affections of all those that are infected with hir, so blinding the eyes & iudgement of the best and clearest sighted, that they cannot see or perceiue the bright beames of the truth, although the same be deliuered with neuer so great puritie, profe, circumstance and probabilitie. It is said that no truth passeth abroad vnaccompanied with hir contrarie; and as they go, truth is ever constrained to yeld the precedence and preeminence to hir pokesellow falshood, whose lodging is alwaies first made and prepared without a harbinger in the corrupt nature of mankind, by whome she is first receiued, interteined and harbored at all times: wherof in our dallie experientie there happen manie and dangerous demonstrations, especiallie in matters of the highest moment, tending to excuse or accuse the actions of the greatest personages.

Incredulitie an essentiall propertie of malice.

Truth and falshood commonly concur & are opposites.

There was of late deliuered in publick by persons of honour, credit, and reputation, a large declaration of certeine treasons practised by the late earle of Northumberland, of the maner of his vntimely death, being with his owne hand murdered in the Tower, and of the causes that brought him thither vnto. The particularities whereof are such and so manie, as for the helpe of my memorie (comming then to the Star chamber by occasion, and not looking for anie such presence of the nobilitie and priue counsell as I found there at that time, and not looking for anie such cause of that nature to haue bene handled there that daie) I took notes of the severall mat-

An ingredience into the historie of Northumberland.

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ters declared by the lord chancellor, maister attourneie, and solicitor generall, the lord chiefe baron, and maister vicechamberlaine: for (as I remember) they spake in order as they are here marshalled, and therefor I place them in this sort, and not according to their precedence in dignitie.

The manner of  
the earles ma-  
king aware of  
himselfe not  
generallie be-  
lieued.

Upon the hearing of the treasons with their proofs and circumstances, and the desperat maner of the earles destruction deliuered in that place, and by persons of that qualitie, I supposed no man to haue bene so void of iudgement or the vse of common reason, that would haue doubted of anie one point or particle thereof, untill it was my chance (falling in companie with diuerse persons at sundrie times, as well about the citie of London as abroad) to heare manye men report variable and corruptie of the maner and matter of this publike declaration, possessing the minds and opinions of the people with manifest vntruths: as, that the earle had bene vnjustlie detained in prison without proofe or iust cause of suspicion of treason: and that he had bene murdered by deuise and practise of some great enemies, and not destroyed by himselfe. These slanderous reports haue ministred vnto me this occasion to set forth vnto thy view and consideration (gentle reader) this short collection of the said treasons and murder, as neere vnto the truth as my notes taken may lead and permit me, with the view of some of the examinations them selues concerning this cause for my better satisfaction since obtained. Which I haue vnderaken for two respects: the one, to conuince the false and malicious impressions and constructions receiued and made of these actions, by such as are in heart enemies to the happy estate of hir maiesties present gouernement: the other, because it may be thought necessarie for the preventing of a further contagion like to grow (by this creeping infection) in the minds of such as are apt (though otherwise indifferent) in these and the like rumors, to receiue the bad as the good, and they the most in number. Wherein if I haue seemed more bold than wise, or intermedled my selfe in matters aboue my reach, and not appertaining vnto me, I craue pardon where it is to be asked, and commit my selfe to thy friendlie interpretation to be made of my simple trauell and dutifull meaning herein.

Persons of  
honour and  
birth as-  
sembled in the  
Star-cham-  
ber, in whose  
presence the  
said earles  
case was can-  
celled.

Upon the thre and twentieth daie of June last, assembled in the court of Star-chamber, sir Thomas Bromie knight lord chancellor of England, William lord Burleigh lord tresuro of England, George earle of Shrewsburie lord marshall of England, Henrie earle of Derby, Robert earle of Leicester, Charles lord Howard of Effingham lord chamberlaine, Henrie lord Hunsdon lord gouernor of Berwicke, sir Francis Knollis knight tresuro, sir James Croft knight comptrollo of hir maiesties household, sir Christopher Hatton knight vice-chamberlaine to the quenes maiestie, the lord chiefe iustice of hir maiesties bench, the maister of the rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the ercheher, and others. The audience berie great of knights, esquires, and men of other qualitie, the lord chancellor began by himselfe and summarilie to declare, that whereas Henrie late earle of Northumberland, for diuerse notable treasons and practises by him taken in hand, to the danger not onelie of hir maiesties roiall person, but to the perill of the whole realme, had bene long detained in prison, and looking into the guilt of his owne conscience, and perceiving by such meanes of intelligence, as he by corrupting of his keepers and other like deuises had obtained, that his treasons were by sundrie examinations and confessions discovered, grew thereby into such a desperat estate, as that thereupon he had most wickedlie

destroyed & murdered himselfe. Which being made knowne to the lords of hir maiesties priuite counsell, order was thereupon taken, and direction giuen to the lord chiefe iustice of England, the maister of the rolles, and the lord chiefe baron of the ercheher, to examine the maner and circumstances of his death, which they with all good indueor and diligence had accordingly performed. And least through the sinister meanes of such persons as be euill affected to the present estate of hir maiesties gouernement, some bad and vntrue conceits might be had as well of the cause of the earles deteinement, as of the maner of his death: it was therefore thought necessarie to haue the truth thereof made knowne in that presence: and then he required hir maiesties learned counsell there present to deliuer at large the particularities both of the treasons, and in what sort the earle had murdered himselfe. Then began John Popham esquier, hir maiesties attourneie generall, as fol-  
loweth.

Examinants  
appointed for  
and about the  
manner of  
Northum-  
berlands selfe  
murther.

The earle of Northumberland about the time of the last rebellion in the north, in the eleuenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne (then called by the title of Henrie Perrie knight) had vnderaken the conuincing awaie of the Scotch quene: for the which (as appeareth by a record of the fourteenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne) in the court of hir maiesties bench he was indicted, he confessed the offense, and put himselfe to hir maiesties mercies. At which time, vpon his said confession, submission, and faithfull promise of his dutie and allegiance to hir highnesse from thenceforth, the quenes maiestie of hir mercifull nature was pleased, not to looke into his offense with the extremitie of hir lawes; but dealt therein as by waie of contempt onelie, as may appeare by the record: the effect whereof was then shewed in the court, vnder the hand of one of the clerkes of hir maiesties said bench, *In hac verba.*

Maister at-  
turne, name-  
ly John Pop-  
ham discou-  
ereth the earles  
treasonable  
practises.

#### 40 An extract of the said record contain- ing the said earles indictment.



Memorandum, that Henrie Perrie late of Linmouth in the countie of Northumberland knight, was indicted in the terme of Easter, in the fourteenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, for that he with diuers others did conspire for the deliuering of the quene of Scots out of the custodie of the erle of Shrewsburie. Upon which indictment the same Henrie Perrie did confesse the offense, and did put himselfe to the quenes mercie: and thereupon iudgement was after giuen by the court, that the said Henrie should paie to the quene for a fine for his said offense, five thousand marks, as appeareth by the record thereof in court.

The erle con-  
fesseth his of-  
fense, and is  
put to 5000  
marks fine.

Per Micha. 14. & 15. Elisabetha regina,  
rotulo quinto inter placita regina. Con-  
cordat cum recordo.

Per Io. Iue.

By this record it maie appeare that the earle had his hand in that rebellion. But for a further proofe thereof, it is most manifestlie discovered in a certaine tract written by the bishop of Ross (wherein he sheweth how faithfullie he behaued himselfe in the managing of those treasons, at and about the time of that rebellion) that the said earle was in effect as farre plunged into the same, as the late earle his brother, howsoever he wound himselfe out of the danger thereof at that time. Notwithstanding these traitorous practises, the quenes maiestie was contented to remit all within a short time, and then ac-  
cepted;

The earle a  
dealer in re-  
bellion as his  
brother (ther-  
fore executed)  
was.

earle  
thum-  
berland  
Lower.

The cause  
which the col-  
lection of North-  
umberland's  
treasons and  
self-murder  
was pub-  
lished.

indite  
triall  
is of

ind  
com-  
conce  
posse.

cdi-  
the  
f  
mbet:

A summe of  
the traitorous  
purposes  
whereunto the  
earle was en-  
tered with a  
gracelesse re-  
solution.

cepted most graciously of him both in honor and fa-  
vor, though unworthily bestowed upon him, for that  
he utterly forgetting those graces and favors recei-  
ued at his maiesties mercifull hands, with a grace-  
lesse resolution was contented to enter into a new  
plot now latelie contriued, not onelie for the deli-  
uering of the Scottish queene, but for the invading  
of the whole realme, the ouerthrow of the govern-  
ment, aswell concerning the state of religion, as o-  
therwise, the danger of his maiesties sacred per-  
son, and aduancing of the said Scottish queene to the  
regall crowne and scepter of this realme, whereun-  
to his maiestie is lineallie and lawfullie borne and  
descended, and wherein God of his mercie conti-  
nue his long in happie state of gouernement, to the  
increase of his owne glorie, and the comfort of his  
louing and obedient subjects.

The treasons  
of Throck-  
morton com-  
municable  
with the earle.

Then did maister Attorneie enter into the parti-  
cularities of the treasons, leaning manie parts  
thereof vntouched, because the case stood so as it was  
not then convenient to reueale them (as he said) in  
respect that they touched some other persons undealt  
withall at that time, shewing that Throckemortons  
treasons were not old, but fresh in euerie mans me-  
morie, and how far forth they reached vnto the earle,  
he declared. And for that the treasons of Throcke-  
morton tended especiallie to the invading of the  
realme with foren forces, the purpose of that in-  
uasion long before intended, is proued by sundrie  
examinations and confessions taken here within  
the realme, aswell of his maiesties owne subjects as  
others, by letters intercepted, written from and to  
the conspirators abroad and at home, and by other  
good aduertisements and intelligences had from  
foren parts discovering the same. He declared that  
in a letter written from doctor Sanders to doctor  
Allen out of Spaine, in the yeare 1577, it is set  
downe among other things, that the state of Chri-  
stendome stood vpon the stout assailing of England.

That in a letter sent to the said Allen from Rome,  
touching audience giuen by the pope to the ambas-  
sadors of certeine foren princes, betwene the pope  
whom a league was agreed on against the queenes  
maiestie, there were inclosed certeine articles con-  
teining in effect, that the realme should be invaded  
with twentie thousand men at the charge of the said  
pope and princes, that his maiestie should be depo-  
sed, and some English catholike elected king. That  
it was confessed that the comming ouer of so ma-  
nie priests into the realme, was to win great num-  
bers to the catholike partie, to ioine (if opportunitie  
serued) either with foren inuasion, or with tumult  
at home. That at Parbonne in Prouince, there  
was met an Englishman, being the head preacher  
there, who gaue intelligence to one of his maiesties  
subjects, that the realme should shortly be invaded  
by a foren king, and the popish religion restored:  
and said further, that priests came into England and  
dispersed themselves in countries, to make their  
partie strong. A message was sent in Nouember  
1581, to doctor Allen from a subject of this realme,  
by a feminarie priest then returning beyond the  
seas: that whereas he had receiued word from Al-  
len at Alhallontide before, that men and all things  
were in a readinesse, if the place of landing might  
be knowne: that Allen should shortly send word  
whether things were in such readinesse or not: and if  
they were, he would then send him such perfect in-  
structions as he could. One Paine executed for  
treason, confessed that this realme could not conti-  
nue in the state wherein it was, for that the pope  
had a speciall care thereof, and would in short time  
either by foren princes, or by some other meanes  
wooke a change of things here.

Paine with  
all of his ac-  
curst stamp  
shall (I hope  
in God) be  
found false  
prophets.

From hence, maister Attorneie fell into the  
treasons confessed by Francis Throckemorton,  
shewing that the state of this realme had bene of-  
ten presented to the consideration of a foren prince,  
who after long hearkening to the motion, had resol-  
ued to yeld that furtherance he might, and to giue  
all aids necessarie for the reforming of religion, so  
they might be backed by such as were well affected  
within this countrie. That the duke of Guise had  
solicited for two yeares together the pope and other  
princes, to supplie him with forces: but being cros-  
sed by the death of a great personage, it was now  
growne to this passe, if there could be a partie found  
in England to ioine in that action, and convenient  
places and meanes for landing, and other things  
necessarie, there should be a supplie for Guise of for-  
ren strength. Francis Throckemorton was recom-  
mended from beyond the sea to Don Barnardino  
de Pendoza, ambassado: resident for the Spanishe  
king here in England, who acquainted Throcke-  
morton that plot was laid for the enterpryse of the  
duke of Guise, and that he was willing to conferre  
with Throckemorton in the matter, who thereupon  
acquainted the said ambassado: with the plot of the  
hauens, and with the noble men and gentlemen  
that he had set downe as fit to be dealt withall in  
that cause. Throckemorton said, that the bottome  
of this enterpryse (which was not to be knowne to  
manie) was, that if a toleration of religion might  
not be obtained without alteration of the gouerne-  
ment, that then the gouernment should be altered,  
the queene remoued. That the Scottish queene was  
made acquainted from the duke of Guise with the  
intention to relieue her by these forces.

It was in debate betwene Throckemorton and  
the Spanishe ambassado:, how the Scottish queene  
might be deliuered, as by an enterpryse to be made  
with a certeine number of hostes: and it was told  
Francis Throckemorton by his brother Thomas  
Throckemorton, that it was a principall matter in  
debate beyond the seas, how she might be deliuered  
with safetie: the lacke of resolution wherein, was the  
principall state of the execution of the attempt of  
invasion. Pendoza told Francis Throckemorton  
about Bartholomewtide 1583, that one Pope  
was come into England to sound the earle of Por-  
thumberland, and other principall men in Suffer:  
and about the end of September following, the  
same Pendoza told him, that Pope was Charles  
Paget, and that he came not onelie to sound the  
men, but to shew the places, the hauens, the prouisi-  
ons and meanes, and necessitie and commoditie of  
mens abidings that should ioine with the foren  
forces. It was deuised, that such noble men and o-  
thers, as would be contented to assist the foren for-  
ces (being iudges of peace & of credit in their coun-  
tries) might by colour of their authoritie leuie men  
as for his maiesties defense, and yet emploie them  
to assist the foren forces. The lord Paget was  
made acquainted with this deuise, and answered,  
that it was a good course, and that he had thought  
vpon it before. Pendoza told Throckemorton, that  
Charles Paget had bene in Suffer, and had spoken  
with those that were there, and that he came to  
moue the earle of Northumberland and others. The  
night before Throckemorton was apprehended, he  
came to the lord Paget, and desired him that he  
would not acquaint the earle of Northumberland  
and certeine others (whome he named) with such  
matters as had passed betwene them two, touching  
the practise of this invasion: and the lord Paget wil-  
led him to deale as wisely for his part as he would  
do for himselfe, and all should be well: but (quoth  
the lord Paget) the earle of Northumberland  
knoweth

Francis  
Throckmor-  
ton re-  
commended to  
Don Barna-  
dino de Pen-  
doza & made  
acquainted  
with that  
which cost him  
his life.

Francis  
Throckmor-  
tons owne  
confessions do  
confirm the  
report of these  
practises, see  
pa. 1374, 1375.

Francis  
Throckmor-  
ton desired  
the lord Pa-  
get not to  
make the earle  
knowe the  
partie to the  
consultations  
of them two.





alwaie the lord Paget, grew vpon the apprehension of Throckmorton, who being committed to the Tower, and charged with high matters, was in case to be dealt withall by waie of extremitie to be made to confesse the treasons charged vpon him; in reuealing whereof, Charles Pagets comming to Petworth, and the cause of his repaite thither could not be concealed. No man at this time within the realme could accuse the earle of these confederacies, but the lord Paget onlie, who stood in danger to be discovered by Francis Throckmorton: the safetie therefore of the earle rested altogether vpon the lord Pagets departing out of the realme. Which was procured by the earle with so great expedition, as that Throckmorton being committed to the Tower about the seventh daie of November 1583, the earle made meanes the twelue daie to haue the lord Paget provided of shipping in all hast by William Shelleie, wherein the earle vsed such importunat intreatie, & sent so often to hasten the preparation of the ship, that the same was provided, and the lord Paget imbarcked by the 14. of the same moneth following, or thereabout.

The departure of the lord Paget sone after discovered, and how, and by whom he was conueied a waie: hir maiestie vpon good cause taking offense thereat, the earle being then at London had notice thereof, and of the confessions of Throckmorton (who began to discover the treasons) came presentlie down to Petworth, sent immediatlie for William Shelleie, who comming to him to Petworth the next morning about dinner time, yet the earle in a dining parlour readie to go to his dinner. The earle tooke Shelleie aside into a chamber, and as a man greatly distracted and troubled in mind, entred into these speeches: Alas I am a man cast awaie! And Shelleie demanding what he ment by those speeches, the earle answered: The actions I haue entred into, I feare will be my vtter vndoin, and ther vpon desired Shelleie to keepe his counsell, and to discover no more of him than he must needs. The earle moreover at this meeting intreated William Shelleie to conueie away all such as he knew to haue bene employed and were prouise of the lord Pagets going a waie, and of Charles Pagets comming ouer, which was accordingly performed by Shelleie: and the earle for his part conueied awaie a principall man of his olde, whom he had often vsed in messages into France, and had bene of trust appointed by the earle, to attend on Charles Paget, all the time of his staie at Connigar lodge.

Maister solicitor pursuing the matters that made the earles practises and deuises for the concealing of his treasons manifest, declared further: that after the earle and Shelleie had obtained some libertie in the Tower after their first restraint: the earle found meanes to haue intelligence with Shelleie, & was aduertised from him of all that he had confessed in his first examinations, taken before they were last restrained: since which time, the earle by corrupting of his keeper hath practised to haue continuall aduertisements as before, as well of things done within the Tower as abroad: in so much as by his said keeper he had sent and conueied twelue severall letters out of the Tower within the space of nine or ten weekes; and one of those on sundae the twentieth daie of June in the morning, when he murdered himselfe the night following.

By the same corruption of his keepers he sent also a message to William Shelleie by a maidseruant in the Tower, by the which he required him to stand to his first confessions, and to go no further; for so it would be best for him, and he should keepe himselfe out of danger. Wherevnto Shelleie returned answer by the same messenger, that he could hold

out no longer, that he had concealed the matters as long as he could, and willed the earle to consider that there was a great difference betwene the earles estate and his: for that the earle in respect of his nobilitie was not in danger to be dealt withall in such sort as he the said Shelleie was like to be, being but a priuat gentleman, and therefore to be vsed with all extremitie to be made confesse the truth: wherefore he aduised the earle to deale plainlie, and to remember what speeches had passed at his house at Petworth, when Charles Paget came last thither.

James Price by the same corruption of the earles keeper came to William Shelleie on the fridaie or saturdaie before Trinitie sundaie last, and told him that the earle was verie desirous to vnderstand how farre he had gone in his confessions: and at Prices instance, Shelleie did set downe in writing the effect of the said confessions, and sent the same to the said earle: who vpon the sight therof, perceiving the treasons reuealed and discovered, and knowing thereby how heinous his offenses were, fearing the iustice and severitie of the lawes, and so the ruine and overthrow of his house, fell into desperation, & so to the destruction of himselfe. For confirmation whereof, it was confessed by one Jaques Pantins, a grome of the earles chamber, who had attended on the earle in the Tower by the space of ten weekes before his death, that he had heard the earle often saie, that maister Shelleie was no faithfull friend vnto him, and that he had confessed such things as were sufficient to overthrow them both: that he was vndone by Shelleies accusations, affirming that the earle began to despair of himselfe, often with teares lamenting his cause, which the earle said to proceed onlie of the remembrance of his wife and children, saying further, that such matters were laid vnto his charge, that he expected no fauour, but to be brought to his trial, and then he was but a lost man: repeating often that Shelleie had vndone him, and still mistrusting his cause, wished for death.

Herewith maister solicitor concluded, and then sir Roger Manwood knight, lord chiefe baron of hir maiesties exchequer, entered into the description of the earles death, and in what sort he had murdered himselfe: shewing first how the same had bene found by a verie substantiall iurie chosen among the best commoners of the citie, impanelled by the coroner vpon the view of the bodie, and diligent inquirie by all due meanes had according to the law, and declared, that vpon the discouerie of the intelligence conueied betwene the earle and Shelleie, it was thought necessarie for the benefit of hir maiesties seruice, by such of hir highnesse most honourable priate counsell, as were appointed commissioners to examine the course of these treasons, that Jaques Pantins attending vpon the earle, and the earles corrupt keepers should be removed.

Wherevpon Thomas Bailiffe gentleman, sent to attend on the earle of Northumberland, vpon the removing of Palmer and Jaques Pantins from about the said earle (who from the beginning of his last restraint attended on him) for the reasons lastlie before mentioned, was by the lieutenant of the Tower on the sundaie about two of the clocke in the after none (being the twentieth of June) that by with the earle, as appointed to remaine with him, and serue him in the prison for a time, untill Palmer, Pantins, and Price, then committed close prisoners, might be examined, how the earle came by such intelligences as were discovered to haue passed betwene the earle and Shelleie, and betwene the earle and others. Bailiffe serued the earle at his supper, brought him to his bed about nine of the clocke, and after some seruices done by the earles commandement,

This was a shift but yet succourlesse, as appereth by the sequie.

James Price a messenger to and from betwene the earle & Shelleie.

The earle and Shelleie conferred, and as men dismayed for the discouerie of their dealings are extreme pained.

The earle being committid desperat and forced not to destroy himselfe.

Sir Roger Manwood describeth the manner how the earle murdered himselfe.

What described the keeper that would be corrupted by an offender so malicious.

Thomas Bailiffe the one & twentieth of June 1585, deposed.

The earle and Shelleie communicated their minds by message.

Palmer, Pantins and Price committed close prisoners. This Price is supposed to be mistaken for Edward Price.

mandement, departed from the earle to an utter chamber, where he laie part of that night: and being come into his chamber, the earle rose out of his bed and came to his chamber doze, and bolted the same unto him in the inner side, saieing to Bailiffe, he could not sleepe vntil his doze were fast.

A desperat  
disturbance

About twelue of the clocke at midnight, Bailiffe being in a slumber, heard a great noise, seeming unto him to be the falling of some doze, or rather a piece of the house: the noise was so sudden and so great, that he started out of his bed, and crieng vnto the earle with a loud voice, said: My lord, know you what this is? The earle not answering, Bailiffe cried and knocked still at the earles doze, saieing, My lord, how do you? But finding that the earle made no answer, continued his crieng and calling, untill an old man that laie without, spake vnto him, saieing, Gentleman, shall I call the watch, seeing he will not speake? Yea (quoth Bailiffe) for Gods sake. Then did the old man rise, & called one of the watch, whome Bailiffe intreated with all possible speed to call maister lieutenant vnto him. In the meane time Bailiffe heard the earle giue a long and most greuous grone, and after that, gaue a second grone: and then the lieutenant (being come) called vnto the earle, who not answering, Bailiffe cried vnto the lieutenant to breake open the earles chamber doze bolted vnto him in the inner side, which was done, and then they found the earle dead in his bed, and by his bed side a dag, wherewith he had killed himselfe.

He could not  
answer having  
discharged the  
dag into his  
bodie.

Sir Owen  
Hopton  
knight, lieuten-  
ant of the  
Tower, 1585.

Sir Owen Hopton knight, examined vpon his oath, affirmed that on sundaie last at night, lesse than a quarter of an houre before one of the clocke after midnight, he was called vpon by the watch to come to the earle of Northumberland, who had bene called vnto by maister Bailiffe his keeper, and would not speake as the watch told him. Whereupon the said Sir Owen went presentlie to the earles lodging, opened the utter dozes, till he came vnto the chamber where maister Bailiffe laie, which was next to the earles bedchamber. Bailiffe said to this examinats as he came in, that he was wakened with a noise as it were of a doze or some great thing falling, & that he had called on the earle, and could haue no answer. And this examinats going to the earles chamber doze, finding the same bolted fast on the other side within the earles lodging, so as he could not go into the earle, this examinats called on the earle, telling him the lieutenant was there, and prayed his lordship to open the doze.

The warders  
with their hal-  
berds were  
and being at  
the earles  
chamber doze.

But this examinats hauing no answer made vnto him, and finding the doze fast bolted in the inner side of the earles chamber with a strong iron bolt, so as they could not enter into the same out of the lodging where the said Bailiffe laie, without breaking vpon the chamber doze, caused the warders which were with this examinats, to thrust in their halberds, and to wress the doze thereby, as much as they could, and withall to run at the doze with their feet, & with violence to thrust it open, which they did accordingly. And when this examinats came into the chamber, in turning vpon the sheets, he perceiued them to be bloudied: and then searching further, found the wound, which was verie nere the pap, not thinking at the first sight, but that it had bene done with a knife.

The place of  
the bodie  
where the  
earle had  
wounded him-  
selfe.

This examinats went thereupon presentlie to write to the court, and toke the warders into the utter chamber, & left them there untill he returned, bolting the doze of the earles bedchamber on the outside. And as soone as this examinats returned from writing of his letter to the court, he searched about the chamber, and found the dag in the doze, about

three foot from the bed, nere vnto a table that had a greene cloth on it, which did somewhat shadow the dag: and after, turning downe the bed cloths, found the bor in the which the powder and pellets were, on the bed vnder the couerlet; and saith, that the chamber where the earle laie, hath no other doze but that one doze which was broken open as aforesaid, saue one doze that went into a priuie, which hath no manner of passage out of it: and that the earles lodging chamber, and the entering to the priuie, are both walled round about with a stone wall, and a bricke wall, and that there is no doze or passage out of or from the said earles bedchamber or priuie, but that onelic doze which was broken open by the appointment of this examinats. The warders that were with this examinats at the entrie into the prison, and the breaking vpon of the earles chamber doze, and the doing of the other things aforesaid, were Michaele Siblete, Anthonic Davies, William Kiland, and John Potter, and one John Pinner this examinats seruant was there also.

the bor and  
pellets in the  
bed.

This is a  
manifest proofe  
and full of suf-  
ficient credit,  
that none  
could come at  
him to do him  
violence.

For the proofe and confirmation of the seuerall parts and points of this deposition, Siblete, Davies, Kiland, Potter and Pinner were deposed, and they *Prima Voce* affirmed so much thereof to be true, as was reported by the examination of the lieutenant, concerning the comming of the lieutenant vnto the earles chamber, the breaking vpon of the doze being bolted with a strong belt on the inner side, the finding of the earle dead vpon his bed, the dag lying on the ground, the powder and pellets in a bor on the bed vnder the couerlet, with the rest of the circumstances thereto appertaining. They affirmed also, that there was but one doze in the earles chamber, sauing the doze of the priuie, which together with the chamber was strongly walled about with stone and bricke: and further (as I remember) the lord chiefe baron confirmed the same, hauing viewed the chamber himselfe where the earle lodged, and was found dead.

Deponents  
*Prima Voce*, con-  
firming the  
lieutenants  
deposition vpon  
his exami-  
nation.

Jaques Pantins in his examination of the one and twentieth of June confesseth, that James Wyre deliuered the dag to the earle his maister in this examinats presence: whereupon he presentlie suspected that the earle meant mischief to himselfe, and therefore did his induour to perswade the earle to send awaie the dag, and told the earle that he knew not how the diuell might tempt his lordship, & that the diuell was great; but could by no means peruaile with the earle in that behalfe: and saith moreouer, that the earle required him to hide the dag, and he thereupon hanged the same on a naile within the chimneie in the earles bedchamber, where the earle thinking the same not to be sufficientlie safe in that place, it was by the earles appointment taken from thence, and put into a slit in the side of a mattresse that laie vnder the earles bed, nere to the beds head, and that the same sundaie morning that the earle murdered himselfe at night, he saw the dag lying vnder the earles beds head. The dag was bought not manie daies before of one Adrian Spulan a dag-maker, dwelling in east Smithfield, as by the said Spulan was testified *Prima Voce* vpon his oath, in the open court, at the time of the publike declaration made of these matters in the Star chamber.

Of whom the  
dag was  
bought.

All these particularities considered, with the depositions and proofs of the witnesses concerning the earles death; first, how he came by the dag; secondlie, how long he had kept the same, and in what secret maner; thirdlie, the earles bolting of his chamber doze in the inside; fourthlie, the blow of the dag; fifthlie, the breaking vpon of the earles chamber doze by the lieutenant of the Tower; and lastlie, the finding of the earle dead as aforesaid: What is he so  
A t t t t t y. simple

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The dag  
found in the  
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simple that will thinke or imagine, or so impudent and malicious that will anonch and report, that the earle of Northumberland should haue bene murdered of purpose, by practise or deuise of anie person, affecting his destruction in that manner? If men consider the inconuenience happened thereby, as well in matter of state, as commoditie to the quenes maiestie, lost by the p[re]uention of his triall, who can in reason coniecture the earle to haue bene murdered of policie or set purpose, as the euill affected some to conceiue?

The principall cause that made the earle laie hands vpon himselfe.

If the earle had liued to haue receiued the censure of the law for his offenses, all lewd and frivolumous objections had then bene answered, and all his goods, cattels and lands by his atteindor had come vnto hir maiestie, and the honour and state of his house and posteritie vnto the vttermost: the consideration and feare whereof appeareth without all doubt to haue bene the principall and onelie cause that made him laie violent hands vpon himselfe. If objections be made, that to murder him in that sort might be a satisfaction to his enemies, who could be pacified by no means but with his blood: that seemeth to be as improbable, for that it is commonlie discerned in the corrupt nature of man, that when we are possessed with so profound a hatred, as to seeke the death of our enemy, we imagine and wish his destruction to be had with the greatest shame and infamie that can be deuised: thinke you not then, that if the earle of Northumberland had anie such enemy that knew the danger wherein he stood, and that his triall and conviction by law would draw vpon him the losse of his life, lands and goods, fame, honor, and the vtter subuersion of his house, would be so kindharted vnto him, as to helpe to take away his life onelie, & saue him all the rest? I suppose there is no man of iudgement will beleue it.

The lord of Hunsdon declared how the dag was more than ordinary charged: and how the earle dispatched him selfe.

But to returne to the manner of the earles death. It was declared by the lord Hunsdon, and the lord chiefe baron, that the dag wherewith the earle murdered himselfe, was charged with three bullets, and so of necessitie with more than an ordinarie charge of powder, to force that weight of bullets to worke their effect. The earle lieng vpon his backe on the left side of his bed, took the dag charged in his left hand (by all likelihood) laid the mouth of the dag vpon his left pap (having first put aside his wastecote) and his shirt being onelie betwene the dag and his bodie (which was burnt away the breadth of a large hand) discharged the same, wherewith was made a large wound in his said pap, his heart pearced and toz in diuerse lobes or peeces, three of his ribs broken, the chinebone of his backe cut almost in sunder, and vnder the point of the shoulder blade on the right side within the skin, the three bullets were found by the lord Hunsdon, which he caused the surgeon in his presence to cut out, lieng all three close together within the breadth and compasse of an inch or thereabout: the bullets were shewed by his lordship at the time of the publication made in the court at the Star chamber.

Three bullets found vnder the point of the earls shoulder blade.

A slanderous report of the quenes enemies and the earles fauourers answered.

And whereas it hath bene slanderouslie giuen out to the aduantage of the earle, as the reporters suppose, that he was imprisoned & kept in so strict, narrow and close ronne, with such penurie of aire and breath, that thereby he grew sicklie and wearie of his life, and that to haue bene the cause chiefe why he murdered himselfe; if it were so that he died by the violence of his owne hand which they hardlie beleue. To answer that penurish and senselesse slander, there was much spoken by the lord chiefe baron, who had viewed and caused verie exactly to be measured the chambers and rooms within the prison where the earle laie, being part of hir

maiesties owne lodging in the Tow[er]. The particular length and breadth of the said chambers & rooms, and the qualitie of the lights and windows, expressed by the said lord chiefe baron, I can not repeat: but well I do remember it was declared, that all the daie time, the earle had the libertie of five large chambers, and two long entries within the vtter doore of his prison: three of which chambers, and one of the entries laie vpon two faire gardens within the Tow[er] wall, and vpon the Tow[er] wharfe, with a pleasant prospect to the Thames, and to the countrie, more than five miles beyond. The windows were of a verie large proportion, yielding so much aire and light, as more cannot be desired in anie house. Note therefore how maliciouslie those that fauour traitors and treasons, can deliuer out these and the like slanderous speeches, to the dishonor of hir maiestie, noting hir counsellors and ministers with inhumanitie and vcharitable seueritie, contrarie to all truth and honestie.

The earle wanted no prospect or pleasure nor walks of convenient libertie.

When the lord chiefe baron had finished this discourse of the manner of the earles death, with the circumstances, and had satisfied the court and audience concerning the qualitie of the prison where the earle had remained, sir Christopher Hatton knight hir maiesties vicechamberlaine, who (as is termed) had bene speciallie imployed by hir maiestie among others of hir private counsell in the looking into and examining of the treasons aforesaid, aswell in the person of the earle as of others, and at the time of the earles commitment from his house in St. Martins to the Tow[er] of London, sent vnto him from hir maiestie to put the earle in mind of hir maiesties manifold graces and fauors in former times conferred vpon him, proceeding from the spring of hir maiesties princelie and bountifull nature, and not of his desertings, and to aduise him to deliuer the truth of the matters so cleerlie appearing against him, either by his letters private to hir maiestie, or by speech to maister vicechamberlaine, who signified also vnto him, that if he would determine to take that course, he should not onlie not be committed to the Tow[er], but should find grace & fauor at hir maiesties hands, in the mitigation of such punishment as the law might laie vpon him.

Sir Christopher Hatton reuerent to the court and audience the gracions dealing of hir maiestie with the said earle, no such fauor beferwing.

And here Mr. vicechamberlaine repeated at length the effect of hir maiesties message at that time sent to the earle, beginning first with the remembrance of his practise undertaken for the conueying away of the Scottish quene about the time of the last rebellion (as hath bene declared in the beginning of this tract) and that he confessing the offense being capitall, hir maiestie neuertheless was pleased to alter the course of his trial by the iustice of hir lawes, and suffered the same to receiue a slight and easie punishment by waie of mulct or fine of five thousand marks, whereof before this his imprisonment (as it is crediblie reported) there was not one penie paid, or his land touched with anie extent for the payment thereof, which offense was by hir maiestie not onelie most gracionslie forgiven, but also most chrestianlie forgotten, receiuing him not long after to the place of honor that his ancestors had intioed for manie yeares before him, and gaue him such entrance into hir princelie fauor and good opinion, that no man of his qualitie receiued greater countenance and comfort at hir maiesties hands than he; insomuch that in all exercises of recreation, vied by hir maiestie, the earle was alwaies called to be one: and whensoever hir maiestie shewed hir selfe abroad in publike, she gaue to him the honor of the best and highest seruices about hir person, more often than to all the noble men of the court.

The quenes maiestie miter garter the principall which the law should haue awarded against the earle.

The quenes maiesties nature is to loue her enemies, so that they could change their nature, and loue her highnesse as gaies!

But the remembrance of these most gracions and more



pais de Brabant, Gueldre, Flandre, Malins, & Queris-  
fel, se maintenant encores maintes bonnes villes &  
places contre l'effort de l'ennemy, sy est ce que les  
pais d'Holland, Zeeland, Vtrecht, & Frise sont en-  
cores, graces a Dieu, en leur entier, ou il y a beaucoup  
de grandes & fortes villes, & places belles, riuieres,  
profondes, ports & haures de mer, desquelles vostre  
maiesté & ses successeurs pourront tirer plusieurs  
bons seruices, fruiets, & commodites dont il n'est  
de faire yci plus long recit. Seulement que ceste cy  
entre aultres merite bien vne consideration speciale  
que la coniunction desdits pais d'Holland, Zeeland,  
Frise, & des villes de l'Escluze, & Okeleynd en Flâdres  
auec les royaumes de vostre maiesté, emporte quant  
& soy l'empire absolu de la grand mer oceane, &  
par consequence vne assurance & felicité perpetu-  
elle pour les subiects de vostre serenissime maiesté.  
La quelle nous supplions treshumblement que son bon  
plaisir soit de nous accorder lesdits points ou condi-  
tions, & ce en suiuant, vouloir accepter pour soy &  
ses successeurs legitimes en la couronne d'Angle-  
terre protecteurs de la religion reformée, la iustice  
principaute & seigneurie souveraine desdits pais &  
consequemment du receuoir les peuples desdits  
pais, comme vous treshumbles & trespobeissants sub-  
iects sous la protection & sauuegarde perpetuelle  
de vostre maiesté, peuples certainement autant fi-  
delles, ayant leurs princes & seigneurs (a parler &  
sans iactance) que nul aultre de la chrestienté.

Ce faisant Madame, vous conserueres tant de  
belles eglises, qu'il a pleu a Dieu en ce dernier temps  
assembler esdits pais a present en beaucoup de lieux  
fort affliges, & esbranles & deliureres lesdits pais &  
peuples (nagueres auant l'inique maison des Espaig-  
nols) tant riches & florissans, pour la grande commo-  
dité de la mer, ports, haures, riuieres, traffiqs, & ma-  
nufactures dont ils sont doues de nature. Vous les  
deliureres (dis ie Madame) de ruine & perpetuelle  
seruitude de corps & ame, qui sera vng œuure vraye-  
ment roial & trefexcellent, agreable a Dieu, profit-  
able a toute chrestienté, digne de louange immor-  
telles, correspondant a la magnanimité & vertus he-  
roïques de vostre maiesté, & conioinct avec l'asseu-  
rance & prosperites des royaumes & subiects d'icelle.  
Et surce presentons a vostre maiesté lesdits articles  
ou conditions, en reuerence, prians le grand Roy  
des roys de preseruer vostre maiesté de ses ennemis,  
l'accroistre en gloire & felicité, & l'auoir en sa seinte  
garde a perpetuité.

*Fait par Iosse de Menin, concelier & pensionnaire de  
Dordrecht, An. 1585. 29 de Iune, A Greenwich.*

### The foresaid oration in English.

**M**Adam, the states of the united prouin-  
ces of the low countries most humble  
thanke your maiestie for the good affecti-  
on & fauor, which it pleased you to shew to  
the said countries in their necessitie, & to confirme  
the same with so manie euidēt testimonies; & that  
lastlie, after the execrable assault committed vpon  
the person of the late prince of Orange, at what  
time it pleased your maiestie to let the said states  
vnderstand by your ambassador maister Davison,  
what care you had of our defense and preservation,  
and also by seigneur de Crill, the great displeasure  
which your maiestie conceived, to see the states fru-  
strated of the hope which they had founded vpon the  
treatie of France. But since the care which your  
maiestie hath alwaies had ouer our good and con-  
seruation is not thereby aintie whitt diminished, but  
hath moze plentifullie increased, according as the  
necessitie of our affaires required, for which the said

countrie in generall, and euerie of vs in particular  
remainē perpetuallie bound to your maiestie, and  
acknowledge the same with all fidelitie and obet-  
sance.

And as the said states (Madam) do consider that  
since the decease of the prince of Orange they  
haue sustained the losse of diuerse of their holds and  
good towne; and that for the preservation of the  
said countrie it is needfull for them to haue a prince  
and souereigne ruler, which may warrant and defend  
them against the tyrannie and vnjust oppression of  
the Spaniards and their adherents, which daily  
moze and moze inforce themselves by their sinister  
power and all other meanes to destitue and ouer-  
throw the said countries, and reduce this poze peo-  
ple in perpetuall seruitude, worse than that of the  
Indians vnder the importable yoke of the detesta-  
ble inquisition of Spaine. Considering also that  
the bodie of the towne and communalities of the a-  
foze said countries haue a firme hope, that your ma-  
iestie will not see them perish according to the desire  
of their enemies, which make this long and cruell  
warre, all which outrages the states of the said  
low countries (following the diligence and band  
which they owe to their burgeses and citizens) are to  
susteine, repell, and to turne from them, by reason  
of the manifest tyrannie & seruitude which the Spa-  
niards attempt to bring in & to late vpon the poze  
people) thereby to preserve their liberties, rights,  
privileges, and franchises, with the exercise of the  
true christian religion, whereof your maiestie by god  
right carrieth the title of protectrice and defendresse,  
against which the said enemies and their associats al-  
readie haue and still do make manie leagues, deuise  
manie subtilties, treasons, and ambushes, not cea-  
sing daily to practise and imagine them against the  
person of your maiestie, and to the prejudice of the  
rest of your realme and states, whome the good God  
hath preserved untill this present, for the wealth of  
the christians, and sustentation of their churches.

Wherefore (Madam) it is so, that for these causes,  
reasons, & other considerations, the said states haue  
assembled and concluded vpon a good and firme reso-  
lution to haue recourse vnto your maiestie, sith it  
is an ordinarie matter amongst all people and op-  
pressed nations, in their calamities and oppressions  
to craue support and fauor against their enemies, of  
kings and princes neere vnto them, but especiallie  
of those who be indued with magnanimitie, pietie,  
iustice, and other princelie vertues, to which effect the  
states haue appointed vs to come vnto your maiestie  
to present vnto the same the principallitie, soue-  
reignitie, and iust government of the said prouinces  
vnder certaine good and equall conditions, chiefie  
concerning the preservation of the exercise of the re-  
formed religion, and of the ancient privileges, li-  
berties, franchises, and customs, and next of the ad-  
ministration of the affaires, policie, and iustice of  
the warres in the said countrie.

And although that these countries haue sustei-  
ned much hurt by these long and continuall warres,  
and that the enimie hath taken diuers strong places  
and forts in the same countries: yet there is besides  
the same in the countries of Brabant, Gelderland,  
Flanders, Palmes, & Querisfel, manie good towne  
and places, which defend themselves against the  
force of the enimie, and the countries of Holland,  
Zeland, Utrecht, and Frise be yet (thanks be to  
God) entire and whole: in which there be manie great  
and strong towne and places, faire rivers, and  
depe ports and hauens of the sea, out of which your  
maiestie and your succelloz may receiue diuerse  
good seruices, fruiets, and commodities, whereof it is  
needlesse here to make aintie long recitall. Whelie  
this

The distressed  
state of these  
countries under  
the dominion  
of the prince of  
Orange.

The hope that  
the low coun-  
trie people had  
in hir highnes  
helpe.

Spanish ser-  
uitude impor-  
table.

The cause  
why the de-  
puties for the  
states came  
into England,  
and their care  
vnto hir high-  
nesse expressed.

The govern-  
ment & princi-  
pallitie of the  
low countries  
presented to  
the queenes  
maiestie.

The queenes  
maiesties most  
gratious fauor  
acknow-  
ledged.

Whelie god  
townes and  
places yet res-  
tauring in the  
low countries  
defensible a-  
gainst the eni-  
mie.



The writing  
of the low  
countries to  
the realmes  
of England, &c.  
how benefi-  
ciall.

Protection of  
the reformed  
religion a part  
of their sute.

The loialtie  
and faithfull-  
nesse of the  
low countries  
people con-  
mended.  
Benefits like  
to those upon  
the said pro-  
tection under-  
taken of her  
highnesse.

The said de-  
votion do pre-  
sent certaine  
articles and  
conditions to  
her maiestie  
concerning  
their sute.

Infeld and  
publice han-  
gers for publi-  
cizing of sediti-  
ous books.

Five or rather  
six people slain  
by the fall of a  
wall in Lon-  
don nere unto  
Downegate.

this amongst other matters deserveth good and es-  
peciall consideration, that the uniting of those coun-  
tries of Holland, Zeland, Frise, and the townes of  
Sluze and Ostend in Flanders, unto the realmes  
of your maiestie importeth so much as the absolute  
gouvernement of the great ocean sea, and by conse-  
quence, an assurance and perpetuall felicitie for the  
subiects of your most high maiestie. Which we most  
humble beseech, that it will please the same to con-  
descend unto vs in the said points and conditions,  
and in that which followeth, which is, that you will  
for you and your lawfull successors in the crowne of  
England be protectors of the reformed religion, as  
the principall iusticer and soueraigne gouernour of  
the said countries: and consequentially to receiue the  
people of the same, as your most humble and most  
obedient subiects vnder the protection and continu-  
all safeguard of your maiestie; they being a people af-  
fected so faithfull and louing to their princes and  
lords (be it spoken without vaunting) as any other  
nation is throughout christendome.

In doing whereof (O Adam) you shall preserve  
manie goodlie churches, which it hath pleased God to  
assemble in these latter times in the same coun-  
tries, at this present in manie places greivously af-  
flicted, and you shall deliuer the same countrie and  
people (of late before the uniuersal deede of the house of  
Spaine) herie rich and flourishing, through the great  
commoditie of the sea, ports, hauens, riuers, traf-  
fike, and merchandize, whereof they be naturallie in-  
duced. You shall I saie (O Adam) deliuer them from  
ruine and perpetuall bondage of bodie and soule,  
being a worke right roiall and most magnificent,  
acceptable to God, profitable to all christianitie,  
worthie immortall commendation, answerable to  
the magnanimitie, and herocall vertues of your  
maiestie, and ioined with the assurance and prosper-  
ritie of your dominions and subiects. Whereupon  
we present vnto your maiestie the said articles and  
conditions, reuerentlie praieing the King of kings  
to preserve your maiestie from your enemies, to in-  
crease your glorie and felicitie, and for euer to keepe  
you in his holie protection.

This oration ended and the summe thereof con-  
sidered, it pleased the queenes maiestie, by direction  
of hir wise and politike counsell, to incline hir hart  
(alwaies pitifull and replenished with commiseration)  
to the ease and relæse of the said oppressed people.  
And because hir owne subiects should not be utter-  
lie vnacquainted with hir highnesse doings in that  
case, there was published by authoritie a booke  
thereof as in due place hereafter followeth.

On sundae the fourth of Iulie, Charles lord Ho-  
ward, late lord chamberleine was made lord ad-  
mirall, and Henrie lord Hunsdon was made lord  
chamberleine of household. On the fifth daie of Iulie  
Thomas Aulsefeld a seminarie priest, and Thomas  
Webbie diar, were arraigned at the sessions hall in  
the Old baillie, found guiltie, condemned, and had  
iudgement as felons to be hanged: for publishing  
of bookes containing false, seditious, and slanderous  
matter, to the defamation of our soueraigne ladie  
the queene, and to the excitation of insurrection and  
rebellion, as more at large appeareth in their indict-  
ments. These were on the next morrow, to wit, the  
first of Iulie, executed at Alborne accordinglie. On  
thursdaie the sixteenth of Iulie, by the sudden fall of  
a bricke wall in Thames street of London, nere br-  
to Downegate, five persons were overwhelmed  
and slaine, to wit, a man & his wife (the wife being  
great with child) and two children, the one their own,  
the other a nurse child, and a poore man that liued by  
charitie, hauing no knowne dwelling place. On the

same sixteenth of Iulie was sir Francis Russell  
knight, lord Russell, third sonne to Francis Russell  
earle of Bedford, slaine with a dag in the borders of  
Scotland beside Berwick, by a Scot boine in those  
parts, as they met vpon a true daie, as more at  
large appeareth in the historie of Scotland. On the  
next morrow, to wit, the seuenteenth of Iulie, Fran-  
cis Russell earle of Bedford, knight of the garter,  
and one of hir maiesties priuie counsell, father to the  
late named sir Francis, lord Russell slaine on the  
borders of Scotland, deceased, and was honorable  
buried at Cheinies in Bedfordshire on the eight of  
September next following.

On the thre and twentieth of Iulie certaine soul-  
diers were pressed in the seuerall wards of the citie  
of London, which souldiers being furnished for the  
warres, and clothed in red cotes, all at the charges  
of the companies and citizens, set forth toward the  
seas on the thirteenth of August, and were transpor-  
ted ouer into Holland, Zeland, &c: as other the like  
souldiers out of other parts of the realme before had  
bene, to serue for the defense of the low countries  
vnder generall ports, and other approued cap-  
teins. On the fourth daie of August, betwixt the  
hours of foure and five of the clocke in the morning,  
at the end of the towne called Nottingham in Kent,  
eight miles from London, in a lane not farre from  
the houses, the ground began to sinke, thre great  
elmes being swallowed vp, the tops falling down-  
ward into a hole with the rotes upward, turning  
round in the falling, and driuen into the earth past  
mans sight, to the wonderfull amazement of manie  
honest men of the same towne, being beholders of  
this strange sight: and before ten of the clocke that  
present day, the ground & trees were sonke so low,  
that neither the one or other might be discerned, the  
hole or vau being sometimes filled with water, and  
otherwhiles neither bot to me, trees, or water maie be  
perceiued: the compasse of this hole is about foure  
score yards, and being founded with a lead and line  
of fiftie sadams, cannot therewith find or feele ante  
bottom. Ten yards distant from this place, there is  
another peece of ground sonke in like maner, which  
parcell of ground falleth still into the high waie to  
the great feare of that whole towne, but especiallie  
to the inhabitants of a house not far distant from  
the aforesaid places.

On the fiftenth daie of September, to the num-  
ber of two & thirtie seminarie, massing priests and  
others, late prisoners in the tower of London, Spar-  
thall, Kings bench, and other places, were imbar-  
ked in the Marie Martine of Colchester, on the  
southside of the Thames right ouer against S. Ba-  
tharines, to be transported ouer into the coasts of  
Normandie, to be banished this realme for euer, by  
vertue of a commission from hir maiestie, before  
specified in pag. 379.

A copie of the certificat written and  
directed into England by the said  
banished men.



Whereas vpon your honours commission  
directed vnto Anthoine Hall, and Tho-  
mas Stockar, for the transporting of vs  
whose names are vnder written, into the  
coasts of Normandie, who accordinglie toke vs into  
a barke called the Marie Martine of Colchester, on  
the south side of the Thames, right ouer that part of  
saint Bartharines next to London bridge, the fiftenth  
day of September 1585, according to the computa-  
tion of England: our will is to testifie vnto your  
god honours, that they the said Anthoine Hall & Tho-  
mas Stockar haue generallie so well vsed vs in all  
respects,

Earle of Bed-  
ford and the  
lord Russell  
his sonne de-  
ceased.

Souldiers  
sent to aid the  
low countries  
of Holland,  
Zeland, &c.

Ground and  
trees sonke  
and swallowed  
vp in Kent  
eight miles  
from London.

Seminarie  
and massing  
priests ban-  
ished.

Note in this  
certificat an  
acknowledg-  
ment of verie  
great English  
courtesie to the  
seminaries in  
their transpor-  
tation.

The semina-  
ries suddentlie  
assaulted and  
in danger of  
death by a  
Fluſinger as  
they were pas-  
sing ouer sea.

The semina-  
ries are set on  
shore at Bul-  
logne through  
their owne im-  
portunitie.

respects, that we can not but acknowledge our  
selues much beholding (as much as in them laie) to  
so courteous & loving officers. Neuerthelesse com-  
ming along the sea, and meeting with his maiesties  
admirall in the downes, who promising that we  
should not be disturbed in our course into the pro-  
vince of Friesland, according to your honors said  
commission, we had not from him departed two  
leagues, when as a Flushing with his people sud-  
denlie entred vpon vs, being peaceable folowed un-  
der the hatches, and in our quiet rest, with their  
swords & batons, their calleiuers and their matches fi-  
red in their hands, to our great terror & discomfort,  
the most of vs being verie soze sea sicke, expecting  
at that instant nothing but either the rigorous dint  
of sword, or bullet of calleiuier. Whowbeit parloe being  
had by our said commissioners with them, they de-  
parted, after which time we considering the generall  
danger on the seas, besought with one consent your  
honors commissioners to set vs on land at Calice:  
but they in no wise yielding thereunto, at last by  
reason of our importunitie in such danger & weak-  
nesse, yielded to set vs on shore at Bullogne, partlie  
by reason of the feare we were then put in, & partlie  
for that we feared afterward more unreasonable  
measure: but speciallie the greatest number of vs so  
soze sicke, that verie tedious vnto vs it seemed to  
beare so long and dangerous a passage. In witness  
whereof to this our certificat we haue all subscribed  
our names the nineteenth of September 1585. Will.  
Gimlets, R. Fen: Jo. Pele: Christopher Small, &c.

We haue heard before that certeine soldiers out  
of diuers parts of this realme were transported ou-  
uer the seas into Holland and Zeland, &c: with such  
convenient and seruiceable furniture, as might be  
presupposed necessarie for defense: whom we will  
leauie vpon their gard, and more clarelie to set forth  
the reasons of their transportation, we doe meane  
here, as we promised before page 1413. When we  
came to due place, to deliuer a booke published by au-  
thoritie concerning that argument, the title and  
substance whereof in all points agreeable with this  
printed copie first extant, doth orderlie follow.

A declaration of the causes moouing  
the queene of England to giue aid to the defense of  
the people afflicted and oppressed in  
the low countries.

Kings and  
princes souer-  
eignes, are to  
payd account  
of their actions  
onlie to al-  
mightie God,  
the king of  
kings.



Although kings and princes souerignes,  
owing their homage and seruice onlie  
vnto the almightie God the king of all  
kings, are in that respect not bound to  
payd account or render the reasons of their actions  
to anie others but to God their onlie soueraigne  
Lord: yet (though amongst the most ancient and  
christian monarchs the same Lord God hauing com-  
mitted to vs the soueraintie of this realme of  
England and other our dominions, which we hold  
immediatlie of the same almightie Lord, and so  
thereby accountable onlie to his diuine Maiestie)  
we are notwithstanding this our prerogatiue at this  
time speciallie moued, for diuerse reasons hereafter  
brieflie remembred, to publish not onlie vnto our  
owne naturall loving subjects, but also to all others  
our neighbors, speciallie to such princes & states as  
are our confederats, or haue for their subjects cause  
of commerce with our countries and people, what  
our intention is at this time, and vpon what iust and  
reasonable grounds we are moued to giue aid vnto  
our next neighbors the naturall people of the low  
countries, being by long warres and persecutions  
of strange nations there, lamentable afflicted, and

in present danger to be brought into a perpetuall  
seruitude.

First, it is to be vnderstood (which percase is not  
perfectlie knowne to a great number of persons)  
that there hath bene, time out of mind, cuen by the  
naturall situation of those low countries and our  
realme of England, one directlie opposit to the other,  
and by reason of the readie crossing of the seas, and  
multitude of large and commodious hauens respec-  
tuelie on both sides, a continuall traffike and com-  
merce betwixt the people of England, and the natu-  
rall people of those low countries, and so continued  
in all ancient times, when the seuerall prouinces  
thereof, as Flanders, Holland, and Zeland, and o-  
ther countries to them adioining, were ruled and  
possessed by seuerall lords, and not vnited together,  
as of late yeares they haue bene by intermarria-  
ges, and at length by concurrences of manie and  
sundry titles haue also bene reduced to be vnder  
the gouernement of their lords that succeeded to the  
dukedome of Burgundie: whereby there hath bene  
in former ages manie speciall alliances and con-  
federations, not onelic betwixt the kings of England  
our progenitors and the lords of the said countries  
of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and their adherents:  
but also betwixt the verie naturall subjects of both  
countries, as the prelates, noblemen, citizens, bur-  
gesses, and other communalities of the great cities  
and port towne of either countrie reciprocalie, by  
speciall obligations and stipulations vnder their  
seales interchangeablie, for maintenance both of  
commerce and intercourse of merchants, & also of  
speciall mutuall amitie to be obserued betwixt the  
people and inhabitants of both parties as well eccle-  
siasticall as secular: and verie expresse prouision in  
such treaties contained for mutuall fauours, affec-  
tions, and all other friendlie offices to be vsed and  
prosecuted by the people of the one nation towards  
the other. By which mutuall bonds, there hath con-  
tinued perpetuall vnions of the peoples hearts toge-  
ther, and so by waie of continuall intercourses, from  
age to age the same mutuall loue hath bene inuiol-  
lablie kept and exercised, as it had bene by the  
worke of nature, and neuer vtterlie dissolved, nor  
yet for anie long time discontinued, howsoeuer the  
kings, and the lords of the countries sometimes  
(though verie rarelie) haue bene at difference by si-  
mister meanes of some other princes their neigh-  
bours, enuieng the felicitie of these two countries.

And for maintenance and testimonie of these na-  
turall vnions of the peoples of these kingdoms and  
countries in perpetuall amitie, there are extant sun-  
dry authentike treaties and transactions for mutu-  
all commerce, intercourse and freid amitie of an-  
cient times: as for example, some verie solemnlie  
accorded in the times of king Henrie the first our  
progenitor, and Philip the second duke of Burgun-  
die, and inheritor to the countie of Flanders by  
the ladie Margaret his grandmother, which was a-  
bout one hundred & fortie yeares past, & the same al-  
so renewed by the noble duke Charles his son, father  
to the king of Spaines grandmother, and husband  
to the ladie Margaret sister to our great grandfa-  
ther king Edward the fourth: and after that, of new  
ofttimes renewed by our most noble & sage grand-  
father king Henrie the seventh, and the archduke  
Philip grandfather to the king of Spaine now be-  
ing: and in latter times, often renewed betwixt our  
father of noble memorie king Henrie the eight, and  
Charles the first emperor of Almanie, father also to  
the present king of Spaine.

In all which treaties, transactions, and confede-  
rations of amitie and mutuall commerce, it was  
also at all times speciallie and principallie contained

Naturall con-  
fess of the an-  
cient continu-  
all traffike be-  
twixt the peo-  
ple of England  
& them of the  
low countries.

Confederate  
tions both  
betwixt the  
kings of  
England and  
lords of the  
low countries,  
and also the  
subjects of  
both countries.

The people of  
both the coun-  
tries bound  
by speciall  
obligations  
interchange-  
able, for mutu-  
all fauours  
and friendlie  
offices.

Treaties ex-  
tant of ancient  
time, betwixt  
the kings of  
England and  
the dukes of  
Burgundie,  
for the com-  
merce betwixt  
their coun-  
tries.

Commented  
for the subjects  
of either side,  
show mutuall  
fauours one to  
the other.

in expells words, by conventions, concord, and conclusions, that the naturall people, and subiects of either side, should shew mutuall fauours and duties one to the other, and should safelie, swelte and securelie commerce together in euerie their countries; and so hath the same mutuall and naturall concourse and commerce bene without interruption continued in manie ages, farre aboute the like example of anie other countries in christendome, to the honour and strength of the princes, and to the singular great benefit and enriching of their people: untill of late yeares that the king of Spaine departing out of his low countries into Spaine, hath bene (as it is to be thought) counselled by his counsellors of Spaine, to appoint Spaniards, forrenners and strangers of strange blood, men more exercised in warres than in peaceable gouernement, and some of them notable delighted in blood, as hath appeared by their actions, to be the chiefest gouernours of all his said low countries, contrarie to the ancient lawes and customes thereof, hauing great plentie of noble, valiant and faithfull persons naturallie borne, and such as the emperor Charles, and the king himselfe had to their great honours vsed in their seruice, able to haue bene imployed in the rule of those countries.

Spaniards and strangers lately appointed gouernours in the low countries, to the violation of the liberties of the countrie.

But these Spaniards, being mere strangers, hauing no naturall regard in their gouernement to the maintenance of those countries and people in their ancient and naturall manner of peaceable living, as the most noble and wise emperor Charles, yea and as his sonne king Philip himselfe had, whilst he remained in those countries, and vsed the counsels of the states and naturall of the countries, not violating the ancient liberties of the countries: but contrariwise, these Spaniards being exalted to absolute gouernement, by ambition, and for priuatre lucre haue violentlie broken the ancient lawes and liberties of all the countries, and in a tyrannous sort haue banished, killed and destroyed without order of law, within the space of few moneths, manie of the most ancient and principall persons of the naturall nobilitie that were most worthe of gouernement. And howsoever in the beginning of these cruell persecutions, the pretense thereof was for maintenance of the Romish religion: yet they spared not to deprive verie manie catholikes and ecclesiasticall persons of their franchises and priuileges: and of the chiefest that were executed of the nobilitie, none was in the whole countrie more affected to that religion than was the noble and valiant countie of Egmond, the verie glorie of that countie, who neither for his singular victories in the seruice of the king of Spaine can be forgotten in the true histories, nor yet for the crueltie vsed for his destruction, to be but for ever lamented in the hearts of the naturall people of that countie.

The destruction of the nobilitie, and the people of the countries by the Spaniards gouernement.

The lamentable violent death of the countie of Egmond, the glorie of those countries.

And furthermore, to bring these whole countries in seruitude to Spaine, these foren gouernours haue by long intestine warre, with multitude of Spaniards, and with some few Italians and Almains, made the greater part of the said countries (which with their riches by common estimation answered the emperor Charles equallie to his Indies) in a manner desolat, and haue also lamentable destroyed by sword, famine, and other cruell manners of death, a great part of the naturall people, & now the rich towne and strong places being desolate of their naturall inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with force by the Spaniards. All which pitifull miseries and horrible calamities of these most rich countries and people, are of all their neighbours at this daie, euen of such as in ancient time haue bene at frequent discorde with them through naturall com-

The rich towne and strong places with the wealth thereof possessed by the Spaniards.

passion verie greatlie pittied, which appeared speciallie this present yeare, when the French king pretended to haue receiued them to his protection, had not (as the states of the countie & their deputies were answered) that certeine vntimelie and vnlooked for complots of the house of Guise, stirred and maintained by monte out of Spaine, disturbed the god and generall peace of France, and thereby vrged the king to forbear from the resolution he had made, not onlie to aid the oppressed people of the low countries against the Spaniards, but also to haue accepted them as his owne subiects. But in verie truth, howsoever they were pittied, and in a sort for a time comforted & kept in hope in France by the French king, who also hath oftentimes earnestlie solicited vs as queene of England, both by message and writing to be carefull of their defense: yet in respect that they were otherwise more straitlie knit in ancient friendship to this realme than to anie other countrie, we are sure that they could be pittied of none for this long time with more cause and griefe generally, than of our subiects of this our realme of England, being their most ancient allies and familiar neighbours: and that in such manner, as this our realme of England and those countries haue bene by common language of long time resembled and termed as man and wife.

The French kings offers to haue aided and receiued to his subiection the oppressed people of the low countries.

And for the seuerall causes and manie others, we haue by manie friendly messages and ambassadoys, by manie letters and writings to the said king of Spaine our brother and alie, declared our compassion of this so euill and cruell vlsage of his naturall and loiall people by sundrie his martiall gouernours and other his men of warre, all strangers to the se his countries. And furthermore, as a god loving sister to him, and a naturall good neighbour to his low countries and people, we haue often, and often againe most friendly warned him, that if he did not otherwise by his wisdom and princelie clemencie restraine the tyrannie of his gouernours and crueltie of his men of warre, we feared that the people of his countries should be forced for safetie of their liues, and for continuance of their native countie in the former state of their liberties, to seeke the protection of some other foreine lord, or rather to yeld themselves wholie to the soueraintie of some mightie prince, as by the ancient lawes of their countries, and by speciall priuileges granted by some of the lords and dukes of the countries to the people, they do pretend and affirme, that in such cases of generall iniustice, and vpon such violent breaking of their priuileges they are free from their former homages, and at libertie to make choise of anie other prince to be their prince and head.

The queene of England continuall friendly aduises to the king of Spaine for restraining of the tyrannie of his gouernours.

The proofe whereof by examples past is to be seene & read in the ancient histories of diuerse alterations, of the lords and ladies of the countries of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, and other countries to them vnitied by the states and people of the countries; and that by some such alterations, as the stories do testifie, Philip the duke of Burgundie came to his title, from which the king of Spaines interest is deriued: but the further discussion hereof, we leaue to the view of the monuments and records of the countries. And now, for the purposes to staie them from yelding themselves in anie like sort to the soueraintie of anie other strange prince, certeine yeeres past, vpon the earnest request of sundrie of the greatest persons of degree in those countries, and most obedient subiects to the king, such as were the duke of Alcot, and the marquess of Haurie yet liuing, and of such others as had principall offices in those countries in the time of the emperor Charles, we yelded at their importunate requests, to grant them

The queene of England means vsed to staie the states of the low countries from yelding their subiection to anie other foreign prince.

them press of monie, onelie to continue them as his subiects, and to mainteine themselves in their iust defense against the violence and cruelties of the Spaniards their oppressours, thereby streng them from yielding their subiecton to any other prince from the said king of Spaine: and during the time of that our aid giuen to them, and their state in their obedience to the king of Spaine, we did frelie acquaint the same king with our actions, and did still continue our frendlie aduises to him, to moue him to command his gouernours and men of warre, not to vse such insolent cruelties against his people, as might make them to despaire of his fauours, and seeke some other lord.

And in these kind of persuasions and actions we continued manie yeres, not onelie for compassion of the miserable state of the countries, but of a naturall disposition to haue the ancient conditions of freid amitie and commerce for our kingdoms and people to continue with the states and the people of the said dukedome of Burgundie and the appendents, and namelie with our next neighbours the countries of Flanders, Holland and Zeland. For we did manifestlie see, if the nation of Spaine should make a conquest of those countries, as was and yet is apparantlie intended, and plant themselves there as they haue done in Naples and other countries, adding thereto the late examples of the violent hostile enterpryse of a polver of Spaniards, being sent within these few yeres by the king of Spaine and the pope into our realme of Ireland, with an intent manifestlie confessed by the capitaine, that those numbers were sent aforeshand to seize upon some strength there, to the intent with other great forces to pursue a conquest thereof: we did (we saie againe) manifestlie see in what danger our selfe, our countries and people might thozlie be, if in conuenient time we did not speedilie otherwise regard to prevent or staie the same. And yet notwithstanding our said often requestes and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, manifestlie for his owne weale and honor, we found him by his counsell of Spaine so unwilling in any sort to incline to our frendlie counsell, that his gouernours and chiefe persons in his low countries increased their cruelties towards his owne afflicted people, and his officers in Spaine offered daillie greater injuries to ours, resorting thither for traffike: yea, they of his counsell in Spaine would not permit our expresse messenger with our letters to come to the king their masters presence: a matter verie strange, and against the law of nations.

And the cause of this our writing and sending to the king, proceeded of matter that was woorthie to be knowne to the king, and not vnmeet now also to be declared to the world, to shew both our good disposition towards the king in imparting to him our graces, and to let it appeare how euill we haue bene vsed by his ministers, as in some part may appeare by this that followeth. Although we could not haue these manie yeres past any of our seruants, whom we sent at sundrie times as our ambassadours to the king our good brother (as was meet) suffered to continue there without manie injuries and indignities offered to their families, and diuerse times to their owne persons by the greatest of his counsellours, so as they were constrained to leaue their places, and some expelled and in a sort banished the countrie, without cause giuen by them, or notified to us: yet we, minding to continue verie good friendship with the king, as his good sister, did of long time and manie yeres giue fauourable allowance to all that came as his ambassadours to us, sauing onelie upon manifest dangerous practises attempted by

two of them to trouble our estate, whereof the one was *Girald Despes*, a verie turbulent spirited person, and altogether vnskillfull and vnapt to deale in princes affaires being in amitie, as at his returne into Spaine he was so there also reputed: the other and last was *Bernardin de Mendoza*, one whom we did accept and vse with great fauour a long time, as was manifestlie seene in our court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himselfe: but yet of late yeres (we know not by what direction) we found him to be a secret great fauourer to sundrie our euill disposed and seditious subiects, not onelie to such as lurked in our realme, but also to such as fled the same, being notozoullie condemned as open rebels & traitours, with whom by his letters, messages, and secret counsels he did in the end deuise how with a polver of men, partlie to come out of Spaine, partlie out of the low countries, whereof he gaue them great comfort in the kings name, an inuasion might be made into our realme, setting downe in writing the manner how the same should be done, with what numbers of men and ships, and upon what coasts, ports, and places of our realme by speciall name, and who the persons should be in our realme of no small account, that should fauour this inuasion, and take part with the inuadours, with manie other circumstances declaring his full set purpose and labours taken, to trouble vs and our realme verie dangerously, as hath bene most chereilie proued and confessed by such as were in that confederacie with him, whereof some are fled and now doe frequent his companie in France, and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing the whole course here, in held by the said ambassadour, as was manifestlie of late time published to the world upon Francis Throgmorton a principall traitours examination.

And when we found manifestlie this ambassadour so dangerous an instrument, or rather a head to a rebellion and inuasion; and that for a yere or more together he neuer brought to vs any letter from the king his master, notwithstanding our often request made to him that he would by some letter from the king to us, let it appeare that it was the kings will that he should deale with us in his masters name in sundrie things that he propounded to us as his ambassadour, which we did iudge to be contrary to the king his masters will: we did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous practises, and made it patent to him how, and by whom, with manie other circumstances we knew it, and therefore caused him in verie gentle sort to be content with in some reasonable time to depart out of our realme, the rather for his owne safetie, as one in verie deed mortallie hated of our people: for the which we granted him fauourable conduct, both to the sea and ouer the sea: and thereupon we did speedilie send a seruant of ours into Spaine with our letters to the king, onelie to certifie him of this accident, and to make the whole matter apparant vnto him: and this was the messenger aforeshand mentioned, that might not be suffered to deliuer our message or our letters to the king.

And beside these indignities, it is most manifest how his ministers also haue both heretofore manie times, and now latelie practised here in England by meanes of certeine rebels, to haue procured sundrie inuasions of our realme, by their forces out of Spaine and the low countries: verie hard recompenses (we may saie) for so manie our good offices. Whereupon we hope no reasonable person can blame us, if we haue disposed our selues to change this our former course, and more carefullie to looke to the safetie of our selfe and our people: and finding our owne dangers in deed verie great and imminent, we haue

The enterpryse of the Spaniards in Ireland sent by the king of Spaine and the pope.

The refusal of the queenes messenger, and his letters to the king of Spaine.

The iust causes of dissimulation of Bernardin Mendoza out of England.

See the voluntarie confession of Francis Throgmorton in page 1373.

The courteous dealing of his maiestie with Mendoza (a man mortallie hated) departing out of England.

hæue the more vgentlie prouoked to attempt and accelerat some god remedie, for that besides manie other aduises giuen vs both at home & from abroad, in due time to withstand these dangers, we haue found the generall disposition of all our owne faithfull people verie readie in this case, and earnest in offering to vs both in parlements and otherwise, their seruises with their bodies and blood, and their aids with their lands and goods, to withstand and p̄uent this present common danger to our realme and themselues, euidentlie seene and feared by the subuerting and rotting vp of the ancient nation of these low countries, and by planting the Spanissh nation and men of war, enemies to our countries, there so nere vnto vs.

The queene of England's proceeding for the deliuerance of Scotland from the seruitude wherein the house of Guise meant to haue brought it.

And besides these occasions and considerations, we did also call to our remembrance our former fortunat proceeding by Gods speciall fauor, in the beginning of our reigne, in remedying of a like mischæse that was intended against vs in Scotland by certaine Frenchmen, who then were directed onelie by the house of Guise, by colour of the marriage of their nèce the queene of Scots with the Dolphin of France, in like manner as the ofspring of the said house haue euen now latelic sought to attaine to the like inordinate power in France: a matter of some consequence for our selues to consider; although we hope the king our god brother professing sincere friendship towards vs, as we professe the like to him, will moderate this aspiring greatnesse of that house, that neither himselfe, nor the princes of his blood be ouerruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect friendship with the king & his blood) be by the said house of Guise & their faction disquieted or disturbed in our countries. But now to returne to this like example of Scotland aforesaid. When the French had in like manner (as the Spaniards haue now of long time attempted in the low countries) sought by force to haue subdued the people there, and brought them into a seruitude to the crowne of France, and also by the ambitious desires of the said house of Guise, to haue proceeded to a warre by waie of Scotland, for the conquest of our crowne for their nèce the queene of Scots (a matter most manifest to the common knowledge of the world) it pleased almightie God, as it remaineth in god memoie to our honor and comfort, to further our tention and honorable and iust actions at that time in such sort, as by our aiding then of the nation of Scotland being soe oppressed with the French, and vniuersallie requirring our aid, we procured to that realme (though to our great cost) a full deliuerance of the force of strangers and danger of seruitude, and restored peace to the whole countrie, which hath continued there euer since manie yerres, sauing that at some time of parcialities of certaine of the noble men, as hath bene vsuall in that countrie, in the minoritye of the young king, there haue risen some inward troubles, which for the most part we haue in fauor of the king and his gouernors vsed meanes to pacifie: so as at this daie such is the quietnesse in Scotland, as the king our deare brother & cousin, by name James the first, a prince of great hope for manie god princelie respects, reigneth there in honor and loue of his people, and in verie god and perfect amitie with vs and our countrie. And so our actions at that time came to so god successe by the godnesse of God, as both our owne realme, and that of Scotland, hath euer since remained in better amitie and peace than can be remembred these manie hundred yerres before; and yet nothing hereby done by vs, nor anie cause iustlie giuen: but that also the French kings that haue since succeeded, which haue bene thre in number, and all brethren,

The realme of Scotland restored to the ancient freedom, and so possessed by the present king by the meanes onelie of the queene of England.

haue made and concluded diuerse treaties for god peace with vs, which presentlie continue in force on both parties, notwithstanding our foresaid actions attempted, for removing out of Scotland of the said French forces, so transported by the onelie direction of the house of Guise.

And therefore, to conclude for the declaration of our present intention at this time, we hope it shall of all persons abroad be well interpreted, as we know it will be of such as are not led by partialitie, that vpon the often and continuall lamentable requests made to vs by the vniuersall states of the countries of Holland, Zeland, Guelbers, and other prouinces with them vniited (being desperat of the king of Spaines fauours) for our succours to be yelded to them, onelie for their defense against the Spaniards and other strangers, and therewith finding manifestlie by our often and importunat requests and aduises giuen to the king of Spaine, no hope of reliefe of these their miseries, but rather an increase thereof by daillie conquests of their towne and slaughter of their people (though in verie truth we cannot impute the increase of anie late cruelties to the person of him that now hath the title of generall gouernor, shewing his naturall disposition more inclinable to mercie and clemencie, than it seemeth he can direct the hearts of the Spaniards vnder him, that haue bene so long trained in shedding of blood vnder the former Spanissh gouernors) and joining therewith our owne danger at hand, by the ouerthrow and destruction of our neighbors, and access and planting of the great forces of the Spaniards so nere to our countries, with precedent arguments of manie troublesome attempts against our realme: we did therefore by god aduise and after long deliberation determine, to send certaine companies of souldiours to aid the naturall people of those countries, onelie to defend them and their towne from lacking and desolation, & thereby to procure them safetie, to the honor of God, whome they desire to serue sincerelie as christiian people according to his holie word, and to inioie their ancient libertie for them and their posteritie, and so consequentlie to preserue and continue the lawfull and ancient commerce betwixt our people and those countries and ours.

And so we hope our intention herein, and our subsequent actions will be by Gods fauor both honorable interpreted of all persons (sauing of the oppressors themselves, and their partizans) in that we meane not hereby, either for ambition or malice (the two roots of all iniustice) to make anie particular profit hereof to our selfe or to our people; onelie desiring at this time to obtaine by Gods fauor for the countries, a deliuerance of them from warre by the Spaniards and foraines: a restitution of their ancient libertie and gouernement by some christiian peace, and thereby a suertie for our selues and our realme to be free from innading neighbors: and our people to inioie in those countries their lawfull commerce and intercoure of friendship & merchandise, according to the ancient vsage and treaties of intercoure, made betwixt our progenitors and the lords and carles of those countries, and betwixt our people and the people of those countries.

And though our further intention also is, or maie be, to take into our gard some few towne upon the sea side next opposite to our realme, which otherwise might be in danger to be taken by the strangers, enemies of the countrie: yet therein considering we haue no meaning at this time to take and reteine the same to our owne proper vse: we hope that all persons will thinke it agreeable with god reason and princelie policie, that we should haue the gard

The conclusion of the causes of sending of certaine companies of English souldiours to the defense of the oppressed people of the low countries, and to withstand the attempts against this realme.

These speciall things reasonable desired by the queene of England.  
1. The end of warres with restitution of the low countries to their ancient liberties.  
2. Suertie for inuasion of her owne realme.  
3. And renewing of the mutual traffike betwene the countries.  
The causes of taking some towne into her maiesties custodie.



and vse of some such places for sure access and re-  
 cesse of our people and souldiours in safetie, and for  
 furniture of them with bittels and other things re-  
 quisit and necessarie, whilst it shall be needfull for  
 them to continue in those countries for the aiding  
 thereof in these their great calamities, miseries, and  
 imminent danger, and untill the countries may be  
 deliuered of such strange forces as do now oppresse  
 them, and recover their ancient lawfull libertie  
 and manner of gouernement, to liue in peace as they  
 haue heretofore done, and do now most earnestlie  
 in lamentable manner desire to do, which are the  
 verie onelie true ends of all our actions now inter-  
 ded: howsoever malicious tongues maie utter their  
 cankred conceits to the contrarie, as at this daie  
 the world aboundeth with such blasphemous reports  
 in sayings and infamous libels, as in no age the  
 diuell hath more abounded with notable spirits re-  
 plenished with all wickednesse to utter his rage a-  
 gainst professors of christian religion. But thereof  
 we leaue the reuenge to God the searcher of hearts,  
 hoping that he beholding the sinceritie of our heart,  
 will grant god successe to our intentions, whereby  
 a christian peace may insue to his diuine honor, and  
 comfort to all them that loue peace trulie, and will  
 seeke it sincerelie.

An addition to the declaration,  
 touching the slanders published of  
 hir maiestie.

**A**fter we had finished our declaration, there  
 came to our hands a pamphlet written in  
 Italian, printed at Milan, intituled *Nu-  
 no aduiso*, directed to the archbishop of Mi-  
 lan, containing a report of the expugnation of An-  
 twerp by the prince of Parma: by the which we found  
 our selfe most maliciouslie charged with two nota-  
 ble crimes, no lesse hatefull to the world, than most  
 repugnant and contrarie to our owne naturall in-  
 clinacion. The one with ingratitude towards the  
 king of Spaine, who (as the author saith) saved our  
 life being forsake by sentence adiudged to death in  
 our sisters time: the other, that there were some  
 persons procured to be corrupted with great promi-  
 ses, and that with our intelligence, as the reporter  
 addeth in a parenthesiss in these words (as it was  
 said) that the life of the prince of Parma should be  
 taken awaie. And for the better prouing and coun-  
 tenancing of this horrible lie, it is further added in  
 the said pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to  
 discover this, and bring two of the wicked persons  
 to iustice. Now, knowing how men are maliciouslie  
 bent in this declining age of the world, both to  
 fudge, speake, and write maliciouslie, falslie, and  
 irreuerentlie of princes: and holding nothing so  
 deere vnto vs, as the conseruation of our reputa-  
 tion and honor to be blamelesse: we found it verie  
 expedient, not to suffer two such horrible imputa-  
 tions to passe vnder silence, lest for lacke of answer,  
 it might argue a kind of guiltinesse, and did there-  
 fore thinke, that what might be alleged by vs for  
 our iustificacion in that behalfe, might most aptlie  
 be ioined vnto this former declaration now to be  
 published, to late open before the world, the manner  
 and ground of our proceeding in the causes of the  
 low countries.

And for answer of the first point wherewith we  
 are charged, touching our ingratitude towards the  
 king of Spaine; as we do most willingly acknow-  
 ledge that we were beholding vnto him in the time  
 of our late sister, which we then did acknowledge ve-  
 rie thankfullie, and haue sought manie waies since

in like sort to requite, as in our former declaration  
 by our actions maie appeare: so do we bitterlie de-  
 nie as a most manifest vntuth, that euer he was  
 the cause of the saving of our life as a person by  
 course of iustice sentenced vnto death, whoeuer car-  
 ried our selfe towards our said sister in dutifull sort,  
 as our iustitie was neuer called in question, much  
 lesse anie sentence of death pronounced against vs:  
 a matter such, as in respect of the ordinarie course  
 of proceeding, as by processe in law, by place of tri-  
 all, by the iudge that should pronounce such sentence,  
 and other necessarie circumstances in like cases visi-  
 all, especiallie against one of our qualitie, as it  
 could not but haue bene publicke knowne, if anie  
 such thing had bene put in execution. This then be-  
 ing true, we leaue to the world to iudge how mali-  
 ciouslie and intenciously the author of the said pam-  
 phlet dealeth with vs, in charging vs by so notable  
 an vntuth, with a vice that of all other we do most  
 hate and abhorre. And therefore by the manifest vnt-  
 truth of this imputation, men not transported with  
 passion maie easilie discern what vntuth is contem-  
 ned in the second, by the which we are charged to  
 haue bene acquainted with an intended attempt a-  
 gainst the life of the said prince: a matter, if anie  
 such thing should haue bene by vs intended, must  
 haue proceeded either of a mistaking we had of his  
 person, or that the prosecution of the warres in the  
 low countries was so committed vnto him, as no  
 other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his person, we could neuer learn  
 that he hath at anie time, by act or speech, done anie  
 thing that might iustlie breed a mistaking in vs to-  
 wards him, much lesse a hatred against his person  
 in so high a degree, as to be either puaie or assenting  
 to the taking awaie of his life. Besides, he is one of  
 whom we haue euer had an honorable conceit, in re-  
 spect of those singular rare parts we alwaies haue  
 noted in him, which hath woone vnto him as great  
 reputation, as anie man this daie living carrieth of  
 his degree and qualitie: and so haue we alwaies de-  
 liuered out by speech vnto the world, when anie oc-  
 casion hath bene offered to make mention of him.  
 Now touching the prosecution committed vnto him  
 of the warres in the low countries, as all men of  
 iudgement know, that the taking awaie of his life  
 carrieth no likelihood that the same shall worke anie  
 end of the said prosecution: so is it manifestlie  
 knowne, that no man hath dealt more honorablie  
 than the said prince, either in duilie obseruing of  
 his promise, or extending grace and mercie, where  
 merit and desert hath craved the same: and there-  
 fore no greater impietie by anie could be wrought,  
 nor nothing more preiudiciall to our selfe (so long  
 as the king shall continue the prosecution of the  
 cause in that forcible sort he now doth) than to be  
 an instrument to take him awaie from thence by  
 such violent means, that hath dealt in a more ho-  
 norable and gracious sort in the charge committed  
 vnto him, than anie other that hath euer gone be-  
 fore him, or is likelie to succeed after him.

Now therefore how vnlikelie it is, that we ha-  
 ving neither cause to mistake of his person, nor that  
 the prosecution of the warres should cease by losse of  
 him, should be either author, or anie waie assenting  
 to so horrible a fact, we referre to the iudgement of  
 such as looke into causes, not with the eyes of their  
 affection; but do measure and weigh things accor-  
 ding to honor and reason. Besides, it is likelie if  
 it had bene true that we had bin anie waie charge-  
 able (as the author reporteth) the confessions of the  
 parties executed (imposing such matter as by him  
 is alleged) would haue bene both produced and pub-  
 lished: for malice leaueth nothing vnsearched, that

The second  
 point of the  
 pamphlet  
 answered to  
 the full satisfac-  
 tion of anie that  
 is reasonable.

The prosecu-  
 tion of the  
 warres in the  
 low countries  
 is not like to  
 cease, though  
 the prince of  
 Parma were  
 dead.

This being  
 duilie ponder-  
 ed, all the  
 world maie see  
 how vnjustlie  
 his highnesse  
 is slandered.

The nature of  
 malice compels  
 male

mate nourish the  
 The best course  
 ther princes can  
 ouerfloweth with  
 though the grace  
 to direct our coun-  
 shew their wills  
 by desert to late ill  
 as; wishing: a suri-  
 nishment that sad  
 shall receiue at the  
 wing of princes an  
 Gods ministers;  
 thought by all god  
 of the earth.

Given at  
 and the  
 Ladie sh.

In the moneths  
 manic hostiles and  
 sparfe to be tran-  
 tries. And on the si-  
 rable lord Robert  
 lieutenant genera-  
 hir maiestie and the  
 to the town of Colchester  
 brethren, all in fear  
 people met him, an  
 the towne, where  
 next morrow set for  
 towne he was acci-  
 ded. On the eight of  
 diuers lords and kn  
 where he was inter-  
 uenour, the Graue  
 and others passing  
 to Spideborough,  
 rable to his person;  
 spent, as occasions  
 amfist, then to Wor-  
 he lodged euen in the  
 range was faine.  
 ance, he removed th  
 interteined with ter-  
 rare inuention than  
 were the people best  
 his comming. Cert  
 entred, the lord lieut  
 in their furniture en-  
 ceured of the burgo  
 with seuen severall  
 noted, that eight yea-  
 ged, and therefore  
 which at that time  
 brought therefore a f  
 brauelie apparelled,  
 they assailed by Spa-  
 and small shot a long  
 retiring continued  
 that bittels waied  
 ter the poets, of what  
 attired accordinglie  
 after which they pre-  
 cats alius in sundry  
 robbing women of t  
 Sicknesse now po-  
 this they presented  
 men on heapes; and  
 capteine, who was  
 matches, howling  
 trailed pikes, drawne  
 into the ground, and

in a sen-  
tence of law  
made.

maie nourish the venome of that humoz.

The best course therefore that both we and all o-  
ther princes can hold in this vnfortunat age that  
ouerfloweth with numbers of malignant spirits, is  
through the grace and goodnesse of almightie God,  
to direct our course in such sort, as they maie rather  
shew their wills through malice, than with iust cause  
by desert to laie ill, or deface princes either by speech  
or writing: assuring our selues that besides the pun-  
ishment that such wicked and infamous libelloz  
shall receiue at the hands of the almightie for dep-  
raising of princes and lawfull magistrats, who are  
Gods ministers; they both here and alwaies shall be  
thought by all good men, vnworthy to liue vpon the  
face of the earth.

Given at Richmount the first of October, 1585,  
and the 27 yeare of the reigne of our soueraigne  
ladie the queene, to be published.

In the moneths of Nouember and December,  
manie hostles and men were shipped at the Tower  
wharffe to be transported ouer into the low coun-  
tries. And on the first of December the right hono-  
rable lord Robert Dumble earle of Leicester, lord  
lieutenant generall (after he had taken his leaue of  
his maiestie and the court) with his traine entred the  
towne of Colchester in Essex, where the maior & his  
brethren, all in scarlet gownes, with multitudes of  
people met him, and so with great solemnitie entred  
the towne, where he lodged that night, and on the  
next morrow set forward to Warwich, into the which  
towne he was accordinglie receiued and intertained.  
On the eight of December, accompanied with  
diuers lords and knights, he arriued at Flushing,  
where he was intertained by sir Philip Stonele go-  
uernour, the Graue Sporis, the States of the towne,  
and others passing honorable. The next day he sailed  
to Spiddebozough, where his receiuing was answer-  
able to his person; and after certeine daies there  
spent, as occasions then moued, he came to Willt-  
amstat, then to Kotherodam, then to Delph, where  
he lodged euery in the house where the prince of Or-  
ange was slaine. And after a daie or twos tar-  
rance, he remoued thence to Donhage, where he was  
intertained with ten severall houses, of no lesse  
rare inuention than exquisite sumptuousnesse, so glad  
were the people (best and worst, one with another) of  
his comming. Certeine daies passed, and Januarie  
entred, the lord lieutenant with three hundred hostles  
in their furniture entred Leiden, where he was re-  
ceiued of the burgomasters, burgesses, and others,  
with seuen severall helmes that follow. It is to be  
noted, that eight yeares before this, they were besie-  
ged, and therefore now presented their extremities,  
which at that time they were driuen into. They  
brought therefore a faire woman on the stage verie  
bzauleie apparelled, & she represented the towne, hir  
they assailed by Spaniards, with false fiers of great  
and small shot a long time in order of battell, & then  
retiring continued their siege; here they laie so long  
that bittles wared scarce, and then they presented as-  
ter the poets, of what this shew had passed. Famine  
attired accordinglie then breathed into the woman,  
after which they presented men rending dogs and  
cats aliue in sunder, and fed on them, and soundly  
robbing women of their children.

Sickness now possessed hir and pestilence, and  
this they presented in abrupt burials of towner-  
men on heapes; and lastlie with a bzaue buriall of a  
captaine, who was borne ouer the stage with dead  
matches, howling trumpets, waapt by ancients,  
trailed pikes, & at one paces; and after he was put  
into the ground, and bid farewell with a boile of

great and small shot. The Spaniards pittieing hir,  
writ and sent letters by diuers messengers, all  
which she read and refused, without returne of an-  
swer: now hope possessed hir, and therefore they  
tooke another waie. Now she commanded a light  
to be set on the highest steeple in the towne, to signi-  
fie vnto the prince of Orange that laie in Delph,  
how they hoped for succor; who againe by deuise of a  
doute sent them promise of aid, by which doute they  
promised to attend the good houre, and so the shew  
ended.

Now came Gods prouidence, vpon whome  
the towne relied, and she leaped: Gods prouidence  
in the dead of the night ouerthrew a peece of the  
wall and battlement of six and twentie peles. Which  
the enimie hearing, and fearing the prince and his  
power to be entred for their aid, they fled, whome  
when the towne had in pursute, they put all they o-  
uertooke to the sword, the rest escaped by flight, and  
so with the woman as it were now at libertie that  
presented the towne, they marched a waie merueille  
with great triumph. At the last they brought in a  
woman verie bzaue, armed as the other was, hir  
they besieged with a Spaniard, intiled with a  
Frenchman, and flattered with an Italian rouse,  
the Spaniard put by, she fled the stage, and leaping  
off battlie hid hir selfe vnder the earls cloke, whom  
he shadowed, and the Spaniard threatning mar-  
ched a waie. The earle led hir to his lodging, where in-  
to he entred with shot. On the scaffold were written  
these verses, in effect as followeth in English:  
We Flemings being banished, now wailing here,  
We are as they in Babylon, by the water clere,  
Because we wold not worship idols, but Gods word,  
And might not sing our praise vnto the Lord,  
Are we driuen out as now dooth appeere,  
But our deliuerance is now verie neere,  
For God hath looked vpon our miserableness,  
And sent vs a prince whom he will blesse,  
Which praised be God as it dooth beseech,  
Who hath deliuered vs from dangerous case,  
And humbled the heart of such a noble queene,  
As hath sent vs a gouernour now in this space,  
Laieng his hand to the warres through his grace,  
And his arme mightilie, the which vs defend,  
Thus praised may he be world without end,  
Which sendeth such a prince about all that liueth,  
And one that gouerns to gods honor he now giueth.

So passing on to my lords lodging, on the daye  
of the entring were written these verses following:

Pro auspicijs illustrissimi & generosissimi comitis  
Roberti Dudlei, regia maiestati apud Anglos  
à consilijs, & gubernatoris Belgia, &c: ad Ho-  
landos consolatio.

Inter Iberiadum furijs & tigridis iras,  
Oppressi fletum comprimitote viri,  
Nos licet innumeris hostilia bella periculis  
Assidue infestent, mille neceque trahant,  
Nostra tamen Domini rebus fiducia fides  
In Domino miseris expediet facile.

Nicanor Lestrigeneris viribus male nostras  
Cernices pulsat, barbara verba vomens:  
Viribus at Lestranis ingulabatur ille,  
En Machabaeus adest, qui Nicanora premit,  
Auxilio Christi, qui in vitam funera vertit,  
Qui fidei vindex, qui mala nostra leuat.  
En generose comes, Dauidis pia facta sequitur,  
Iusticia exerce iura seuerata tua:  
Et tibi praesens magnum qui temperat orbem,  
Vt pede victricis colla teras Golia.

On the daie after his comming to the towne,  
he was banketted, at which banket were orations  
and deuises manie. On the first of Januarie he  
came backe from Leiden vnto Donhage. The  
tenth

The fourth  
shew of Sp-  
anish seruitude.

The fifth shew  
of hope to be  
succored.

The first shew  
of aid promi-  
sed.

The last shew  
of libertie, b-  
zauie, and tri-  
umph.

These verses  
seeme to be  
made by no  
imagination, & are  
happily  
were deuised  
by some of  
Leiden.

These verses  
written vpon the  
daye of the  
lord lieuten-  
ants lodging.

cond-  
the  
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to the  
stadi-  
ne that  
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profess-  
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as in the  
countries  
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indored.

ie nature of  
ice compo-

A generall  
saile proclaimed  
and deuoutlie  
obserued.

The lord lieuten-  
tenant rideth  
to Shewling,  
and is presen-  
ted with a few  
English ver-  
ses.

Titles of ho-  
nor ascribed to  
the lord lieuten-  
ant, with a  
reciting at  
his coming.

The estates  
sworne to the  
queene of  
England.

The earle of  
Leicester in-  
stalled at  
Donhage,  
with the man-  
ner and order  
thereof.

Persons of  
honor and  
sworship.

The cove-  
nants between  
the queene  
and the estates,  
read in Latine  
and delivered  
to and fro.

tenth he mustred part of his horsemen, to the num-  
ber of five hundred or more, and then pointed them  
into severall garrisons, and to severall governours,  
the earle of Essex was that daie made generall  
of the horse. The eleventh daie he came from  
Donhage to Leiden. The twelfth daie a generall  
saile was proclaimed through Holland, Gelderland,  
and Friseland, which was kept with great zeale.  
The lord lieutenant spent that daie till night with  
preaching, reading, and singing of psalmes; neither  
he or any of his eating any thing. The nineteenth  
of Januarie he came from Leiden to Donhage,  
where in his time of abode he rode to a little fether  
towne two miles from the Hage, named Shew-  
ling, which townie both bound on the maine seas. In  
this townie he was presented with these verses:  
Like as the sea goddesse Thetis had ingendred,  
The valiant Achilles to the Greeks defence,  
So hath now this English Thetis, who all praise de-  
Sends vs this Achilles to our assistance, (serued  
Wherefore we yeeld him all due reuerence.

These wordes were written in the great hall at  
Donhage, containing terms of honor & welwishing:  
Beatus qui facit opus Domini fideliter. Inclyto  
principi Roberto Dudlao comiti Leicestriz, inter  
magnates maximè pio, prudenti, forti, Dei permisso  
a regina misso, prefecto ac gubernatori Belgarum,  
prosperum hunc optatumque aduentum toto læti-  
tiaz suæ gratulamur, ecclesiæ & reipublicæ salurem  
optamus, federati ordinis Belgij, additi celsitudini  
eius. ¶ Deus caput, Deus dirigit.

On the five and twentieth of Januarie, the lord  
lieutenant was installed and sworne, and likewise  
all the states sworne to the queene. The manner of  
the installing was thus. At Donhage is a maruel-  
lous faire hall, at the upper end whereof are five or  
six large steps ascending, which do reach to a faire  
chamber, at the upper end whereof on high was pla-  
ced a cloth of estate, in the middell of which were the  
armes of England, and against them my lord was  
seated: on each side of him two steps descending  
sat twelve of the principall states, & below them sat  
the residue, to the number of twentieth right before  
my lord, but foure or five steps descending. On the  
right hand of my lord did stand the prince of Por-  
tugal, next him the lord of Hozle, next master of  
governour of Spunier, next sir William Russell, and  
sir Robert Germin, with diuerse men of great ac-  
count. On the left hand of my lord did stand the  
Graue of Hozle, next the earle of Essex, sir William  
Stanleie, sir Robert Stapleton, and sir Thomas  
Parat, with diuers others of great account. Thus  
being placed, a Dutchman made a large oration in  
Dutch, declaring the causes of the matter in hand,  
with thanks to the queenes maiestie and the lord  
lieutenant.

Then was read in Latine the covenants be-  
twene the states, the queene and my lord: this done  
the covenants were delivered to my lord, which he  
delivered to the states, and the states delivered an  
other to him: then was my lord demanded to bol-  
the same by oath, who holding his hand to heauen did  
swear to the covenants. The like did the states, hol-  
ding by their hands, bol to performe. Then againe  
were the states sworne to the queene and my lord  
hir lieutenant in those affaires. This done, my lord  
gaue to them severall thanks, and they severallie  
did giue to him the like, which being done, my lord  
passed through to his chamber, the trumpets all  
sounding before him. And here as matter of conue-  
nience requirerth, we purpose to touch the preem-  
ptorie authoritie committed to the said lord lieuten-  
ant by common consent of the states: being as  
followeth in the placard.

A placard containing the authoritie  
given by the states of the low countries, unto the  
mightie prince, Robert earle of Leicester, baron  
of Denbigh, &c. for the government of the  
said low countries: translated out of  
Dutch into English, as fol-  
loweth.



The generall states of the united provin-  
ces of the low countries, to all those  
which shall see or heare these present wri-  
tings, health and dilection. ¶ Even as it  
hath pleased hir maiestie of England mercifullie to  
send ouer into these countries the high and mightie  
prince and lord, lord Robert earle of Leicester,  
baron of Denbigh, and one of the private counsell,  
knight of the noble order of the garter, and not onlie  
to admit and institute his excellencie as cheefe head  
aboue all militarie souldiers on horse or foot, which  
hir maiestie hath sent or shall send ouer hereafter in-  
to these countries; & to the end to assist vs with coun-  
sell, aid & aduise, according to his great experience,  
policie and wisdome in the direction of publike af-  
faires of the land, as well touching the states of  
warre, as other waies, in conseruation of all that  
which most tendeth to the profit of the foresaid land,  
to bring backe and reduce the same into such good or-  
der and rule as it hath bene in times past, to the end  
that so much the better and orderlie he maie resist the  
force and tyrannie of our enemies, and to frustrate  
all his practises: but also besides this to honour and  
enrich his foresaid excellencie with greater authori-  
tie, might and commandement, aboue all hir mai-  
esties admirals and viceadmirals, and ships of war,  
to command them all, & to employe them to the ser-  
uice of these countries, and in such order as his ex-  
cellencie shall find needfull for the same countrie;  
and that his excellencie following hir maiesties  
commandement, desirous to shew the effect of the  
good will and affection which he beareth to these af-  
faires, and to the preservation of the same, and also  
of the true christian religion, and hath imploied him-  
selfe so willingly in the foresaid matters, that his  
excellencie for that onlie cause hath left and aban-  
doned his native countrie and goods, and transported  
himselfe hitherward amongst vs: so that hir mai-  
estie and his excellencie could neuer haue done or  
shewed vnto vs a greater benefit than this.

Therefore are we resolved, with good and ripe de-  
liberation, to certifie all men by these presents, that  
we haue desired, accepted, and authorised the fore-  
said mightie and honorable prince, lord Robert earle  
of Leicester, &c. to be our governour and generall  
captaine ouer all the united provinces, and associat  
cities and members of the same. And we giue vnto  
his excellencie, besides the authoritie of hir maiestie  
giuen vnto him, the highest and supreme comman-  
dement, and absolute authoritie aboue, and in all  
matters of warfare by sea and by land, to execute  
& administrat the same to the resistance of the eni-  
mie, even as his excellencie shall thinke most com-  
modious to the preservation of these countries: and  
so further, to do all such things as apperteyne to  
the office of a generall capteine. And furthermore,  
we commit the administration & vse of policie and  
iustice ouer the foresaid united provinces, and asso-  
ciat cities and members of the same into his hands,  
to execute and administrat the same with such power  
and authoritie, as haue had in times past all the o-  
ther governours of these low countries before him;  
and especiallie, as haue bene exercised, and law-  
fully administrat in the time of Charles the first; re-  
serued onlie the lawes and priuileges of the fore-  
said countries: also with especial power to collect  
profits, and receiue, and administrat all the contri-  
butions

Note that  
title and  
of excellencie  
the states  
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His excellencie  
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be hindered.

The good  
and effect  
of the lord  
lieutenant  
performe  
the promises  
made and  
good grace  
desire.

The states  
agreed the  
employment  
of the lord  
lieutenant  
into the low  
countries  
hands in  
respect of the  
government.

Councillors  
of matters of  
state elected  
by the lord  
lieutenant.

Lower for  
persons and  
matters.

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butions which are agreed and condescended, or shall hereafter be consented or agreed, to the maintenance of the warres: and also, that which is or shall be delivered hereafter into his excellencies hands: and this all according to the vertue of other letters and missives written more at large touching the same agreement. All which former charge and commission, his excellencie through our earnest desire hath accepted, and hath delivered sollemne oth and assurance into our hands, first of all, for the preferment of the true christian religion, and maintenance of the privileges and rights of these lands and provinces, members, and cities of the same.

We therefore ordaine and command all governors of provinces and cities, all admirals and vice-admirals, all officers, colonels, captains, their officers and souldiours by sea and land, and furthermore all other councillors, officers, treasurers, receivers, bailiffs, burgomasters, marshals, magistrates, gentlemen, burgers, & other inhabitants & subjects of these lands, of what qualitie or condition soever; that they & euerie of them do acknowledge his foresaid excellencie in the qualitie of gouernement, and capteine generall ouer the foresaid united provinces, to honor, respect and obeie him, as they ought to do, without making anye difficultie in doing the same, vpon paine of falling in the displeasure and anger of his excellencie, and to be punished according to the beaumes of the fault, and as reason shall require. And to the end that no bodie should pretend ignorance, we command & require to make knowne these ordinances, to proclame and publish them, whereas men are accustomed to proclame all publications; proceeding, and commanding to proceed with rigor against all disobediences and neglectors of the same, according to the order of punishment before mentioned, without anye fauour or dissimulation to the contrarie, because we haue thought the same to be expedient for the preservation of the countrie. Given in our congregation & assemblie in the Hage, the sixt daie of Februarie, 1586, by ordinance of the foresaid generall states.

This placard thus passed, the lord lieutenant bending his mind to his charge undertaken, did ordaine certeine speciall men, natiues borne, of the counsell, to the intent that such affaires as chanced to occur, might by them be conuenientlie managed. And as he took order for matters of policie, so was he studious in preferring martiall affaires, providing by good lawes and ordinances not onelie concerning common souldiours, but captains in like sort, that a conuenient course and well becoming the excellencie of his place, might be observed in all militarie busineses: for prouise whereof these lawes touching captains (as a note of the rest) may serue.

First, no capteine, officer, or other person, shall receiue or intertaine anye other mans souldiour or servant, without consent of his former capteine or master, neither shall intise anye other mans souldiour from him, vpon paine of losse of a moneths wages, and to restore the partie to his former capteine or master.

Secondlie, no capteine shall send forth anye men to do anye enterpryse, without knowledge of the generall or chiefe officer appointed thereunto, vpon paine of losse of his place.

Thirdlie, all priuat captains being no head officers shall watch and ward with their ensignes, wlesse it be by speciall leave, vpon paine of the losse of a moneths paie, & for the second time losse his place.

Fourthlie, no capteine shall sell or ransom his prisoner without licence of the generall, and shall

not suffer them to depart without shaling the high marshall priuie to the same, vpon paine to lose his prisoner, and imprisonment.

Fifthlie, anye capteine finding anye souldiour, of what band or companie so euer, which hath transgressed anye of these lawes & ordinances, may take him & bring him vnto the marshall to be punished.

Sixthlie, that no capteine shall receiue or intertaine anye person into his paie vnder him, but that he cause the said souldiour to receiue the oth, vpon paine to the capteine for not obseruing the same, of losse of a moneths paie.

Seauenthlie, no inferiour capteine shall for corruption or anye other cause, licence anye of his souldiours to depart the campe or garrison, without speciall licence of the generall or head officer, vpon paine of losse of his moneths paie, and expulsion out of his office.

Eighthlie, if anye capteine hereafter receiuing his souldiours paie, do not paie the same vnto them within eight daies after, and being demanded, then vpon complaint made, and the capteine there of indicted, he shall lose his moneths paie, and be deposed of his office, banished the campe, and disabled from thenceforth to serue in the armie.

Ninthlie, captains & officers shall resort to their souldiours lodgings, to see in what state their armes and munition be in, and to giue great charge that their furniture be alwaies in a readinesse, their cosaks with all peeces belonging to the same, and their calceurs to be made cleane & oiled, to haue match and powder drie, and strings for their bowes, their bills and holberds to be kept cleane and sharpe, vpon paine and punishment arbitrarie, according to the qualitie of their negligence.

Tenthlie, that euerie capteine or officer shall cause these said statutes to be read euerie twentieth daie to them of their charge, as well housemen as footmen, & to follow the same so nere as they may.

Now when the state of the countrie was provided for in such sort as before ye haue heard, the lord lieutenant proceeded to other actions, inasmuch that on the first of March he came from Hage to Leiden, and the third of March from Leiden to Harlem, there being honorable intertaineed, according to the maner in other places before named, with sundrie representations: on the tenth daie of March he came from Harlem to Amsterdam, a towne counted inuincible, being there receiued in most sumptuous sort with diuersitie of shewes & ceremonies. The like also were exhibited vnto him coming to Altricht, the people of which towne shewed themselves greatlie to fauour our Englishmen, for there came to the towne from the Leger three hundred or foure hundred souldiours, so sicke and poore, that it was wonder to see their miserie: and the townehousemen not onelie receiued them, but also relieved them with meat drinke and cloths, giuing them for the most part new shirts and other necessarie apparell; looking so vnto them for their health, that whereas for the most part they were in great danger of death, few or none of them at that time perished.

The three and twentieth of Aprill, the earle of Leicester being lieutenant, and gouernour generall of his maiesties forces in the low countries of the united provinces (as is aforesaid) and making his residence at that time in Altricht (a great and goodlie towne vpon the frontiers of Holland) kept most honourable the feast of S. George therein, the proceedings whereof being so princelie performed to the honor of our nation, in the view of so many thousand strangers, I could not chuse hauing gotten the true and faithfull description by one William Strickland, C. D. C.

The lord lieutenant cometh from the Hage to Harlem, & how he was receiued.

Altricht people cometh to see their great king: & sheweth to the Englishmen.

S. Georges feast solemnly observed at Altricht.

note what a title and title excellencie the states giue to the earle of Leicester, and the honorable service to him appointed.

to acknowledge and performance of the same in all parts of the countries under paine of punishment.

to proclame and publish these ordinances, to the end that no bodie should pretend ignorance.

The good will and affection of the lord lieutenant to performe the premises signified and by good grace fulfilled.

The states signify the respect of his government.

Councillors to the lord lieutenant.

Leues for officers and souldiours.

like antho the given to the lord lieutenant, as other gouernours his predecessors had in the countries.

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George  
least foliome  
observed at  
Striche.

get alia Portculis an officer at armes in that ser-  
vice) to make some these remembrance of the ma-  
ner thereof in this booke, to wit. The streets of  
tricht being large and faire, were rankt and set with  
eight ensignes of burgers richlie appointed, wear-  
ing scarffes knit like roses white and red upon their  
armes, betwene whome from the court of my lord  
unto the cathedrall church called the Dome, the pro-  
ceeding was on horsebacke. First rid the trumpet-  
toys apparessed in scarlet, laid with silver lace, found-  
ing their trumpets most roiallie, their bannerols be-  
ing displayed and richlie limmed with my lords  
armes. Then followed the gentlemen, capteins, co-  
ronels, and his maiesties swoyne men, to the number  
of a fortye horse, richlie adozned in cloth of gold, sil-  
uer, and silks, of all colours. After came six knights,  
four barons, with the counsell of estates: the right  
honourable earle of Essex accompanied the bishop  
of Cullen prince elector; and the prince of Portin-  
gall rid by himselfe: next proceeded the capteine of  
the gard, the treasurer and controller of the household,  
bearing their white stances; after whom followed two  
gentlemen vishers, and Portculis herald in a rich  
cote of armes of England.

A lieutenant  
inacted in the  
robes of order.

Then came my lord most princelike, inuessed in  
his robes of the order, garded by the principall bur-  
gers of the towne, which offered themselves to that  
seruice, besides his owne gard, which were a fiftie  
halberds in scarlet cloaks, garded with purple and  
white veluet. He being thus honourable brought  
unto the church, after due reuerence done unto the  
quenes maiesties estate, which was there erected on  
the right hand, he took his owne stall on the left, by  
certaine degrees lower. Then began prayers, and a  
sermon made by maister Kneolstubs my lords chap-  
leine, after which my lord proceeded to the offering;  
first for his maiestie, & then for himselfe, the which he  
performed with such decorum & princelike behauiour,  
that all generallie spake most honozable of him.

These solemnities being done, his lordship retur-  
ned as he came, leaving behind him the earle of Es-  
sex and certaine gentlemen to accompanie the prin-  
ces and the ladies of the court. His court was a  
faire and large house, belonging in times past to the  
knights of the Rhodes, in which was a verie great  
hall richlie hong with tapisserie; at the upper end  
whereof was a most sumptuous cloth and chaire of  
estate for the quens maiestie, with his armes and  
file thereon, and before it a table covered with all  
things to requisit as if in person she had bene there;  
on the left hand almost at the tables end was my  
lords trencher and stole, for he would haue no chaire.  
The tables being covered, & all degrees assembled,  
my lord before the estate of his maiestie knighted a  
Dutch gentleman, called sir Martin Skinke, for his  
manifold seruices done to his countrie, the which  
done, the vishers marshalled the feast. At the table  
on the right side of the hall sat the young prince of  
Portingall, the prince elector and his wife, the prin-  
cesse Henrie, the earle of Essex, the Graue of Portis  
and his ladie, & betwene euerie ladie was an Eng-  
lish lord or knight placed. On the left side sat the  
states and chiefe burgers of the towne, and the grand  
prior of Amersford (who came to see the feast) was by  
my lords appointment placed uppermost at that ta-  
ble. Then began the trumpets to found in the seruice  
which was (most princelike & abundant seruiced on  
the knee) carued & tassed to his maiesties trencher.

Martin  
Skinke  
knighted, who  
promised  
Portculis to  
show him  
seuentie en-  
signes that he  
had now in  
the field.

So prosecute the sumptuousnesse, statelimesse, and  
varietie of deuices in seruice at this banquet, requi-  
reth a discourse of manie lines, and therefore lea-  
uing it to the imagination of the reader (hauing re-  
lation to the former) we will heere surcease; remem-  
bring thus much to the honour of the lord lieute-

nant, that sundrie militarie exploits or stratagema  
were with no lesse magnanimite attempted, than  
with felicitie atchived against the enimie, during  
the time of his abode in those countries, which it  
were better vtterlie to omit, than not with conueni-  
ent dignitie to record: being herein semblable as-  
sested to his honour, as sometimes was the poet  
Horace to Agrippa, *Qui sibi non conuenire tam sublime  
argumentum asseuerabat; proinde Varium poetam rectius  
scripturum eius praelara facinora dicebat, qui ad Homeri-  
cam felicitatem proximè accedere videbatur.* And now to  
leauie him in the hands of God, upon whome depen-  
deth his honours hope, we will here leauie the ne-  
therlands, and approach to matters of England.

On the one and twentieth date of this Iannarie, Seminarie  
two seminarie priests (before arreigned and con-  
demned) were hanged to the Tyburne, and there  
hanged, botwelled, and quartered. Also on the same  
date, a wench was burnt in Smithfield for posses-  
sion of her aunt and mistresse, and also attempting  
to haue done the like wicked offense to her uncle.

On the second date of Februarie, or the feast of the  
purification of our blessed ladie, doctor John White,  
gift archbishop of Canturburie, William lord Cob-  
ham lord warden of the five ports, and Thomas lord  
Wickhurst, were chosen and taken to be of his ma-  
iesties priue counsell: the two first, to wit, the  
archbishop and the lord Cobham were swoyne the  
same date, and the third on the next morrow. And  
here, as in other places of these chronicles, where we  
haue set downe certaine collections of right worthy  
personages in high calling and verie honourable  
office, we are lead by some reason to delict a cata-  
log of the names (at least) of such archbishops as  
haue successiuelie possessed the metropolitan see of  
Canturburie, therein impleng their antiquitie and  
authoritie, &c. and from thence proceed to saie some-  
what of the lord Cobhams and lord wardens of the  
cinque ports, as a matter of some consequence, by  
means of the mutuall advancement at one instant  
which his highnesse of speciall grace vouchsafed them  
both. And to begin with Canturburie, being first na-  
med, you shall vnderstand that Augustine the monke  
(according to the receiued opinion of chronogra-  
phers) was the first archbishop which occupied that  
metropolitan see, next whome succeeded one Lauren-  
tius, then Melitus, Iustus, Honorius, Deusdedit, The-  
odoris, Brightwaldus, Tatwinus, Nothelmus, Cut-  
bertus, Beguinus, Lambertus, Athelardus, Wilfre-  
dus, Theologildus, Athelredus, Plegmundus, Athel-  
mus, Wolfelmus, Odo Seuerus, Dunstanus, Ethelga-  
rus, Siricius, Aluricius, Elphegus, Liuingus, Agelno-  
thus, Edinus: and so forward with the residue before  
and after the conquest, which being multiplied by  
nities, do make by the complet number of thre  
score and twelue.

Where by the waie we might touch the varietie  
of their names (sith authozs therein do dissent) as al-  
so the time wherein they liued and flourished, with  
some commemoration of their acts and deeds, both  
in church and commonwealth. But this kind of dis-  
course being ecclesiasticall, is vnproper for this se-  
cular historie: therefore labouring no further there-  
in, we will remit the reader to such authozs as  
professe haue ample treated of that argument: mind-  
ing now by waie of note in a few lines to touch the  
thre late primats, as they haue succeeded ech other  
since the cozonation and regiment of his maiestie:  
the first of whom was spate the w Parker, whose pre-  
decessor Reg. Pole dieng, he was aduanced, and  
intoied the same advancement certaine yeares,  
(hauing ben the seuentith archbishop of that see) du-  
ring which time he did much good diuerse waies,  
deseruing well not onlie of the church, but also

Seminarie  
priests were  
burnt in  
Smithfield

Archbishop  
Canturburie  
lord Cobham  
lord Wick-  
hurst, of the  
priue coun-  
cell.

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The number  
of archbishops  
of Canturburie  
from the first  
to this

The note of  
Reginald Scot  
eliquet con-  
cerning Do-  
uer haven.

Considerati-  
ons vpon the  
building of  
Douer haven  
is here recoz-  
ded.  
Douer the  
newest place of  
England to  
France.  
Douer the  
most conueni-  
ent place of  
England for a  
hauen.

Reasons vpon  
a harbor at  
Douer should  
be so benefi-  
ciall.

A true com-  
memoration of  
queene Eliza-  
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of the commonwealth. Not having spoken elsewhere of this man, we will here state our course; concluding this collection of archbishops in their successions, with the two renowned divines and doctors, the one Edmund Grindall late deceased; the other John Whitgift now living; of whom no more but silence, for vertue doth sufficiently commend her selfe. Now order would, that we should descend into a discourse of the lord Cobham & lord wardens of the cinque ports, rehearsed before page 1435, a 10: but herein the reader is patientlie to put up the disappointment of his expectation, upon supposall of some reasonable impediment, while the same was not satisfied. And now to the course of our historie expedite to be continued.

In this yeare 1586, certaine of the lords of hir maiesties most honorable privie counsell made an appointment to have met at Dover, to surmount a notable piece of worke there lately performed about the haven, to the benefit of the whole land. Howbeit the said lords, by means of other accidents of importance, staid at the court, and went not that iourneie. Nevertheless the lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, one of hir maiesties privie counsell, repairing thither (accompanied with divers brights and gentlemen of great worship) did take the vie to both of the worke finished, and also conferred about the businesse then in hand. Now for so much as that which is already done, is a perfect and an absolute worke, to the perpetuall maintenance of a haven in that place, being such a monument as is hardlie to be found written in any record, it might seeme absurd that no mention thereof should be made in this chronicle: and that the cost and businesse thereabouts imploied hath not bene unnecessary, maie appeare by the reasons ensuing.

First, Dover hath bene ever reputed the keie and locke (as Marcellus Parisienfis reporteth, or as rather he should have said) the vertie doore and entrance into the realme of England, either for friend or foe, and also the ready passage unto all nations, but especiallie into France, from whence it is not distant about thirtie English miles, and is commonlie passed in five or six houres at the most, and in a prosperous wind within halfe the time. Secondlie, it standeth in the most convenient place of all this land to offend the enimie, and to defend either domesticall or foreign friend. Thirddie, a meane harbor would be there (in the opinion of all skillfull mariners) more beneficiall & commodious for the navigation of England, than an excellent haven placed any where else about the coast thereof. Fourthlie, all our passengers through the narrow seas being distressed by violence of weather, or by inconvenience of piracie, or else by force of the common enimie in the time of warre, might there have present succor and refuge, and both speedie and easie passage thereinto, or otherwise be best rescued. Fiftlie, of late yeares, the considerations aforesaid have moved some noble princes of this land, to bestow infinit treasure to gaine a harbor or haven in that place, to their great honor, fame, and commendation, to the wonderful contentment of all their subjects, and for the good and benefit of all the neighbors adjoining, and strangers passing these narrow seas. Finally, it hath pleased our most noble queene Elisabeth to undertake it, who in all good actions and necessarie works, for the benefit of the realme, & commonwealth of England, hath bene so liberall, carefull, and provident, as thereby hir glorie and renowne is spread over all the face of the earth, and reacheth unto heaven, where the king of kings sitteth, and heareth the praises and prayers, not onelie of hir owne people, but of all christians living in hir behalfe, for whose good (it seemeth) she was brought forth and preserved in this world.

And now (I saie) for so much as hir highnesse hath

at this present time taken order for the building of a new haven in this place, and boundeth the employed great summes of monie upon the same (being begun with more probability, iudgement, and circumspection, and accompanied with better successe than ever any of hir highnesse predecessors have heretofore had in this case; wherein the most difficult and dangerous worke is already accomplished, so as there is now and ever hereafter will be a vertie good haven, except extreme negligence be used in maintaining the same) I thought it a most necessarie matter to be here recorded, to hir maiesties perpetuall fame, and partly also to give light and encouragement to hir successors in the crowne of England, to attempt and undertake, and the better to execute and accomplish the like famous enterprise. For actions of far lesse importance are made memorabie by historiographers, as in ourrie chronicle maie appeare.

In this discourse I thought met to passe over the antiquitie of the towne and port of Dover, with the libertie thereof; which together with the ruines and misfortunes of fire are to be found extant in the perambulation of Kent, written by William Lambard esquier. Of Dover castell somewhat might here be said, but for so much as maister Lambard hath so largely discoursed thereupon in his booke, which is like to remaine of continuance, I will make bold with the reader to referre him therunto; and onelie give this note (to wit) that whereas he justlie complaineth of the miserable ruines thereof; it hath pleased hir maiestie (in respect of the necessarie maintenance of the same) to bestow more charge of late in repairing and re-edifying of it, than hath bene spent thereabouts (as it seemeth) since the first building thereof, whether the same were done by Julius Cesar the Romaine emperor, or by Armaragus then king of the Britains (king Edward the fourth onelie excepted) who (as John Rolfe reporteth) did throughly repare it, bestowing thereon 10000 pounds, inasmuch as it is now reduced to be a piece of great force and importance, and vertie beautifull to behold. Wherein the honorable disposition of the lord Burghleie lord high treasure of Englnd is to be commended, who was a principall furtherer thereof, and whose forwardnesse in all militarie affaires is had in admiration among all the best souldiours of England, although he himselfe an aged and a most grave counsellor. And in these commendations if I should omit the praises of the honorable lord Cobham, lord warden of the cinque ports, and constable of the castell of Dover, as I should doe him great wrong. For by his providence and mediation, together with the diligent travail and industrie of Richard Barrie esquier, lieutenant of the said castell, that worke is accomplished, to the comfort and benefit of the whole realme. Within the walls whereof is now also raised such a mount at the north side thereof, as thereby the castell is double so strong as before. But omitting all other occasions and matters concerning Dover, I will now passe to my purpose.

But yet, before I enter into these last works, I must give you to understand, that the vertie situation of the place ministreth encouragement to the executioners, and yeldeth great fauor and occasion to the attempt. For Dover cliffes stand to the sea north and east, the towne being placed at the foot of the northerne cliffes, the castle on the top of the easterne cliffes, called the Castell Kale: so as there is a naturall baie, through the which from by north issueth a proper river entring into the same baie: & thence runneth through the haven into the sea. In times past, untill of late yeares, that onelie baie hath served them for a rode, and at many times in some sort hath stood the nante (but especiallie the slier botes) in good sted. For in a great northerlie and westerlie wind, the ships were

The port of Dover well maintained a haven there for ever.

In peramb. Cant. bk. Dover.

Dover castell redified by queene Elisabeth.

Edward the fourth bestowed 10 thousand pounds upon reparations of Dover castell.

The situation of Dover harbor.

A naturall rode for ships at Dover.

A, C, H, I.

The name of Reginald Scott, knight commander of Dover.

Considerations whie the building of Dover haven is here rehearsed. Dover the nearest place of England to France. Dover the most convenient place of England for a haven.

Reasons whie a harbor at Dover should be so beneficiall.

A true commendation of queene Elisabeth.

The haven of  
Die decayed,  
whereby more  
need of a har-  
bour at Dower.  
Ships lost  
for lacke of  
sufficient har-  
bour at Dower.

The first be-  
nefit bestowed  
on Dower har-  
bour.

A little para-  
dise.

In the reigne  
of Edward  
the Confessor.

Sir John  
Thomson  
present his sup-  
plication.

driven from the Dots and the foreland to repaire  
thither, where they might lie safelie untill the wind  
blew great from by east or south, & then were they dri-  
ven to depart thence unto the Camber at Kie (which  
then was a notable good rode, though now utterlie de-  
caied) or into the Aile of Wight. For in a sudden flaw  
or storme of wind at southeast, there have bene seuen  
or eight ships broken all to peces in one daie upon the  
said clifles. To relieue and amend the same harbo-  
rough, and somewhat to mitigate the foresaid incon-  
ueniente, there was a round tower builded by one  
John Clarke, prest, master of the maison de Dieu,  
about the yeare one thousand five hundred, at the south  
west part of the said baie, which serued somewhat to  
defend the ships from the rage of the south west wind,  
but especiallie to moze the ships which were tied there-  
unto. For manie great ringes were fastened to the  
same tower for that purpose, as it maie yet be sene,  
sith it standeth there at this houre. And hereby that  
part of the baie was made so pleasant, as euer after  
that corner hath bene named, and is at this daie cal-  
led A little paradise. Neuerthelesse this was thought  
verie insufficient in respect of the place, for the safe-  
gards of such a multitude of ships as vsuallie late for  
harbour in that rode. For besides all strange botes,  
which commonlie repaired thither, it appeareth in the  
booke of Domesdaie, that Dower armed ycarlie at  
his proper charges twentie vessels to the sea by the  
space of fiftene daies, with one and twentie able men  
in each ship.

Now about the yeate of Christ one thousand five  
hundred fiftie and two, one sir John Thomson clacke,  
parson of the parish of saint James in Dower, being  
a man ingenious, and seeing the conueniente and  
possibilitie of a good haven to be made in that place,  
consulted with the chiefe and best mariners of the  
towne. Among whom it was agreed, that humble  
suite should be made to the kings maiestie by the state  
of the towne, for his gracious fauour and aid toward  
the making of a good haven there. And it was also  
by them all thought meet, that the said sir John Thom-  
son should exhibit their petition to his highnesse: wher-  
unto he agreed, and drew a plot, and prepared a sup-  
plication in the name and behalfe of the towne, con-  
teining the necessarie causes and reasons, desires and  
instructions, for the erection and building thereof.  
But he told them he was poore, and therefore unable  
of his owne proper charges to follow the suite. In  
which respect they collected among themselves, and  
deliuered unto him foure pounds ten shillings, which  
he accepted, and forthwith repaired to the court; where  
he so demeaned himselfe, as he had present access to  
the king, who heard his suite with great fauour, and  
debated with him about the contents of his plot, and  
liked so well of his informations that he willed him  
to repaire home, and without delaie to returne to his  
presence, accompanied with some of the best mari-  
ners or seamen of the towne, and so with commenda-  
tions dismissed him for that time.

When the masters of the towne vnderstood his gra-  
ces pleasure, they immediatlie assembled themselves,  
and made choise of Edward Spale, Robert Justice,  
Richard Colwich, and John Steward, as the fittest  
and skillfullest persons to vse conference, and to be  
employed in that cause, being all mariners of good ex-  
perience. These foure and the said sir John Thomson  
without further staie resorted to the court, with whom  
when the king had communed, he conceived of the ne-  
cessitie of a haven to be there had, and of the probabi-  
litie and likelihood of good successe in the enterprise to  
be performed according to their suggestion. And be-  
cause his maiestie vnderstood the poore estate of the  
towne, he granted his gracious aid for the supplie of  
their want of monie, deliuering at that time out of

his owne cofers unto them the summe of five hundred  
pounds, wherewith he willed them to make a begin-  
ning of the worke. At which time he bestowed on the  
said sir John Thomson the mastership of the maison  
de Dieu of Dower, which was a hospitall, valued at  
one hundred and twentie pounds by the yeare: the  
custome and dutie of the which house was (as the an-  
cient townsmen informe me) to intertaine and re-  
leue souldiours, and others which came from beyond  
the seas, hurt or distressed, who were allowed some  
reliefe there, by the space of certeine daies gratis;  
which though I find not directlie set downe in record,  
yet do I know assuredlie the same to haue bene put  
in execution, wherewith the verie name of the house  
is agreeable, and as it were a credible witness. The  
king at that time also appointed the said sir John to be  
principall suruey of the worke, and under him the  
other foure to be ouersers of the same.

Now am I to giue you to vnderstand, that the drift  
and deuise of the said sir John Thomson was to erect  
a huge wall (which he termed by the name of a pierre)  
from Arcliffe chapell, being the south west part of the  
baie directlie towards the east into the maine sea, a-  
bout 131 rods in length: so as by that means the har-  
bourough was to be garded from the rage of all wea-  
ther, coming from the north, north east, north west,  
and south west, and so the entrance onelie at east south  
east, wherinto when the ships were once brought,  
they might there lie safe in all weather, at the one  
side or the other. But the pierre was not finished by  
350 foot so far as the foundation thereof (which he cal-  
led the Spolehead) was laid, which foundation consist-  
ed of great rocks, brought from a place nere hand,  
called Hakcliffe, or the castell Kite and Folkestone.  
This pierre was begun on S. Annes daie 1533, and  
it was compiled of two rowes of maine posts, & great  
piles of five or six & twentie foot long, set at each side  
close together, which were let downe and put in cer-  
teine holes helved in the great rocks, laid for that  
purpose: but some of those piles were shod with iron,  
and dzinen into the maine rocke of chalk, with a  
great engine called a ram. These posts and piles were  
combined and held together with iron bolts, and were  
filled with mightie stones of chalks as also with beach,  
and other earth: but the bottome consisted altogether  
of great rocks of stone, which if they had not bene  
brought thither by a speciall druse, must needs haue  
bene extream chargeable: for manie of them were  
of twentie tun a pece, and few vnder.

The practicke of this charge is now common, but it  
was before that time rare & vnkowne in England,  
and inuented there by a poore simple man named John  
Poung, who first with a nutshell, after with an eggshell,  
& lastlie with a small vessell, made proue what weight  
those things could raise & beare in the water; and ha-  
uing by that experient made triall, or at least a pro-  
bable coniecture, that stones of great weight might  
be raised and carried in the water by greater vessels,  
he discovered his experient to such as were officers  
in the worke; who presentlie put in practicke & execution  
the same deuise, & making prouision of great & strong  
barrels and pipes of wood, carried them to Folkestone,  
and at low water fastened therto with chaines such  
huge stones as late on the shore, nere the low water  
marke (where the quarrie or mine of those rocks is) so  
as when the flood or full sea came, the said vessels with  
the stones thereto fastened rose vp & swam. And if the  
stone were of such quantitie as two or three emptie  
casks could not lift it by, then did they ad a barrel or  
two more, which would not faile to do it: then did they  
drag with small botes the casks & stones thereunto ti-  
ed, to the place where they were disposed to sinke them,  
& so the worke wherein consisted the greatest difficultie  
in appearance, was with most ease and least charge ac-  
complished.

Five hundred  
pounds giuen  
by Henrie the  
eight towards  
a beginning of  
Dower worke  
The maison  
de Dieu of  
Dower.

Surueys &  
ouerlers.

Sir John  
Thomson  
druse disco-  
uered.

The Spole-  
head.

Dower pierre  
when it was  
taken in hand  
and wherof  
it consisted.

A notable dr-  
use to carrie  
great rocks  
by water.

The charg  
the pierre.

The kings  
care for Do-  
wer pierre.  
The kings  
repente to  
Dower.

The cause o  
the decay of  
the pierre.

Officers a-  
bout the  
pierre.  
The ruine of  
Dower pierre

Stone called  
drash or bow  
er choied by  
Dower haue

Two causes  
of the decay of  
Dower pierre.

four pence a compassed. And for this deuise the said John Poyng had a pence stipend giuen vnto him by the king during his life. With these stones, as also by this means was the greatest worke done, and with great cost and labor these piles were filled vp. The chalker and siling thereof being brought from the north pierre, was conuered thither in a great bote called a Gaboth, which had nine keeles. There stands yet of the timber worke of the old pierre foure score fot in length, and vntoys vpon that part of the pierre, where stood a fort named the Blache bulworke.

Now that which was done on that side, with the helpe of nature at the other two sides made an excellent roade of harborough for the time it continued, and had maintenance. The king for his part spared no charge, for he spent hereabouts (as I am credible informed) fiftie thousand pounds, nor yet did he beare any trauell which might further the worke. For in person he purposed repaired thither diuerse and sundrie times, being distant from the court fiftie miles at the least: yea his highnes had such care that it should be well performed, that no expert man in water worke, either on this side, or beyond the seas, but (if it might be) he was brought thither, or at the least conferred withall. And during the time of all the worke, the kings corders seemed to stand wide open. But alas, the kings care and charge, and the continuall trouble and trauell of officers was such about the worke present, that the provision for the future maintenance thereof was utterly neglected. For the kings absence at his being at Wallen, his sicknesse at his returne, and finally his death meeting with the monage of his son king Edward the first, made an end of all this worke: which being once in the state of decaye, there was no reparations nor further proceeding therein, till the time of queene Marie; in the beginning of whose reigns (by the space of two yeares) there was some rumbling thereabout. But the workmen and officers were not well paid; and after bad payment, no payment, and so it was giuen ouer. Sir Anthonie Auder was treasurer in these works, and manie other inferior officers also there were, but especiallie of clerks.

But now I am to declare vnto you the lamentable ruine and decaye of this worke, before the end and finishing thereof there was brought along the coast, from by southwell, a marvellous quantitie of beach and bowlder stone, whereof there had bene neuer anye sene before in those parts of that coast, and a great quantitie thereof rested vpon the backe of the pierre, especiallie before the Blache bulworke, which (so long as it might lie there without further annoiance) was (in appearance) a singular helpe for the strength and preservation of the said worke, but it fell out otherwise. For besides that, that an easterlie great wind would remoue and driue it from that coast, and consequently from the pierre, which then would lie naked as before, vntill the south and westerne wind turned it backe againe; the pierre through negligence decayed especiallie at the Blache bulworke (where the greatest abundance of beach vsuallie rested) it passed through the decayed places thereof in such measure, as in short time thereby grew a helpe of beach from that point of the pierre to the east part of the baie, butting to the Castell Kate; so as no entrance thereinto for anye ship remained. And the more that the furthest point of the pierre decayed and waied thoster, the nearer was the helpe brought vnto the shore: insomuch as if the residue of the pierre had not bene preserved, that helpe would sone haue bene brought to the verie towne, and so haue choked vp the baie, and bereft all possibilitie of euer hauing a harbor in that place.

The decaye of the pierre grew now more and more, partlie (as is said) through want of prouidence and cost to be imploied therevpon, and sufficient provision

to mainteine the same: but especiallie through the disorder of the power sort of the towne, who daile purloined timber, iron, and all that was anye thing worth which they could pull or catch from the decayed places of the pierre. And now (by means of this helpe) the haueu waied worse than euer it was, insomuch as oftentimes a bote that dyet but foure fot of water could not enter into the mouth thereof, and sometime none at all: for the baie was altogether shut vp, so as the harborough was become a pent, out of the which nothing could passe out or in, saving the waier that shoked through the beach. But the river, which issueth out of the towne at a water gate standing at the north east end of the said pent, in continuance of time would make an issue through some part of the same beach into the sea, sometime at one end, sometime at another, sometime verie shallow, and neuer verie deepe; which issue was alwaies their haueus mouth, vntill a contrarie wind did stop it vp againe, and then they had no entrance at all, vntill the river had made a new fret, or that they had digged a chanel through the beach, which manie times they were driuen to do.

The losse of this haueu, and the losse of Calis, which happened about one time, made such an alteration, or rather desolation in and of the towne, as was lamentable and wonderfull to behold. For of a bawie, rich, and populous towne, it presentlie became a poore and desolate village, retaining onelie the name and libertie of the famous port of Dover. Neuertheless, the necessitie and expedience of a good haueu in that place did still remaine, a conuenient incane also was left for the accomplishment thereof, as it seemed to diuerse which were wise and of good experience: insomuch as that verie matter, which was supposed to be the destruction of the late harborough, should now become a principall helpe and furtherance to a new haueu of greater importance, and better securitie than euer it was before. For (as you haue heard) Dover cliffes naturallie defend this baie from all tempests coming from the north east and north west; the pierre yet remaining gardeth it from the west and south west winds; & the helpe of beach crossing from the end thereof to the Castell Kate, had made such a close pent, as if anye ships could be conuered thereinto, they might there rest in great safetie.

The towne within this close baie containeth almost fiftie acres, and the river (as I haue said) runneth quite through the same immediatlie into the maine sea at south: so as the said pent being surrounded at euery high water, and lieng almost bare at euery ebbe, the ouze or sarch grew to be sonnetene or fiftene fot deepe, the bottome thereof being a maine rocke of chalke: insomuch as a great multitude of ships might be placed there in good securitie, if the entrance could be made good. These things considered by men of good capacitie and experience, sundrie deuises and conceits were exhibited therabouts, whereof some seemed verie probable; and were rather heard and commended, for that the worke was so necessarie and beneficiall to the commonwealth. And in that respect, it pleased the queenes maiestie to grant to the towne of Dover, towards the repairing of their haueu, the free transportation of thirtie thousand quarters of wheat, ten thousand quarters of barley and malt, and foure thousand tun of beere, without paying either custome or impost: which was a gift of no small importance.

For besides great sommes of monie already leuied and imploied vpon the beginning of these works, the licence or patent was sold to a couple of merchants of London named John Bird, and Thomas Wats, after the rate of three shillings and foure pence for euery quarter of wheat, and two shillings and eight pence

Sometime no harborough at all at Dover.

How Dover was made desolat.

That beach which destroyed the pierre helpeth now the haueu.

A bountifull gift of queene Elisabeth towards the repairing of Dover haueu.

The patent of the queenes gift sold vnto two merchants.

The act of  
parlement for  
Douer haven  
23. Elifab.

Three pence  
the tun of  
euerie vessel  
allowed to  
wards Douer  
hauen.  
The tunnage  
amounted to  
1000 pounds  
pearelie.  
The tenure of  
the queens  
commission for  
Douer hauen.

John True  
surueior gene-  
rall of Douer  
hauen.

The deuise of  
John True.

pence for euerie quarter of barlie and malt; and the licence of bare being sold to diuerse others amounted to foure thousand marks at the least. Besides all this, it was enacted in the parlement holden the thye and thientith yeare of the reigne of hir maiestie, for and in the considerations aforesaid, and for that there was a probable plot contriued by skilfull men, to be performed for a conuenient sum of monie, that for euerie ship, vessel, or crafter, whereof anie of hir maiesties subiects were owners, or part-ownes, being of the burthen of twentie tuns or upwards, lading or discharging within this realme, or passing to or from anie forren countrie, during the space of seven yeres then next ensuing, from forthie daies after the end of the same session of parlement, there should be paid for euerie such bolage by the maister or owner of all such vessels, &c: the summe of three pence for euerie tun of the burthen of such ship, &c.

Whereby there grew great summes of monie to be pearelie leuied toward these works, amounting to one thousand pounds pearelie at the least, and yet the time not expired by two yeres. After this, hir maiestie being carefull that the hauen should with expedition be taken in hand, directed hir letters patents, dated the nine and thientith daie of March, in the foure and thientith yeare of hir reigne, to the lord Cobham lord warren of hir cinque ports, &c: sir Thomas Scot, sir James Hales knights, Thomas Wotton, Edward Bois, the mayo of the towne of Douer present and to come, Richard Barrie lieutenant of the castell of Douer, Henrie Palmer, Thomas Wigs, Thomas Wilford, and William Partridge esquires, all which were of the thice, and men of great wisdom and iudgement, and no small travellers in matters concerning the common wealth: some of them marvellous expert in affaires and matters of the seas, some in fortifications, some hauing travelled beyond the seas for experience and conference that waie, and to see the order of forren searworks and hauens, and none without singular vertues. In which respect they were commissioned and authorized by those presents, to do, and forsee to be done from time to time, all things needfull and requisite to be imploied about the repairing and mending of the said hauen, and as might tend to the furtherance of the said seruice: and to chuse officers, and assigne their stipends, and the severall fees of all ministers, attendants and clerks needfull for the substantiall, necessarie, spædie, and cheape doing thereof, and therein to set downe particular orders and directions, as might be for the furtherance and accomplishing of the said works most expedient.

Now for the performance hereof, manie plots by sundrie persons were deuised, and first of all one John True was commended, or at the least commended him selfe to the lords of hir maiesties priuie counsell, to whome he made great shew to be an expert enginor, and by their lordships he was sent to Douer, and presented to be generall surueior of the works, as one in whome they reposed great hope of furthering and finishing the said hauen; whereof he made no doubt, but resolute promised the spædie execution and accomplishing thereof. His deuise and determination was, to make within the said baie nere to the selfe of beach, a long wall from the water gate (out of which the riuer issueth into the harborough) to the blacke bulwourke, in length two hundred rods. This wall was to be made of excellent stone at Folkstone, the which he framed after a strange and contrarie kind of workmanship. And there was for this purpose already perfectie hewed of the same stone seven thousand foot, and six thousand foot more was scapled: he bestowed and spent thereabouts one thousand two hundred fourescore

and eight pounds, as appeareth in the accounts of the treasurers for that time being; and yet there was not one stone of his said long wall laid, nor that he therto hath come to anie profitable use. But this wall if it had bene, or rather could haue bene finished, it would haue cost a hundred thousand pounds, and yet would neuer haue serued the turne. For a stone wall is so contrarie to the nature of that sandie foundation, as it can make no good coniunction nor perfect pent.

For the furtherance of his deuise he would haue plucked downe a great part of the old pierre, whereof there was then too little remaining: he detracted the time, for he had ten shillings a daie allotted unto him for his fee, which perhaps he was loth to forgo. He either could or would not render anie reason to the commissioners of his doings and small purpose, but alwaies said he would make them a good hauen, neither would he set downe anie time certaine for the accomplishing thereof. All these matters, with his negligence, delaies, & untowardlinesse of his works, being aduertised to the lords of hir maiesties counsell, he was dismissed.

After whom, one Ferdinando Poins, who had bene conuerfant and acquainted with water works in the low countries, and had dealt much about Wolwich and Crith breaches, offered his seruice for the accomplishing of these works; affirming; that it was an easie matter to bring the same to passe, in such sort as there should some be a good harborough; refusing not to haue taken the worke to do by great, either by a plot of his owne deuising, or else by the plot agreed on by the commissioners, and allowed by the lords of the counsell. But this Ferdinando Poins, although he seemed a verie good executioner either of his owne, or another mans deuise concerning such affaires: yet was he verie loth to discouer his order and maner of working, or anie other deuise of his owne, least (as he said) he might be prevented by some other that would undertake to do it by his deuises, better cheape than him selfe could afford it, and so he to lose, and other to gaine the benefit of his inuention. Howbeit, in the end he was content to be imploied anie waie, so as therewithall he might haue monie before hand: for Wolwich works did so sticke in his fingers, as moneie was verie palpable and plausible vnto him.

In fine, he undertooke to make certeine groins or knocks, which at the hauens mouth should cause such a depth, as thereby the whole harborough should lie drie at a low water, whereby the works about the walls might the better and more conuenientlie be performed, and the present entrie amended. For it was concluded, that there should be made a perfect pent within the baie, containing in quantitie about sixtene acres, which should be inclosed with a long wall, reaching from about the water gate nere to the Castell Raie, extending in length about a hundred and twentie rods alongst within the selfe of beach, directlie towards the end of the pierre, where the blacke bulwourke was placed; and at the end of the said long wall, a crosse wall of length about forty rods, reaching from that wall directlie crosse to the thoze at the northerne cliffe, not far from the townes end. And this should make a perfect pent to containe and reteine the water of the riuer, which (when the sluie standing in the crosse wall should be opened) might be of force to make and mainteine a depth for an entrance or hauens mouth for shipping to come into the rode, which lieth betwixt the maine sea and the pent.

In this worke there appeared great difficultie, and so much the more, in that (for the most part) the place where the wall should stand, was continually sur-  
rounded

Stone hewed  
at Folkstone,  
amounting to  
1288 pounds.

John True  
had ten shil-  
lings a day  
for his fee.

John True  
is dismissed.

Ferdinando  
Poins.

One thousand  
pounds to  
Ferdinando  
Poins.

Customer  
Smith.

Poins his  
groine.

The pent is  
acres.

The length of  
the long wall.

The crosse  
wall.

The rode for  
ships.

Markette of  
deuises.

One thousand  
pounds to  
Ferdinando  
Poins.

Custome  
Smith.

Commette of  
deuises.

rounded, and also the sea did euerie tide ouerflow the same, and besides that annoiance, the crosse wall also must crosse the river, the course whereof could not be diuerted anie other waie but with extreme charge. The speciall cause whie this harborough was continuallye surrounded, euen at the low water, was for want of a depth at the hauens mouth, which might at an ebbe conueie theise into the sea (more speedlie and abundantlye) all those waters which remained vpon the face of the haven. So the erection hereof (I saie) the said Ferdinando Poins was appointed, and towards his charge therabouts there was first deliuered vnto him one thousand pounds, by force of a warrant sent by the commissioners for Dover haven, to Thomas Smith of Stanhanger esquire, farmer of hir maiesties customs inwards in the ports of London, Sandwich, Chichester, Southhampton, and Ipswich, with their creeks and members, and the creeke of Woodbridge, being a member of the port of Portsmouth, who is neuertheless called by the name of Custome Smith, because in times past his office was by letters patents to collect the said custome, and to yeld account thereof, as other custumers vsualie do, hauing for his fee one hundred and thre score pounds yearlye. Now for that he was so trustie and sufficient a person euerie waie, there was committed vnto his charge the receipt of all such summes of monie as were due, either for the aforesaid tunnage, or for the licence of free transportation of corne and beere, the which summes as need required, were by him to be deliuered to the tresuro: for Dover harborough vpon the counsels direction, and a warrant of sir of the said commissioners hands.

There might be much written in the renoume and commendation of this man, for his great affaires and aduentures, as also for other singular vertues: but for that he yet liueth, and is generallye knowne, it maie with modestie be deferred: yet thus much I haue said of him, for that he was a speciall fauorier and furtherer of these works, neuer making delaie of anie payment appointed or required, but rather disbursing great summes of monie out of his owne cofers to set forwarde the same. After the receipt of this thousand pounds, the said F. Poins had 200 more, as it appeareth in those accounts. Trulie, this Ferdinando Poins applied the works industriously, and perfoymed some thing profitable for the draining of the harborough, by making two groins, whereby there was a depth made at the hauens mouth. But as it is thought, his worke either was or might haue bene perfoymed with lesse than halfe that monie: which if he had done, I would more willinglye haue published his praises. By the premisses it maie appeare, that the life of the haven consisteth in the pent, and consequentlie in the long wall and crosse wall, without the which no pent could be made, so as walls must be erected. But now the question grew to be how and whereof they should be framed which were to be brought in the sea, vpon the sand or beach, through a river, &c: and the same wall to withstand the violence and rage of the sea at the one side, and to hold and reteine a mightie weight of freth at the other, so as no water might soke through or vnder the same.

Maister True (as you haue heard) would haue made stone walls verie costlie, and without limitation of time. Maister Ferdinando Poins would haue raised them with ouze and beach shoueled and cast together without anie more adoe. An other would haue made a coffin dam, whereof the cost would haue bene infinite. Pet and Baker, being skilfull shipwrights, with certeine other coparteners, thought a wooden wall most conuenient; and presented to the

commissioners a module thereof, denised and framed (for the most part) by one Andrew a carpenter, then seruant to the said Pet: which deuise maister William Burroughs, a verie expert seaman, exceedingly liked and commended. Maister True his deuise was reiected as impossible and intollerable. Maister Poins his workmanship was easie for a plaine man of the countrie to conceiue and perfoyme: but verie few could be perswaded that his wall would be tight inough to make a pent, consisting onlie of slab and beach shoueled together, and lieng so honer: for that was his deuise.ouertheless, sir William Winter (a man verie skilfull and of great experience in sea matters, being sent to Dover by the lords of hir maiesties priuie counsell, with maister William Burroughs and others, to surueie and confer about that haven with the said commissioners) vnderstanding Ferdinando Poins had delt in the building of Wolwich & Crith marshes, being also willing to do him good, gaue fauourable eare vnto him, as to one that propounded an easie and a cheape platfoyme, and not much vnprobable in his opinion, whose desire was to haue it well perfoymed, and with as small charge as might be, for that he was the greatest pfefferer of that bill in the parlement house, and yelbed the best reasons for a haven to be there placed.

At this assemblie were proposed other sundrie mens deuises; namelye, of one Thomas Brooker gentleman, John Stoneham carpenter, Bedwell, &c: and among the rest sir Thomas Scot, being a man carefull for the affaires of his countrie, and therewithall verie perspicuous, being wearied with manie fruitlesse conferences, delaies, strange and vntoward deuises, chargeable and vaine attempts, and contrarie proceedings; and among other things, hauing had great experience in Romneie marsh matters (the greatest businesse whereof consisteth in making and repairing of walls to defend the same marsh from the inuasion and inundation of the sea) and dailye seeing the nature and effects thereof, weighing also in his mind, that Romneie marsh walls are of greater bulke and force than these need to be, for that they lie more open to the maine sea, and without comparison more subiect to the weight and violent rage thereof; and further knowing that the marsh walls are placed not farre from theise vpon that coast, vpon a foundation in all respects like vnto the same, if not worse (for sometimes they build vpon a verie quicke sand, where one maie thrust downe a pole of a dozen or twentie fot, and not find or feele the bottome) and after he had compared these works together, perceiving no impediment whie one rule should not direct twoe works of one kind, he conferred with his neighbours of Romneie marsh therein, who allowed and confirmed his deuise, and afterward redilie attended on him to Dover, there to approue his opinion with their reasons and experience; and not so onelie, but also to undertake and perfoyme what soener he had set downe or promised in that behalfe. The residue of the commissioners (hearing and conceiuing sir Thomas Scots reasons, joined and confirmed with experience not far fetched, but ratified by nere neighbours, being persons of god account, which were expert from their childhood in the practise of those kind of works) inclined greatlie vnto his motion; and the rather, for that they knew him to be such a one as would not seeke for priuat gaines. Howbeit, they which exhibited the woddren worke, could not well conceiue hereof, nor easilie consent herevnto. And no waie was thought by them moze fit to pfeffer thei owne worke, than to make some offer to do it by great, which the lords of the coun-

Sir W. Winter sent to Dover to surueie the harbor, &c.

Sir Thomas Scot.

The walls of Romneie marsh subiect to the raging seas.

All the commissioners joined with sir Thomas Scot, and allowed his deuise.



Seven innumerable reasons against the wooden wall.

cell greatlie desired, as whereby they might understand the uttermost charge and time required for the accomplishing thereof. But the price of the wooden wall grew to be so large (for five thousand and five hundred pounds was the lowest rate of their demand for the long wall onelie) that it was much disliked. For first there was no likelihood or possibility that the same should be set fast and immovable upon the sub of silech is fittene for deepe at the least, and the maine rocke immediatlie underneath it. Secondlie, if the same could be erected, yet it must in short time be so shaken by reason of the weight of the pent water on the one side at low water, and by the violence of the sea on the other side at the flood, that though the unsteadiness thereof, it could not continue tight. Thirdlie, the nature of the sand and sub was thought to be so different from the condition of wooden boards and planks, whereof this wall was to consist, that though there were no weight or weight that could impech the silech standing thereof, yet there could be no such firme confutation betwixt them, but that the verie weight of the wall it selfe must needs cause the same to decline to one side or other, whereby water would dyaine betwixt, by reason of the thinnesse of the sub of silech, which could minister no certaine staie thereunto, nor likelihood that the same should so unite with the wood, as to stand silech, and to make a perfect pent in that place: but to helpe that matter, they meant to haue shored and braced the said timber wall, in such sort as the same should haue staied the whole worke: yet no bracing could (as the best opinion was) haue preuailed to bring that wall to be good or silech. Fourthlie, it was thought that such a wall so placed, would be subiect to more than ordinarie decaye, by reason that anie woodworke lieng in water, especiallie when it is sometimes wet and sometimes drie, will in short time rot and disioint: so as if the same could be repaired (whereof there was great doubt made) yet the reparations would be in respect of charge verie intolerable. Fifthlie, the delate of time herein was also disliked, for two yeares being demanded for the accomplishing of that one wall, no time could be promised. Sixthlie, they being demanded whether they had ener sene either on this side or beyond the seas anie such wall or worke; they answered, no: but affirmed it to be in their opinions so probable, as they would adventure to undertake it for thirtie pounds the rod, but in what space to finish it they could not saie. Seventhlie, there was required for the building of this wall 7000 tun of timber, which all Bent and Shuller (without unrecoverable hurt in depriuation of their timber) was not able to yeld: and the necessarie carriages for such a provision could haue bene by no meanes procured, without the vndoing of the inhabitants, and spoile of the countrie. These causes were of force enough to ouerthrow a wooden wall. The deuise neuertheless deserued commendation.

The lord treasurer's resolution.

These matters thus mentioned were afterwards debated before the lords of the counsell, and these reasons with manie others were deliuered vnto their lordships by maister Thomas Digs, the first elected surtenor of the works, as from the commissioners. The credit of the parties, who were to undertake this wooden wall, and their reasons preuailed so much, as diuerse noble and wise men grew to conceiue good liking thereof. But the lord treasurer, whose voice and iudgement in all causes of importance hath in all his time worthilie caried the swaie, allowed rather of the marly works; saing that if he erred therein, as not seeing but hearing the matter in question, he would erre with discretion, as led by the reasons of the commissioners; who had

same and tried the experience of that kind of worke.

Diuerse liked of Poins his worke, or at the least of his communication: partlie (as it is said) for the cheapnesse supposed, though in deed the contrarie fell out in demand: partlie for the expedition promised, which could neuer haue bene performed: partlie for that he was knowne to be a speciall executi-  
10  
oner in Wolwich breaches, being workes defensatius against inuasion of waters, as yet vnaccomplished, though no small charges haue bene therein imploied, for the recouerie of two thousand acres of excellent marly land, lieng seven miles from London, in the parishes of Plumsted, Crith, &c: lost by a breach made in the wals there with a tempest, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and thirtie, to the vndoing of manie, but speciallie of sir Edward Boulton knight: partlie also he was hearkened vnto, for that he was reputed to be a good enginor; partlie for his experience in forren works, partlie for his resolutenesse: but especiallie for that he made a shew of more cunning than he would utter; so as although his deuise for the erection of the wals was finallye rejected; yet was the matter brought to further conference. For he was com-  
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mended to the lords of his maiesties priuie counsell, and namelie to sir Francis Walsingham knight, principall secretarie to hir highnesse; to whome was happilye referred the consideration and chiefe direction of all matters concerning these works; wherein he dealt from time to time, with as great care, tra-  
30  
uel, and circumspection, as though his owne estate had depended vpon the well proceeding thereof. Whatsoener was thought necessarie to be done thereabouts, was alwaies aduertised by the commissioners vnto him, and his opinion and direction required, and he without god conference and probabilitye would enter into no action concerning this matter.

Now therefore he wrote to sir Thomas Scot, re-  
40  
quering him to send by some sufficient person, acquainted & exercised in Romme marly works, to satisfie the lords of the counsell in all such doubts as should be objected, speciallie by maister Burroughs, who had more liking of the thiptwrights maner of worke, than either of the Romme marly works exhibited by sir Thomas Scot, or of Plumsted works propounded by Ferdinando Poins. Wherein sir Francis Walsingham shewed maister Digs his defense, & his owne good liking of the earthen wals, onelie requiring, that sir Thomas Scot would  
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thoroughlie informe himselfe by conference with the marlymen, to answer certaine objections which he there inclosed, sent downe vnto him in writing, concerning the passage of the long wall, and the distance thereof from the shore, the high and tightnes of the same, the conueniencie of the foundation, the maner of stufie, the time of finishing, the breadth below and at the top, the undertakers thereof, and of their assurance, &c: and lastlie, that some sufficient person should be sent vp, to confer in these matters. All which points were so answered by sir Thomas Scot, as sir Francis Walsingham was greatlie satisfiied thereby. Concerning the doing thereof by great, sir Thomas Scot's aduise was, that (seeing it was a princes charge) it might rather be performed by daieworkers and god ouerlars, than by great; wherein no man would adventure, in respect of the quantitie of the charge and difficultie of the works, without certaintie of great gaines. Neuertheless, if it were so set downe by the lords of the priuie counsell, that it should be done no other waie but by great; he himselfe would undertake it better cheape than anie other had professed to do it by five hundred marks, and to that effect would

Of Wolwich and Crith breaches.

Secretarie Walsingham the chiefe director and furtherer of the same.

Maister Burroughs, who had more liking of the thiptwrights maner of worke.

Sir Thomas Scot's aduise.

Diuerse persons finished in this moneth.

Reinold and Rafe Smith examined by the secretarie about the wals of the pent.

Questions propounded to Poins about the Plumsted wals.

No dealing by great, in matters of excellent charge and danger.

would put in verie good and sufficient assurance. Presentlie after the receipt of those letters, Sir Thomas Scot sent to the court a kinsman of his, named Reinold Scot, who had bene deputies a surueior of Komneie marsh by the space of foure yeares together; and Reinold Smith, who had bene cleark of Komneie marsh, and a continuall dealer about those wals by the space of thirtie yeares. These two repairing first to Douer, to consider of the earth, which should serue to make the wals of the pent of Douer haue, and to search where such earth as would serue that turne might most conuenientlie and nearest hand be had, with pasture for horses which should be imploied for carriage thereof, proceeded to the court at Richmond, where they attended on maister secretarie Walsingham on the mondaie and tuesdaie before Easter daie. 1583: and after conference had with him, they deliuered vnto him certeine notes in writing from Sir Thomas Scot, containing necessarie orders, and recounting the charges, businesse, and offices, &c: incident to the creation of these walles, imitating as nere as time, place, and matter would giue leaue, the maner of Komneie marsh works: wherein he remembred o: rather required a percellie assemblee of commissioners at Douer in Easter weeke, as is by the lordes of Komneie marsh at Whitfuntide, with the election of officers, and set downe the dutie and charge of ech officer, the order of the works, what prouision of stufte should be made, to wit, of timber, thorne, fagots, naxels, keies, batels, piles, pasture, earth, with totall summs of all officers fees, of all stufte and prouision, of all the labourers, and of all the charges: which estimat was little o: nothing differing from the charge as it fell out, saving that where he set it downe that both walles might be finished in two summers, he accomplished them in one quarter of a yere, beyond promise o: expectation.

Douer pent finished in thre moneths.

Reinold Scot and Rafe Smith examined by maister secretarie about the wals of the pent.

Questions propounded to Poins and the Plumsted men.

Maister secretarie Walsingham (hauing perused these notes, & sene the maner of the works & rates set downe therein) liked verie well thereof: howbeit, he stricte examined the parties aforesaid, how those works could be performed at so low prices, and especiallie, how so manie courts could be prouided without commission, o: griefe to the countrie, euerie court hauing a horse and a dyer, and all for twelue pence a day, in a place where pastures are for the most part barren, and hard to be gotten: and both that and all other things, but especiallie bitels extreamely deere. But being satisfied herein by the said Reinold Scot & Reinold Smith, he thought good neuertheless to send them two, accompanied with Thomas Digs esquier, and William Burroughs gentleman, to confer with Sir William Winter, the said Ferdinando Poins, & the Plumsted men, which were workemen in Woolwich and Crith breaches, who propounded to the said workemen certeine questions at the house of Sir William Winter at Tower hill. Wherein they were demanded amongst other things, whether they euer had heretofore made anie wals; whereby water hath bene pent to anie highth, and vpon what foundation o: soile they were set, and of what substance their wals were made, and whether they could remedie such wals if they leaked, o: could worke in water: and finally, what they would aske for a rod doing, and what suerties they could put in for the tightnesse of their worke.

Ferdinando Poins and his Plumsted men answered verie comfortable to euerie question, they seemed ignorant in nothing, and promised to performe whatsoever was required, saving assurance. But they knew not the order of Komneie marsh works, neither could they possible haue ac-

complished this: for they were onelie good diskers and hodmen, which arts were little pertinent hereunto. Maister secretarie being aduertised how Ferdinando Poins and his plomers of Plumsted shewed themselves in this conference, wherein neither their owne disabilitie, nor the difficultie of the worke by themselves was anie thing at all doubted of, thought it not amis to aduertise the residue of the lordes of the counsell thereof: so as if those works might in such wise be by anie thought possible to be performed, then might the marsh works with much more assurance be trusted vnto; and that did maister Burroughs now verie well conceiue and note: neuertheless, it was thought expedient by their lordships, that Poins and his workemen should repaire to Douer to a small conference in those matters; who perchance might be somewhat at the least imploied in those busineses. And therefore maister secretarie sent down to Sir Thomas Scot, that their lordships had receiued the resolution he grew vnto, vpon conference with the marshmen of Komneie, touching the proceeding in the plot of Douer haue, and had both well considered & allowed of the same; and that their lordships also had appointed, that on the tuesdaie after Easter weeke, maister Burroughs and maister Poins, with certeine marshmen of Plumsted, should be sent downe to meet and confer further with him about the going forwarde with the same plot at Douer: at which time such order might be taken and agreed on among the commissioners, for the making of all necessarie prouisions for the same, as should be thought most expedient.

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On the ninth daie of Aprill next ensuing, the parties aboue specified came to Douer accordingly, where all the commissioners for that harborough met them, who hauing receiued letters from the lordes of the counsell to set downe a small resolution; after long debating of matters, agreed that Komneie marshmen should undertake the worke; and for the better and more speedie proceeding therein, the commissioners made election of all necessarie officers, and rated their wages in this sort. The treasurer, which was Sir James Hales knight, to haue for euerie sike pounds receiued and disbursed, six shillings eight pence, and for his cleark five pounds yearelie. John Smith the expeditor, twentie pounds yearelie, his cleark five pounds yearelie. The common cleark twentie marks, and each twoome man during his attendance eight pence a daie. The generall surueior (that is to saie) maister Digs esquier, twentie marks yearelie, which he gaue to Alexander Spindge his deputy.

It was there also ordered, that the deputies surueior, the expeditor, and cleark, should take present order for the enlarging of the wates for carriages to passe; for thorne, fagot, batels, naxels, keies, piles, baun, and carriages for them, before Whitfuntide following. These things were committed to their charge; but they were afterwards eased by surueiors appointed for those and other purposes; they hauing more to do otherwise than they could well overcome. Hauing now discovered the first & second estate of Douer harborough, euerie mans deuise for the amending, o: rather erecting of a new haue in that place, with declaration of his maiesties bountie, and the care of the whole state iointlie and seuerallie in that behalfe: I am to make description of the things performed, and of the maner of the execution thereof, in which thing consisted the difficultie, and (as some thought) the impossibilitie of this enterpryse.

First therefore you are to vnderstand, that before a haue could be there erected, there must be made a pent, to containe abundance of water issuing

Sir Thomas Scot's deuise allowed by the lordes of the counsell.

The resolution at a conference at Douer.

Officers elected at Douer.

h h h h h h g.

ing

The commoditie of the pent.

Wherewith breach recoverable.

Everie desirous willing to set forward this worke.

Six hundred courts imployed at once in these works.

John Smith the expeditor.

ing from the land, which being let out at a lease, should open & mainteine the hauens mouth; the diligence wherof should scowze it so, as neither beach, sand, nor stub might there remaine. The working of these wals in the sea and thorough the channell, was the great thing to be brought to passe, as hath bene before said. The discoverie therefore of these workes will not be unprofitable to posteritie, nor unnecessary for the time present. Herein I will omit all contentions & factions concerning these proceedings, as also all iniurious practises against those workes, whense soever they sprang: but I would gladly give to everie one his due commendation, which cannot be done; because therein I should grow too long. I thought meet also to omit a controuersie rising about the placing of the hauens mouth, excellentlie disputed betwixt persons of good account.

The question was, whether were most convenient a more readie and speedie entrance in times of danger, when contrarie winds permitted no entrie or abode in ante harbourough, though this entrance were somewhat more shallow, whereby the greatest ships in those cases should be excluded: or a deeper hauens mouth in an other place more convenient for great ships, with a more calme ingresse, and a quieter rode, the hauens mouth somewhat more easterlie, and therefore not so good to enter into at a south west wind, which distressed men most in those seas: wherein (I saie) I forbear to repeat the arguments of ech side, and the circumstance of that matter (being now decided and overruled) in such sort as I do the workes of the pent, the description wherof maie be profitable to all that shall haue to do either in hauens or great water breaches. For both blumsted & Crith marshes, or ante like breaches by this means doubtlesse maie easilie and most assuredlie be recovered. In the declaration hereof also, the parties which haue deserved commendation or consideration maie perhaps in some sort haue a kind of recompense: for other reward was not looked after, or sought for by the best executioners hereof, with the better sort imployed their travell with great charges, the meaner sort their readie furtherance to their power, the poorer people their labor at a small rate to the preferring and performance of this worke; and all with such forwardnesse and willingness of mind, as the like hath not bene knowne or seene in this age: the beholding whereof would haue amazed ante man unacquainted with Rome, neie marsh workes, from whence the patterne hereof was fetcht, and the officers and chiefe workemen thereof brought by sir Thomas Scot to Dover. These workes were digested and ordered by them, even as a battell is marshalled by officers of the field. And trulie it was expedient that good direction should be used in this behalfe, for there were to be imployed five or six hundred courts about a wall of small breadth at one instant, none to be idle or hindered by an other, for the staie of one court a verie little space might be to the workes an incredible hindrance.

The nature and names of the offices and officers hereunto pertaining you haue already heard. For as they were at the first set downe by sir Thomas Scot, so in all respects was it ordered and concluded in that behalfe; sauing that because these workes were so great, and required such expedition, as the expeditor was overcharged with business, though an expert man trained by in Rome marsh in those affaires, trustie, diligent, and everie waie sufficient: unto whose office naturallie belonged the purueance of all necessities, anie waie appertaining to the maintenance of the wals. There was appointed by the commissioners (as chiefe pur-

uisor) a gentleman of good sufficientie named John Kees, by whose countenance and discreet dealing men were brought to yeld willingly anie of their commodities towards the helpe and furtherance of these proceedings for their just values, which was duly answered unto them, so as no man was faine to complaine of anie iniurie or hard dealing. But when the workes, or rather the workes grew to be greater and more in number than was expected, (which came to passe by reason of the multitude of courts and workemen, who proffered their seruice so fast, as from the rate of two hundred, which was at the first set downe, they increased to six hundred) all pastures nere the towne being imployed that waie, manie men were content to make their owne provision, conditionallie to be admitted into the workes, inso much as some hired pasture for their working horses seven or eight miles from Dover, and neuertheless came to worke with the first, and continued the whole daie with them that wrought longest. For they came at six of the clocke in the morning, and departed at six of the clocke at night, except extraordinary causes in preventing inconveniences of great and foule tides caused them to worke longer. Divers brought thither courts from besides Maidstone and Seuenoche, being thirtie or forty miles from Dover; and in the end the officers were binen to put backe and refuse such as made sute to bring courts into the workes: and yet had they for their horses, their court, and their dinner but onelie twelue pence a daie, which because it seemeth incredible, I thought good to discover and unfold to the reader in such sort, as he might be resolved and satisfied in the certaintie thereof, and throughlie conceiue not onelie the possibilitie but also the reason of it.

First therefore the time of yeare when that worke was to be done must be considered, which was intended, and by proclamations in certeine market towne notified to haue had beginning the thirtieth of Aprill (when in those parts barleie season is ended) and from that time till harvest or haling time little is to be done in husbandrie; and as soon as harvest should begin, the ir purpose was to leaue this worke untill the yere following. So as in this meane time, that is to saie, from Aprill till harvest, the servants, & speciallie the cattell of farmers are rather chargeable than anie waie gainefull unto them, and therefore at such a time to raise profit by them is double advantage. Fewertheless, he that should make his best commoditie herein, was to looke circumspectlie into the matter, and then might he see that it was requisite to haue two courts: for one boie might drue them both, because whilst the one was driven, the other was filled, & the same being unloden or discharged, he went for the other, leaving that to be filled. This filler was a labourer allowed to everie man which had two courts, for whome the owner of the two courts had ten pence the daie: so as he had for his filler, his dinner, his two horses, and his two courts two shillings and ten pence the daie, which amounteth to tenentene shillings the weeke. He paid out of the same for the boie of his filler and dinner six shillings weeklie, and so had the owner of cleere weeklie gaine for his two servants and two horses nine shillings, which must all this while haue lien at his charge.

There were among this number certeine double courts, which had double wages; because they were furnished with two horses in a court, being double in quantitie to the rest, and were speciallie imployed about the cartage of sleych, a more weightie mould than either the chalke or the earth. A single court contained in length five foot, in breadth two foot, and in depth fifteen inches: whereunto the expeditor looked

John Kees gentleman chiefe puruisor.

A horse, a court, and a dinner for twelue pence the daie.

I benefit & man & beast

The stalle: substance of the wals.

The disport of the workes

Henric VIII lord equier, captaine of Driffile castle.

The quantitie of one court or tumbrell.

The first gate into the works.

Romene marshment chiefe direction in the workes.

laded verie narrowlie, as also to the insufficiencye and diligence of euerie workman and boie, so as upon euerie default their wages was totted and defalked, as the offenders excluded from the works, or sometimes punished with stocks and other imprisonment.

The first way  
to the  
works.

An entrance into this worke was made in the beginning of Maie, one thousand five hundred foure score and thre, in the six and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, with six courts onlie at the crosse wall: & such was the towardeines thereof, as paided so great a heate & promise of good successe, that from that daie forward there were continuallie carriages brought (at the rate before set downe) beyond all expectation: in so much as by the 17 of June, there were assembled in those works 542 courts, and almost 1000 workmen. And truely, there consisted so great difficultie in marshalling this multitude (for all were to worke at once, none might staie for other, as by impediment to others worke) as without the paterne of former experience the worke could hardly haue bene performed.

Some  
particulars  
of the  
works.

Herin Richard Coast and William Morris masons, and the aforesaid Reginald Smith clerk of Honnre marth were cheefe directors, and as it were marshalls, as having daile experience in the like works. For in Honnre marth there are euerie yeare commonlie employed at one time about making or mending of some one wall 100 courts at the least, in each court for the most part being two open, for whom the owners hire feeding in the marth, as they can agree with the landholders, and yet haue had hitherto for their court and deliuer but ten pence the daie. And this together with their manner of working would be wonderfull, famous, and much spoken of throughout Englnd, if the continuance of so manie hundred yeares exercise thereof had not qualified the strangenesse and admiration of it. For here, though at Dover it could not be so, because they brought altogether with horsebacke the night feeding pannelled so much over the daies working, that bullocks brought to those works came and out of flesh, are returned from the works most commonlie in verie good plight.

It becometh  
man & beast.

The first of  
substance of  
the works.

The first carried by these courts for the erection of the wall at Dover, was earth, being of a baselie mould, chalk and flesh, whereunto the carriages were generallie imployed, the most number for earth, whereof the greatest part of the wall consisted; the second for chalk, which mingled and beaten together with the earth, did make the same more firme, and was placed in the midst of the wall; the smallest number for flesh, which served for the out sides onlie. For the same being beaten with beetles to the sides of the wall, touch by and by cleave to fall and close thereunto, as thereby the walls were strenghtened; and thereupon also the arming might be set much more firmelie than upon any other mould. This also preserved the wall from annoiance by rage of waters, almost as well as if they were otherwise armed with thorne and faggot.

Henric Constable  
esquier,  
captaine of  
Archie's  
castle.

There was provided nere to the castell called Arcliffe (whereof Henric Constable esquier, being one that took especiall care and paines in setting forward that businesse, was then capiteine) two acres and a halfe of ground for the provision of earth for the wall: which ground was distant from the crosse wall about twentie score tallows paces, and for the same the owner had ten pounds, and the soile remaining to himselfe, which in short time will recover to be as good as ever it was. At an other place also called Hoxepole sole, lieng behind St. James his church, was more earth provided, which was altogether imployed upon the long wall, as being nearer thereunto. Hereof euerie court brought commonlie

to the walls in one day about ffortie loads. The chalk was had from euerie places of the cliffe, somewhat nether to the work than the earth, and thre brought about ffortie carts or righte one a day. The flesh was for the most part had at the west part of the haven in a place called Paradise. And to these severall sorts of stuffe were severall carriages appointed and disposed, as might most convenientlie serve the same, and as occasion served, for sometimes more and sometimes lesse of each sort of mould was necessarilie imployed. Sometimes also the flesh was had close at the side of the walls, and therefore fewer carriages imployed that waie.

Now to make a perfect triall of the worke before the daie limited that all the courts should come in, there was an experiment of great importance performed, which was the making of a baie head, & thereby a pent to keepe the water in or out of a pence of the haven called a little paradise, which place containeth about thre acres and a halfe of ground in great depth, wherein there riseth manie springs. And in the place where this wall or baie head should be made, the one & flesh was twentie feet deepe at the least. Herin also was laid first a pinstock, and afterwards a stile of great charge, the straine whereof meeting with the course of the great stile increaseth the force thereof to the benefit of the havens mouth.

The beginning  
of the  
great works  
at Dover.

On the thirtieth daie of Maie, in the yeare of our saluation one thousand five hundred rightie and thre, when the courts, which by proclamations made one month before in diuerse market towne) were to come to begin the works, there were more of them prepared and readie furnished for the purpose than were expected. Holobret, the same was brought to passe by the meanes of sir Thomas Scot and other of the commissioners, who brought both the stone and their neighbors carriages, persuading all whom they thought able and meet, to set forward, and give incouragement to the execution of these works. But Honnre marthmen, and such as knew those works, were they indeed which onlie gave light to others of the true right manner of working, and of the commoditie insuing hereby; & they in effect supplied those works, untill the countie was so much waste to save themselves, and make profit thereof. But such was the multitude already assembled, that (to avoid the difficultie and confusion of so manie courts working together at the beginning, and to doe the better and greater service afterwards) the whole course was altered by sir Thomas Scot, by whom it was thought most meet to enter into the execution of both walls (to wit, the long wall and crosse wall) together, & to divide the courts into two parts: with whom the said Richard Warrie esquier lieutenant of Dover castell willingly joined, undertaking the charge or oversight of the long wall, as sir Thomas Scot did of the crosse wall; and by that meanes all the workmen & courts did with much more convenientie and speed accomplish their worke.

The crosse wall was of more importance, and the difficultie to make it was greater than of the long wall, for manie respects. First, for that the crosse wall standeth nether to the maine sea than the long wall, and by that meanes this worke more violentlie impugned, and sooner interrupted than that of the long wall. Secondlie, they carried the crosse wall through the chanell (a thing verie strange and difficult) and so did they not the long wall. Thirdlie, the one and flesh to is deeper under the crosse wall than under the long wall. Fourthlie, the crosse wall was to be made deeper or higher, and broader or wider than the long wall. Fifthlie, the tide was to hinder this worke, by approaching sooner, by rising higher,

Reasons for  
the difficultie  
of the crosse  
wall.

h h h h h h h h.

er,

er, and by more violent raging than it did at the other. Sirlie, the weight of the pent water was to lie altogether upon this wall, and consequentlie the water would searck therinto more dangerouslie. Senentlie, in this wall there was a dule to be laid, which without great circumspection would haue endangered the whole worke. Adde vnto these, that the crosse wall was more suddenlie undertaken, & of more importance. For vnder sixtene thousand pounds none euer made offer to do it before this time: for the first purpose was to begin with the long wall onlie, or rather a peece thereof, as a worke sufficient to be performed in one summer.

Now if the long wall was thought a worke so difficult, dangerous, costlie, and tedious, what may be thought of the crosse wall: Trulie, had not the other commissioners bene comforted herein by sir Thomas Scot, the impossibilitie presupposed would haue discouraged and ouerthrowne the whole enterprise. But he with god comfort and confidence entered vpon the crosse wall, and maister lieutenant on the long wall: inasmuch as the one was called sir Thomas Scots wall, the other maister lieutenants wall. And certeinlie, they might well so be termed, in respect of the paines, care, and costs imploied vpon them by those two gentlemen. Sir Thomas Scot dwelt twelue long kentish miles from Dover, yet did he seldome faile to come from his house to the beginning of the worke euerie mondaie morning while the walles were in hand; and from that date untill saturday in the evening, when he returned home. He lightlie came first to the walles, and departed with the last: and it behoued him so to do, in as much as by his meanes onelie this manner of worke was undertaken, and all other deuises reiect-  
ed. He late in one John Spytswels house, who kept an inne in Dover, called the Greyhound, and there did he and his followers and servants, together with maister lieutenant and his companie receiue their diet at a deere hand. For although the castell stand within a quarter of a mile of the worke, and as nere to the towne, yet was the lieutenants industrie and charge such, as he or his seruants did neuer lightlie returne home from five of the clocke in the morning till after supper; but remained alwaies there with sir Thomas Scot, in continuall businesse & extreme charge, not onelie in respect of their owne table, but also in regard of strangers, who came to see them and the workes, whose charges they commonlie defraied. Besides that, they did (not seldome times) bestow rewards bountifullie vpon the poore workmen, who vpon sundrie occasions were chalen-  
ged to worke longer than the rest, and with more difficultie; for some at some times wrought in danger of life, & oftentimes in the waters vnto the waile or shoulders. And among the rest (to whom I could rather wish a liberal recompense than a due praise) there was in these workes a poore man named John Bosole, borne and brought vp in Komnele marsh, whose dexterity of hand, fine and excellent inuentions in executing difficult workes, and whose willing mind and painefulnesse for his owne part, with furthering and incouraging of others, ought in some calling to haue bene honored, and in his poore estate should not be forgotten. As touching the residue of the commissioners, they for their parts (if they were in health) did almost daile visit the workes, with as great care for the good proceedings thereof as was possible.

Sir James Hales was this yeare chosen by the generall voice and consent of the commissioners, and with the good allowance of the lords of the coun-  
cell, treasurer for the workes (as sir Thomas Scot was the two yeares precedent) and did not onelie

discharge the office and dutie thereof with commen-  
dation and lust account, which amounted almost to five thousand pounds: but beside his often repaire at other times during the workes, he did continue there by the space of one whole month, while sir Thomas Scot (by meanes of a sicknesse taken vpon the wals) was absent, and all that time kept a bounti-  
full table, and used great diligence, in continuall o-  
uerlight and furtherance of the workes, whereof Thomas Digs elquier was generall surueior; com-  
mended therunto by the lords of the counsell, who al-  
though he made his chiefe abode then at London, yet did he often repaire to the workes, and seriouslie bent himselfe to set forthward the same there, being also a carefull solicitor in that behalfe. Certeine of the su-  
rats & chiefe magistrats of the towne, were by two at once daile assigned to be directors and letters forth of the carriages, and to see the courts well filled: these also did refuse their allowance, being  
eight pence the date, and did neuertheless vertie  
diligentlie attend vpon their charge: their names were John Watson, John Garret, William Will-  
lis, Thomas Wyodgat, &c.

There were eight men called guiders standing at eight seuerall stations, or places of most danger, to guide and helpe the dyuers distressed or troubled with their cattell or courts, and to hasten them for-  
ward: for the default of one did make state of the whole companie, and these had eight pence the date. There attended also at the wals eight men called  
bntingers, to lose and vndo the tackle of euerie  
court immediatlie before the vnloading or shelling  
thereof, and were allowed eight pence the date. There were there eight shellers, which pulled downe the  
courts as sone as they came to the place where it  
was needfull to vnlobe, and these were chosen of the  
strongest and nimblest men, hauing ten pence the  
date. There were also eight tingers, whose speciall  
office was to lift vp the courts immediatlie after  
they were vnlobed, and to make fast their tackle; for  
the dyuers hasted forth without making anie staie,  
otherwise all the companie must haue tarried for  
them; these had eight pence the date. The number of  
the labozers which were to shouell abzode and laie e-  
uent the earth, chulke, and sleek, as sone as it was vn-  
lobed was uncerteine, they had six pence and eight  
pence the date. A great manie marchmen were as-  
signed to laie the sleek vpon the sides of the wals,  
and were called scauelmen, and had twelue pence  
the date. The number of battlemen also were uncer-  
teine, who serued to beat or dyue the sleek to the sides  
of the wals, and to breake the great stones of chulke  
laide on the wals; as also to lenell the earth, and to  
worke it close together, hauing for their wages  
eight pence the date. Spanie marchmen also were  
appointed to arme the sides of the wals, after they  
were sleeked, & had twelue pence, and some sirtene  
pence the date.

The order of arming was in this maner. If first  
beginning at the foot of the wall, they laide downe a  
row of fagot, through euerie one of the which they  
dyue a needle or stake about foure foot long, hauing  
an eye or hole at the great end. Then do they edder it  
with thorne and other prouision for that purpose, and  
lastlie dyue a keie or wooden wedge (being one foot  
and a halfe long) through the eye of the neede to kepe  
downe the edder, which stath downe the fagot. Also  
there was an inferiour purueior for fagot, thorne, needles, keies, &c: who for his boise & himselfe was  
allowed for euerie date he travelled two shillings. The clerke of the workes, who kept all the reckonings  
of the expenditor (through whose hands all the monie  
passed) he at five a clocke in the morning, together  
with the expenditor, called euerie one that wrought  
that

This worke undertaken and other re-  
acted by sir Thomas  
Scots means.

Bosole a no-  
table good  
workman.

Commis-  
sioners.

Treasurer.

Two turas  
called direct-  
tors.

Eight guiders  
called direct-  
tors.

Eight shellers  
called direct-  
tors.

Eight tingers  
called direct-  
tors.

Labozers.

Scauelmen.  
Battlemen.

The order of  
arming.

Inferiour pur-  
ueior.

Clerke.  
Expenditor.

The gre-  
tapest.

The m-  
of the w-  
workes.

How  
was la-  
from be-  
walled.



The groune  
haper.

The manner  
of the wall  
worke.

How the wall  
was saved  
from being  
washed.

that daie, and saw euerye court furnished, and reco-  
ded all this in his booke, and such as were absent, had  
no allowance that daie: if they came late, their wa-  
ges was totted at the expeditors good discretion. There  
was one Judine appointed to attend vpon  
Joins hisgroins, he was a Dutchman, and moze  
expert in those kind of water workes than Joins  
himselfe, his wages was first (I meane in Joins  
his time) two shillings a daie, afterwards (to wit)  
whilst these workes were in hand, and better hus-  
bandrie was used, he had but foure grotes a daie.  
And thus much touching the offices and officers du-  
ties.

Euerye court was most commonlie filled ouer  
night, and in the morning at six of the clocke they  
all approached orderlie to the place where the wall  
should be made. The first dyuer for god consi-  
deration was chosen to be a sufficient and a dili-  
gent person, and that court to haue a good gelbing:  
for as he lead the danle, so must they all follow.  
When the first court came nigh to the place where  
he should unlode, one vntinged it, and the dyuer pro-  
ceeded with his court, either into the ouze or water,  
or as nere thereunto as they could; and bringing  
his horse about in his returne, when the taile of the  
court was turned to the water side, the sheluer  
plucked downe the lode, as far into the chanel as  
he could. The dyuer neuer staied, but went forth for  
a new lode: the tinger runneth after and pulleth by  
the court, and fasteneth the tackle, and goeth present-  
lie with speed to do likewise to another; and so dooth  
the vntinger. When the whole course of courts (being  
about two hundred) were unloden, the laborers  
with their shouels and betels plied to make euen  
the wall against another course came.

Sometimes they wrought a whole daie or two,  
and laid downe manie thousand lodes of earth and  
chalse, and no increase came at night of the worke,  
either in high or length; in so much as manie suppo-  
sed that the earth was rather washed auaie than  
sunke. And in truth, some part thereof was car-  
ried auaie with the flood in a rough tide; for all the  
water in the haven was manie times discoloured  
therewith; especiallie, untill sir Thomas Scot took  
order, that before euerye flood, not onelie each side  
of the wall, but the end also should be armed with  
sagot; & in the morning or after none (when returne  
was made to the worke) the end where they were  
to proceed, should be unarmed againe: which needed  
not be done to the sides, for they carried the whole  
breadth of the wall with them. But in truth, the  
weight of the wall, with the continuall passage there-  
vpon, made the whole worke to sinke to the verie  
rocke; being from the top of the chanel sixtene  
fot, and from the face of the water at the flood, al-  
most as much moze. But in the end, it was a won-  
der to see how the multitude of carriages (being  
well plied) prevailed, euen ouer the flood: which  
though it rose exceeding fast, and was come to the  
verie bynke or uppermost lane of the wall, a new  
course of courts came from time to time and sup-  
plied the want; which if it should haue staied a mi-  
nut longer, would haue turned to great losse: for  
they could haue wrought no longer that tide.

In this manner they proceeded, untill there was  
made of the crosse wall about fise and twentie rods,  
which they wrought allwaies (as they went) aboue  
the high water marke (otherwise it could neuer  
haue bene performed) and so they passed through  
the chanel or ruer, and caried the wall beyond the  
same by six or foure rods, so as the backe water or  
chanel had no flue to passe downe into the sea; but  
as it rose aboue the flats, and ran auaie before the  
end of the wall; wherby they continuallie byzore it

further and further by lengthening the same. How-  
be it, by this meanes they wrought allwaies in the  
water, which was verie discommodious. Wherfor  
therefore manie men would haue had turned some  
other waie; otherwise it was thought, that this wall  
could not haue bene made, the turning whereof  
would haue bene diuerse waies inconuenient.  
First, for the extreme charge; secondlie, the hauens  
mouth would (for want hereof) haue bene  
swarued by; thirdlie, Joins his worke, which cost  
one thousand & two hundred pounds, should haue bin  
hereby frustrated; fourthlie, the haven (all that  
time) and all passage vnto Dover had bene utterlie  
taken auaie, to the great hinderance and vndoing  
of the townsmen there. But sir Thomas Scot, who  
imploied his head and mind to seeke all advantages  
for the setting forward of this worke, and had con-  
ceiued a perfect plot for the finishing of the same,  
caused a cut to be made in the wall, and a small flue  
to be laid in the verie place where the chanel did first  
run, which serued (for the time) not onelie to giue  
naturall passage to the river, and to mainteine the  
hauens mouth: but as a byldge also for the courts to  
passe ouer the water, to the further end of the wall;  
which now by this meanes remained drye and free  
from water untill the flood, to the great advantage  
and commoditie of the worke.

This flue was composed with two arches, in  
length sixtie fot (besides the plates) at each end, in  
breadth eight fot, and in depth also eight fot, and the  
charge thereof amounted not to aboue one hundred  
marks. In truth, the laling of this flue was a  
verie dangerous and difficult peece of worke, and  
the executioners thereof worthy of commendation,  
for with great courage to do their vntrie service  
they aduentured their liues in moze perill than I  
can well expresse. Manie were assented to behold the  
dangerous case of the workemen, and diuerse depar-  
ted from the place as being loth to see the poore mens  
destruction. Wherein the said Reginald Smith, and  
the Honnorable marchmen dealt with great dexter-  
sie and courage; when all other almost had giuen it  
ouer, persisting in continuall and extreme travell  
thereabouts, by the space of two daies and one night  
without intermission.

After the cut was digged thorough the wall, the  
flue was laid by pæcemeale, at the direction of him  
and the foresaid Richard Coast, William Morris,  
and John Botole, whose hands were as buile also as  
anie others in the doing thereof. And as they were  
travelling hereabouts, the weight of the wall it  
selfe, with the earth cast out of the trench thereunto,  
and the multitude of the beholders standing thereon,  
made a cliff or crase therein, consisting of manie  
hundred lodes of earth, which declined towaids the  
cut where they wrought to late the flue, and was re-  
die to fall vpon them all, so as they were faine to sa-  
scape the side thereof with hoxes which they supported  
choefelie with their owne force. Which if they had not  
done with great art & labour, by the space of diuers  
hours together, the wall had fallen into the place  
where the flue should haue bene laid, to the destruc-  
tion of sundrie people, and to the discomfort of ma-  
nie belonging to the worke. But these marchmen  
neuer gave ouer, till euerye sticke thereof was laid,  
at what time ech man reioiced that meant well to  
the worke, and diuerse bestowed rewards vpon the  
workemen, and praise was giuen to God for his fa-  
uour shewed in that behalf.

This worke being thus performed, the courts  
(which during that time were altogether set to worke  
at master lieutenants wall) did now disburden them-  
selves againe, and returne to worke as before at sir  
Thomas Scots wall, and at euerye side wrought with

The incom-  
moditie which  
would haue  
followed the  
diuerting of  
the river an-  
other waie.

A flue made  
for diuerse  
good purposes.

A difficult and  
dangerous  
worke.

Gods blessing  
and fauour  
shewed to the  
workes of Do-  
mer.

Dangers  
happie el-  
caped.

Wolens plite.

The flag of li-  
bertie.

with singular diligence & great facilitie. And God  
so fauoured those workes, as there were not lost in all  
that summer by means of foule weather about thre  
daies and a halfe, wherein either courts or laborers  
were put from their worke, and in all those busines  
not one person slaine, and yet almost in euerie acti-  
on belonging thereto there was imminent dan-  
ger, as first you heard in the lateng of the Aule.  
And manie times in digging of chalke, they stood in  
the cliffe and undermined it, so as sometimes an  
hundred lode fell downe at once from vnder their  
feet, and sometimes from aboue their heads; and yet  
through Gods godnes, & their diligent care, all esca-  
ped without hurt: sauing two persons, vpon whom  
great chalke rocks & much abundance of earth did  
fall, and yet were recovered without losse of life or  
lim. In the passage also of the courts, if (by  
chance) either man or boie had fallen downe among  
gest them (as sometimes some did) the hill was  
so steepe at some places, and the court was so swift,  
that there could be no staie made, but the courts  
must run ouer them, and yet no great harme hath  
happened that waie. And I my selfe haue sene a  
court loden with earth passe ouer the bellie or sto-  
mach of the diuer, and yet he not hurt at all thereby.  
Manie courts also being vnloaden (for expedition)  
were driuen at low waters through the chanell,  
with in the pent, from maister lieutenants wall,  
whereby they gained more than halfe the waie: and  
so long as by anie possibilitie they might passe that  
waie, they were loth to go about. And when the flood  
came, the chanell did so sudderlie swell, as manie  
horses with their courts and diuers which rode in  
them were ouertaken, or rather ouerwhelmed with  
water, and were forced to swim, with great hazard  
of life, though therat some toke pleasure. For some-  
times the boies would strip themselves naked, and  
ride in that case in their courts through the chanell,  
being so high, as they were ducked ouer head and  
eares: but they knew their horses would swim  
and carrie them through the streame, which mini-  
stred to some occasion of laughter and mirth. Fi-  
nallie, this summer, being in the peare of our Lord  
one thousand five hundred eightie and thre, was ve-  
rie hot and contagious, & the infection of the plague  
that peare more vniuersallie dispersed through En-  
gland than in manie peares before, and that to some  
verie much subiect thereto, by means of through-  
fare and common passage, and had bene extremelie  
visited therewith not long before, so as the towne  
was abandoned of most men: yea of some of the in-  
habitants themselves for that cause: and yet God  
blessed so the workes, as in this extraordinarie and  
populous assemble, there was in no part of the  
towne anie death or infection either of towinmen  
or workmen, which reioyced thither from all the parts  
of England.

And one thing more in mine opinion is to be  
noted and commended herein, that is to saie, that in  
all this time, and among all these people, there was  
neuer anie tumult, strife, nor falling out, to the dis-  
quieting or disturbance of the workes, which by that  
means were the better applied, and with lesse inter-  
ruption. For they neuer ceased working the whole  
daie, sauing that at eleuen of the clocke before none,  
as also at six of the clocke in the euening, there was  
a flag vntillie held up by the sargent of the towne,  
in the top of a tower, except the tide or extraordi-  
narie busines forced the officers to preuent the houre,  
or to make some small delaie & staie therof. And pre-  
sentlie vpon the signe giuen, there was a generall  
shout made by all the workes: and whereuer an-  
ie court was at that instant either empty or lo-  
den, there was it left, till one of the clocke after none.

or six of the clocke in the morning, when they retur-  
ned to their businesse. But by the space of halfe an  
houre before the flag of libertie was hanged out, all  
the court builders entered into a song, whereof al-  
though the dittie was barbarous, and the note ru-  
sticall, the matter of no moment, & all but a iell: yet  
is it not vnworthie of some brieue note of remem-  
brance; because the tune or rather the noise thereof  
was extraordinarie, and (being deliuered with the  
continuall voice of such a multitude) was verie  
strange. In this and some other respect, I will set  
downe their dittie, the words whereof were these:

O Harrie hold vp thy hat, 'tis eleuen a clocke,  
and a little, little, little, little past:

My bow is broke, I would vnyoke,  
my foot is fore, I can worke no more.

This song was made and set in Rominie marsh,  
where their best making is making of wals and  
dikes, and their best setting is to set a needle or a  
stake in a hedge: howbeit this is a more ciuill call  
than the brutish call at the theatre for the coming  
abwaie of the plaiers to the stage. I thinke there was  
neuer worke attempted with more desire, nor pro-  
ceeded in with more contentment, nor executed with  
greater tranell of workmen, or diligence of offi-  
cers, nor provided for with more carefulnesse of  
commissioners, nor with truer accounts or drier  
pale, nor continued with more circumspection of the  
deuissers and undertakers of the worke, nor ended  
with more commendation or comfort: sauing that  
vpon the seuen & twentieth of Iulie, being S. James  
his daie, the verte daie when the crosse wall and the  
long wall met, and were ioined together, and in ef-  
fect finished (for both wals were brought aboue the  
high water marke, and nothing remained to be done  
of the same but highthenting, which might be done at  
anie time after) Sir Thomas Scot the principall pil-  
ler of that worke fell sicke vpon the wals, and was  
conueyed thence in a wagon to his house, where he  
remained six weeks, more likelie to die than to liue,  
whose labie and wisde being a most vertuous and no-  
ble matrone, & a kinckie paterne of womanhood and  
sobrietie, the daughter of Sir John Baker knight,  
and the mother of seuentene children) vied such dili-  
gent attendance and continuall care for his busi-  
bands recouerie of helth, as thereby she brought his  
selfe into so weake state of bodie, as being great  
with two children, she fell sicke; and after his un-  
timelie tranell, being deliuered of a sonne and a  
daughter, she ended his most tall life.

This sickness of Sir Thomas Scot, and that which  
fell out therevpon, was no small discomfiture to him  
and all his. And the workmen at Dower made such  
mone for his sickness, and also for his absence, that  
euerie street was replenished with sorow and greefe,  
and the people would be comforted with nothing  
more, nor anie waie be better encouraged to worke  
lustilie, than to be told that Sir Thomas Scot was  
well recovered, and would shortly be amongst them  
again. And in truth, they translated their barba-  
rous musicke into a sorrowfull song, and in stead of  
calling to Harrie for their dinner, they called to  
God for the god health and returne of their best  
friend Sir Thomas Scot, and that with a generall  
and continuall outcrie, even in their old accus-  
tomed tune & time. But the courts proceeded in high-  
thenting the wals, untill they were raised about two  
foot higher than they were on S. James his daie,  
when the wals met together; so as the crosse wall is  
ninety foot broad in the bottome, and about fiftie foot  
in the top. The long wall is seuentie foot in the bot-  
tome, and almost fortie foot in the top, in so much as  
vpon either wall two courts may meet and passe, or  
turne without troubling each other. The length of the  
crosse

I neede  
remedie of  
water bye  
under the

Expedith  
neede  
profitable.

The Gate  
the wals.

I sure tri-  
laticie that  
the god of  
the pent

I ga'e of t  
hale broke

Edward  
counton of  
quire ambi-  
sadoy into  
France.

The effect  
the pent.

Of the hat

The breadth,  
depth, length,  
and charge of  
the long and  
crosse wall,  
with the con-  
ting, &c.

croffe wall is foure rods, the length of the long wall a hundred and twentieth rods. The charge of these two walls, with the appurtenances, amounted to two thousand and seauen hundred pounds, as appeareth in the expeditors books. If there were any issue of draining of water under the walls, it was some stopped by the peise of the wall it selfe, which neuer left sinking till it came to the foundation of the rocke, except (by some oversight of the workemen) some part thereof were set upon the beach, which should by order haue bene first removed, & in that case they benched it, digging a trench at the foot of that part of the wall, and filling the same with earth, they made it verie tight, and so might any such place be perfected and amended if need should require. But at this houre there leaketh not a drop of water under or through any part of the wall that any man may perceiue or see: so as a full pent shinketh not any whit at all betwixt tide and tide, whereas the allowance of one foot leakage or fall at the least was required of them, which exhibited the plot of the wooden wall, which being measured from the top or face of the high pent diminisheth almost one quarter thereof. And thus betwixt the first of Maie and midst of August, this pent, which was thought impossible to be done in three yeares, was perfectly finished in lesse than three months, and remaineth in so good and sure state, as the longer it standeth, the better and tighter it will be.

A necessarie remedie if water draine under the wall

Expedition necessarie and profitable.

The state of the walls.

If neuer any thing should be added hereunto, this pent (by reason of the abundance of water retained therein, and issuing out of the sluise) would mainteine a good haue in that place: for the violent course thereof will alwaies open the hauens mouth, and make a fret there, even downe to the rocke, although it be distant from the same threescore rods; in so much as at this instant there make comie in at quarter foud a barke of fortie or fiftie tun, and at full sea a ship of thre hundred tun and upwards. But when the two luttie heads are once finished (which are now in hand) so as the hauens mouth be perfected, any ship whatsoeuer may enter in thereat, and remaine within that rode in good safetie. But as at many other times heretofore there hath bene sure triall had of the good effects of this pent, so now in this last moneth of October one thousand five hundred foure score and six, one gate of the sluise being by mischance broken, so as by the space of foure daies there could be no water retained within the pent, to close the mouth of the haue, the same was so choked and swarmed up with sand and beach in that space, as no bote could enter in, or passe out of the same: in so much as Edward Wotton esquire, being then at Douer to passe thence in an ambassage from his maiestie to the French king, was forced to send to Sandwich for a cutter, to transport him to Calis, because no bote of Douer lieng within the rode could passe out at the hauens mouth. But altho as the said gate of the sluise was repaired, even the next tide following, a vessel of three hundred tun might and did easilie passe in and out thereof, one pent of water had so scowred and deepened the same. Whereby it may appeare, that neither the cost bestowed, nor the worke performed, hath bene unprofitable imployed, or unneedfullie undertaken.

The effect of the pent.

Of the sluise.

Now you shall understand, that the small sluise which was first made and laied in the croffe wall in such sort, and for such purpose as hath bene declared, was taken up after the said walls were finished, and a sluise of far greater charge was made by the aforesaid Peter Jert, who undertooke to do it by great, and had for the same foure hundred pounds, the laiest thereof did cost two hundred pounds more at the least. This sluise containeth in length

fourescore foot, in breadth fiftie foot, in depth thre score, and hath in it two drain gates. It was one whole moneth in laing, all which time the said lord Cobham made his abode there, and kept a most honorable and costlie table, furthering those works not onelie with his continuall presence and countenance, but also with his good direction, and that not at starts, but from morning till night, and from daie to daie, untill the full accomplishing thereof.

And in the meane time sir Francis Walsingham, his maiesties principall secretarie was not uncarefull of this action, as being the man without whom nothing was done, directing the course, and alwaies looking into the state thereof, and gave continuall life therunto, by prouiding monie for it, whereof when any want approached, he neuer failed to see or rather to send a sure supplie. Since the finishing of these walls and sluises, there hath bene much worke and charge imployed about one of the luttie heads, and beautifying of the harborough, wherein one George Carie of Devonshire esquire, and one John Will an auditor, haue bene the principall directors. But because that worke remaineth as yet unperfected, the report thereof shall also remaine to be made by others that shall hereafter haue occasion to write of such affairs.

The lord Cobham remaineth at Douer one whole moneth.

Sir Francis Walsingham principall friend to these works.

Of the luttie works.

At the assises kept at the citie of Excester, the fourteenth daie of March, in the eight and twentieth yeare of his maiesties reigne, before sir Edmund Anderson knight lord chiefe iustice of the common pless, and sargeant Floredate one of the barons of the exchequer, iustices of the assises in the countie of Devon and Exon, there happened a verie sudden and a strange sicknesse; first amongst the prisoners of the gaole of the castell of Exon, & then dispersed (upon their triall) amongst sundrie other persons: which was not much unlike to the sicknesse that of late yeares happened at an assise holden at Oxford, before sir Robert Fell knight, lord chiefe baron of the exchequer, and iustice then of that assise; and of which sicknesse he amongst others died. This sicknesse was verie sharpe for the time, & few escaped, which at the first were infected therewith. It was contagious and infectious, but not so violent, as commonlie the prillence is; neither doth there appeare any outward bleer or loze.

The note of John Hooker alias Vowell concerning the sudden and strange sicknesse of late happening in Excester.

The origin and cause thereof of diuerse men are of diuerse iudgements. Some did impute it, and were of the mind, that it proceeded from the contagion of the gaole, which by reason of the close aire, and filthie stinke, the prisoners newlie come out of a fresh aire into the same, are in short time for the most part infected therewith; and this is commonlie called the gaole sicknesse, and many die thereof. Some did impute it to certeine poxe portingals, then prisoners in the said gaole. For not long before, one Barnard Drake esquire (afterwards dubbed knight) had bene at the seas, and meeting with certeine portingals, come from New found land, and laden with fish, he took them as a good prize, and brought them into Dartmouth haue in England; and from thence they were sent, being in number about eight and thirtie persons, unto the gaole of the castell of Exon, and there were cast into the deepe pit and stinking dungeon.

The originall cause of this infection sheweth to be poxe.

Barnard Drake esquire.

These men had bene before a long time at the seas, and had no change of apparel, nor laime in bed, and now lieng upon the ground without succor or reliefe, were soon infected; and all for the most part were sicke, and some of them died, and some one of them was distracted: and this sicknesse verie soon after dispersed it selfe among all the residue of the prisoners in the gaole; of which disease many of them

The mischance of nallie apparel.

them died, but all brought to great extremities, and verie hardlie escaped. These men, when they were to be brought before the foresaid iustices for their trial, manie of them were so weake and sicke, that they were not able to go nor stand; but were caried from the gaole to the place of iudgement, some vpon handbarrowes, and some betwene men leading them, and so brought to the place of iustice.

The sight of these mens miserable and pitifull cases, being thought (and more like) to be hunger starued than with sicknesse diseased, moued manie a mans hart to behold and loke vpon them; but none pittied them more than the lords iustices themselves, and especiallie the lord chiefe iustice himselfe; who vpon this occasion toke a better order for keeping all prisoners therewith in the gaole, and for the more often trials: which was now appointed to be quarterlie kept at euerie quarter sessions, and not to be posied anie more ouer, as in times past untill the assises. These prisoners thus brought from out of the gaole to the iudgement place, after that they had bene staied, and paused a while in the open aire, and somewhat refreshed therewith, they were brought in to the house, in the one end of the hall nere to the iudges seat, and which is the ordinarie and accomable place where they doe stand to their trials and arraignments.

And howsoever the matter fell out, and by what occasion it happened, an infection followed vpon manie and a great number of such as were there in the court, and especiallie vpon such as were nere to them were soonest infected. And albeit the infection was not then perceived, because euerie man departed (as he thought) in as good health as he came thither: yet the same by little and little so crept into such, as vpon whom the infection was seigned, that after a few daies, and at their home comming to their owne houses, they felt the violence of this pestilent sicknesse: wherein more died than were infected, than escaped. And besides the prisoners, manie there were of god account, and of all other degrees, which died thereof: as by name fargeant Flozede who then was the iudge of those trials vpon the prisoners, sir John Chichester, sir Arthur Wasset, and sir Barnard Dyke knights; Thomas Carew of Hacombe, Robert Carie of Clouelleigh, John Forlescue of Wood, John Walbyon of Wadfeld, and Thomas Kildons esquires, and iustices of the peace.

The losse of euerie of them was verie great to the commonwealth of that prouince and countrie; but none more lamented than these two knights, sir John Chichester, and sir Arthur Wasset, who albeit they were but young in yeares, yet ancient in wisdom, vpright in iudgement, and zealous in the ministration of iustice. Likewise Robert Carie, a gentleman striken in yeares, and a man of great experience, knowledge, and learning: he had bene a student of the common lawes of the realme at the temple, and verie well learned both therein, and vniuersallie sene in all good letters: an eloquent man of his speech, effectual in deliuerie, deepe in iudgement, vpright in iustice, and considerat in all his doings. The more worthy were these personages, the greater losse was their deaths to the whole commonwealth of that countrie. Of the plebeian and common people died verie manie, and especiallie constables, reueues, and tithing men, and such as were furors, and namelie one turie of twelue, of which there died eleven.

This sicknesse was disperfed through out all the whole shire, and at the writing herof in the fine of October, one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, it is not altogether extinguished. It resteth for the

most part about fouretene daies and vppwards by a secret infection, before it brake out into his force and violence. At the first comming, it made the people afraid and dismayd, manie men then pretending rather than performing the amendment of life. So long as the plague was hot and seruent, so long euerie man was holie and repentant: but with the slaking of the one, followed the forgetfulness of the other; euen as it is with a companie of sheewd children, who so long as the rod is ouer the head, so long feare of correction frameth them to aptnesse, conuersion, and obedience.

In the chronicles of Ireland, vpon occasion of service in the highest office there, mention was made here and there of sir Henrie Sidonie his sayings and doings, where promise did passe (by means of discourting his death) that the reader was to loke for a full declaration of his life and death in the chronicles of England, as course of time should giue direction. Now therefore hauing entred into the eight and twentieth yeares of hir maiesties gracions gouernment, and the yeare of Christ 1586, the time most fitlie openeth a readie waie into the historie concerning that nobleman, penned by one that could not be ignorant of his affaires, considering the nearnesse and necessarinesse of his seruice, and therefore as a truth to be receiued.

This right famous, renowned, worthy, vertuous and heroficall knight, by father and mother verie noble descended, was from his infancie bred and brought vp in the princes court, and in nextnesse to his person used familiarlie euen as a companion, and manie times a bedfellow. After that by course of nature and lawfull descent, this young prince was inuessed in the kingdome and imperial crowne, he advanced this gallant noble gentleman (partlie as it seemed for the singular loue and entire affection he formerlie bare him) to be a principall gentleman of his private chamber. For he was then reputed for comeliness of person, gallantnesse & liuelinesse of spirit, vertue, qualitie, beautie, & god composition of bodie, the onlie or man & paragon of the court. And from time to time this god and most goodlie king held such delight in his pleasant, modest, and sweet conuersation and companie, as he would seldome or neuer giue him leaue to be absent from him, till his last breath that he departed this life in his armes at Greenwich. Such exceeding expectation & hope was conceived of this honorable gentleman in his younger yeares, as he was speciallie chosen and sent ambassador to Henrie the first then French king, concerning matter verie important, being at that time not fullie one and twentie yeares old, and performed his charge with that singular commendation, wisdom, spirit and dexteritie, as at sundrie times not long after, he was employed in ambassage both in France & Scotland, yea sometime twise in one yere.

He was foure severall times lord iustice of Ireland, and thre times by speciall appointment and commission sent depute out of England: at each which severall time, he by his wisdom and god gouernement appeased and suppressed a great and an actual rebellion, the seeds whereof were for the most part sown and the fire kindled (though smothered and cunninglie hid and couered) before his comming, or in the time of his absence. In his first deputacion he suppressed the rebellion of Shane O'Neill, and floured the top of the castell of Dublin with the archbishops head. In his second he suppressed the most dangerous insurrection begun and long continued by some of the Butlers. In the third the commotion of the erle of Clanricard, & his two gracelesse hopefull sonnes Shane and Wille Bourke,

distinction  
betweene men  
to God, &c.

In introduction  
to the history,  
call remembrance  
of the  
Sidonie, the  
father and the  
sonne, &c.

The note of  
Edmund  
Molineux touching  
sir Henrie  
Sidonie  
life and death,  
his education  
in his youth.

his cupid  
ment in war  
battles.

four times  
lord iustice,  
thre lord  
depute of  
Ireland.

he suppressed  
by force and  
policy thre  
actual rebellions.

Imme.

The assise at  
Exeter appointed to be  
quarterlie kept.

This sicknes  
was contagious  
& mortal.

Principall  
men that died  
of that infection.

Sir John  
Chichester,  
and sir Arthur  
Wasset bene-  
net and com-  
mended.

Eleuen of the  
turie with o-  
ther officers  
die of this  
sicknesse.

An.  
He remained  
and put in  
execution the  
lawes for  
abolishing  
come and  
more.

He desired  
planting o  
presidents  
the remote  
provinces.

He desired  
lawes for  
distribution  
the Irish  
into  
ground.

He increas  
the revenue  
ten thousand  
pounds ye

His buildin  
ification  
and other ne  
cessarie  
for the bene-  
fit of god of  
countrie.

He retained  
and put in ex-  
ecution the  
lawes for the  
abolishing of  
coine and li-  
berie.

He devised the  
planting of  
presidents in  
the remoter  
prouinces.

He devised the  
lawes for the  
distribution of  
the Irish con-  
mes into thire  
ground.

He increased  
the revenues  
ten thousand  
pounds perie.

His buildings  
fortifications,  
and other ne-  
cessarie works  
for the benefit  
and good of the  
countrie.

Immediatlie after his first arrivall deputie, he caused the old statutes and ordinaunces for the abolishing of coine and liberie (the ancient fessering sope and creeping canker of that countrie and commonwealth) to be revised and put in due execution, against sundrie persons of calling and note, who were therewithall sharplie touched, whereupon followed a long time after great good to the countrie, and a speedie release to the poore oppressed people of that realme. He devised that the remoter prouinces should be governed by presidents, after the imitation of the marches of Wales, from whence he took his patterne, being himselfe at that time president, holding opinion that there could be neither better nor a more expedit and easie means to reforme and reduce that barbarous countrie to perfect obedience and civilitie, than planting of presidents in the remoter prouinces, to the end uniuersall iustice might be currant amongst them, whereby the poore might be deliuered from the wonted exactions and tyrannies of the lordes and great ones (by whom they were daily spoiled and oppressed) and last the sweet benefits and pleasant fruits of peace and quietnesse, the onelie singular commoditie, and the most happie blessing of wiife, politike, and discret gouernement.

He both first devised, and consequentlie prudentlie executed, the plot for the diuision and distribution of the Irish countries into thire ground, whereby insued the currencie of his maiesties writ, which before that time was either not knowne, or at least neuer vsed amongst them. He in his gouernment advanced and increased the revenues of the crowne by waie of custome, inposi upon wines, compositions with the Irish for rent and seruice, and other direct and commendable means, as out of casualties creating rents certeine, ten thousand pounds pearelie. And by good deuise and policie he had both intended, and would haue brought to passe and performed a farre greater increase, if enmie, spite, and malice of that unhappie countrie had not crossed him, and opposed themselves all that they could, by perille or credit against his honorable, worthie, and commendable seruices & deservings: an example of rare note to be duellie followed, and carefullie executed by his successors, that Ireland may in short time be reduced to beare Irelands charges, and made both honorable and profitable to the crowne (as were to be wished.) He repaired the castell of Dublin, being vsed a long time before as a ruinous, vncleane, and filthie place, of no reckoning and accompt, stozed onlie with mechanicall persons, and some of worse sort (the constable and his familie excepted) and left the same a convenient and fit house for the gouernour to lie in, to which use it now serueth and is imployed.

He builded the brydge of Athelon ouer the ritter of Shenin, arched it with masonrie and free stone, strong wall and battlement, and made it of that strength, together with that spaciousnesse and bzedth, as two carts may (in maner) meet afront. By building of which brydge ouer so swift & great a streame, the passage was set open and made free out of the pale into Conaught; which before (by reason of the strenableness of the water) was not passable, which dauonted and appalled the rebels and traitors moze, and kept them in greater awe and due obedience, than anie deuise or policie before had done, or other plot lightlie could then do. He likewise began the walling and fortifying of the towne of Carickfergus in Ulster, reedifying of the towne of Athenrie in Conaught, the strengthening of Athelon with gates and other fortifications, the foundation and plot of the brydge of Caterlagh, and made a strong goale at Spolingar, and walled the same a-

bout with stone, to imprison rebels, theues, and other malefactors. And likewise he begun manie other needfull and necessarie works in sundrie other places which tended to the great furtherance and advancement of seruice, but he left them *Quasi opera inchoata*: for he being called awaie so soone, time would not permit and allow him to finish and fullie to end them, or (it may be) by fatall appointment the time is not yet come the countrie deserveth so great a god and benefit of Gods eternall blessing.

He found his maiesties records laid as it were in an open place, whether anie man (that bought his paines) might come that would, not defended, but subiect to wind, raine, and all kind of weather, and so in a sort neglected, that they serued now and then (as I haue by good men and good meanes crediblie heard reported) in stead of better litter to rub horse heeles, which he with great care and diligence caused to be perused and sorted, and prepared an apt place within the castell of Dublin, well trimmed and boarded with a chimneie in the roome, where neither by the moisture of the wals, nor vnseasonableness of the weather, nor other meanes they could be subiect to harme. He prepared fit & convenient places and severall diuisions to laie them apart, according to their severall natures, and appointed one of discretion and skill to looke to them, who also for his better incoragement was assigned a convenient see for his laboz. He also caused the statutes, policies, and ordinaunces of that realme, which late he and not knownen to manie (though not destroyed but kept in safetie) to be searched, surueied, and ouer viewed, by men of the best learning, skill, and discretion he could find or come by in that realme, giuing them in expresse charge to peruse and read all, and to collect such and so manie of them as they should in their discretions iudge and discerne to be expedient and necessarie to be published and knownen, to the end the same might be imprinted, as afterward they were, that no man thenforth might pretend ignorance in the lawes, statutes, & ordinaunces of his owne countrie where he was borne, which euerie man by our lawes is bound to know. And because he both saw and by experience found what defect grew in the administration of iustice, by reason of kinred, partialtie, corruption, parcialitie, as other wise; he devised, and earnestlie sought to haue Englishmen sent over to supplie the chiefe places of iustice. And for the better increase of his maiesties revenue and profit, he praised the like to serue in the rooms of his highnesse attornies generall and sollicitors.

No man had a greater desire to advance the publicke euerie waie than he had, and in opinion greatly magnified & esteemed all them that were of that mind: for he would manie times saie, that those were things memorabile, of perpetuities, fame, and last, where all priuat things died and perished with their priuat persons. Wherefore he was belloved to serue, he had such a rare gift, gallant courtlie behauior, and comelinesse of person, as he gained the hearts of manie, and such uniuersall liking and loving of all sorts of people toward him, as they were ever desirous and neuer wearie of him; but speciall sute commonlie made of the grauest, best, and wisest sort amongst them, when he was reuoked to haue him returne and continue againe amongst them. He was (as best became him) verie aduised, circumspect, and carefull in the seruice of the state, not onelie setting apart, but in a sort neglecting all business of his owne, in respect of his charge. He was a perfect orator by nature, hauing such readinesse and facility of speech, flowing eloquence, sweet deliuerie, and passing memorie (for he seldome or neuer forgot anie thing he either read or heard) as he was spect-

He build com-  
venient rooms  
for the keeping  
and preserua-  
tion of the re-  
cords which  
before were  
neglected.

He caused the  
statutes of  
Ireland to be  
imprinted  
which neuer  
before were  
published.

He procured  
some English-  
men to be sent  
over, for the  
better admin-  
istration of  
iustice.

A great num-  
ber of all  
publike  
works.  
The great  
love he got  
by in all pla-  
ces where he  
serued.

His careles-  
nesse in the  
seruice of the  
state.



allie noted a most rare man of all that did heare him. Such ample instructions he would give for the framing and twisting of his letters, or anie other thing he committed to be concealed and put downe in twisting, and dispose the same in so good order and fine method, as a verie simple man, if he retained and remembered but a part of that he said and deliuered, might supplie himselfe with matter enough to the purpose to write of.

And when by occasion he happened vpon some dull  
conceited spirited fellow (as Ireland and Wales  
now and then bred some such) to whome he had gi-  
uen instructions to write, who afterwards brought  
him the same to signe, not couched in sozt as he liked  
or would haue it; his temperance, courtesie and dis-  
creet modestie was such, as he would neuer shew  
choler and impatience, rent the paper in peeces, or  
pubblicke disgrace the writer, but bid him not be  
discouraged for that fault: he could giue him the like  
instructions againe he gaue him before, but willed  
him then to marke and remember them better. At  
each severall time he was sent deputie into Ireland,  
he was by occasion, and as time fell out, furnished  
with a new secretarie. The first was master Ed-  
ward Waterhouse, now knighted, and one of his  
maiesties counsell in Ireland. The second master  
Edmund Cremaine, who after was preferred to be  
a cleрке to his maiesties counsell on his highnesse  
person attendant. The thirde (who although it was  
thought of manie, who were in that case well able  
to iudge) neither in paine, desert, birth, nor breeding  
was much inferior to the other two that were be-  
fore him: yet in fortune, reward, or other recom-  
pense so far behind them, as this noble gentleman  
(who trulie honozed vertue) master to them all three,  
would manie times in sozt lament, and depelie be-  
mone to his good friends, commending highlie this  
mans paine and diligence, attributing his hard hap  
to his owne mishap, the time so serued he could not  
do him good, which manie times & by sundrie means  
he had carnestlie attempted to do; affirming often  
in solemne and earnest protestation as well to him  
as others, that if graven him not a litle, his fortune  
was so bad, to come to him now in the declination  
and wane of the moone: for he was the sole onelie  
man he had imploied about him in that nereenesse  
and credit of seruice, wherein he had vsed him, that  
euer had quailed vnder his hands (for that was the  
terme he vsed) hothelst, he well hoped time or some  
good man (in respect his seruice was publike and not  
puiat) should repare that then he could not do. For  
he deemed the man right woorthie regard and con-  
sideration, that had serued him so long (and that in his  
great and rotall seruices, in so painefull and toyle-  
some a place) without anie great waiges, fee, or other  
interferment growing to him in perpetuitie or o-  
ther waies, which was either burthenous to his purse,  
or proceeding by or from him by anie other degree, to  
the gentlemans benefit, increase of credit, or further  
advancement, in recompense of his long seruice.

He had both a speciall care & likewise a singular gift in dispatch of common causes, and the people in like manner had a passing marvellous desire to be heard & dispatched by him. Wherefore as well in part to satisfie their humors and affections, as moze completlie to perfoyme the due and full measure of his charge (which was to heare and helpe all as nere as he could) he applied himselfe greatly thereunto, and would spare no paines, but indure marvellous toyle and travell to rid and dispatch awaie suitors: which he could do with such dexterity and wonderfull facility, as the same might seeme no wearinesse and tediousnesse at all to him (that was halfe a heli to some others) but rather to be reckoned a kind of re

creation and painfull. He made manie beholding  
vnto him, for he (as much as laie in him) did benefit  
manie, and had more than an oddbrar's desire to doe  
for all his friends and faithfull followers; and so care-  
fullie, earnestlie, and painfullie he would trauele to  
aduance their particular sutes, were it sometimes to  
speake to hir maiestie hir selfe, or to the bodie of hir  
graue and honorable councill, or to anie priuat  
councillor apart, as though he had purposelie fol-  
lowed his owne most weightie causes.

And as he was a most deere, kind, tender, and lo-  
uing father to his childezen (foz none could loue and  
esteeme his childezen more than he did), and noting in  
them great minds and hautie courages, which delye  
them by degrees to erre in expence, and more than  
an ordinarie liberalitie, he would sometime fatherlie  
aduaile them thus; that if they meant to liue in or-  
der, they should euer behold those sonnes, & seldeome  
thinke those nephews they were : so he was an  
affable, gentle, courteous, constant, and honourable  
maister to his seruants. ffoz he would often saie, if  
was an easie matter foz them to keepe him, but hard  
to recover his loue and fauour, if they had once lost  
him. And then arie of his noble and most louing  
friends would commend him greatlie (as manie  
times they would) that he made much of his old ser-  
uants (foz few that came to him euer went from  
him, but such as were first aduanced by him to bet-  
ter preferment) he would answer pleasantlie after his  
wonted mirth; Lord I giue thee thanks, that of those  
thou gauest me I haue not lost one. He was mar-  
vellous affable and courteous of nature, of easie ac-  
cesse, and pleasantlie familiar with arie that had oc-  
casion to repaite vnto him, & strict and precise in the  
obseruaton of good order. ffoz he would seldeome  
bzeake it in arie respect, but vpon euident, knowne,  
and most iust cause; or when he was ouerruled (as  
sometimes he was) by such as had souereigne pover  
to direct and command him. Extraordinarie courses  
he alwaies vtterlie disliked, especiallye when order  
was perturbed; or suffice himdered, whereby the com-  
mon societie of mans life is onelie preserved and  
maintained; which two things speciallie purchased  
him such vniuersall goodwill euertie where (and  
namelie amongst the officers of hir maiesties most  
honorable household, with whome he would manie  
times be familiarlie conuersant) as they haue often  
wilted he might haue bene honored with a white  
staffe, to haue bozne office with authoritie amongst  
them.

His nature was so tempered with modestie,  
pittie and patience, as he seldome shewed heat or  
choler, how greivous so ever the offense was which  
was giuen him. He was a fast friend where he pro-  
fessed friendship, and no reuengefull so when he was  
offended; & hardlie would he be removed in friend-  
ship from his friend or follower, but upon most iust,  
certeine, and knowne cause, which he could not smul-  
ther, and would not hide from the partie. I haue ma-  
nie times heard him saie, and by occasion haue sene  
the same written in his owne letters, that he was  
dubbed knight (by that noble and vertuous prince  
king Edward) the selfe same daie, fir William Cecill  
(then principall secretarie, now lord treasurer of  
England) was, by meanes therof and that fir Wil-  
liam Cecill was (preuen in those daies) esteemed a  
most rare man, both for lundie and singular gifts  
of nature, learning, wisdome, and integritie: and  
partlie by the friendlie good offices of that true pa-  
terne of humanitie and courtlesse, fir John Cheke,  
then scholemaster to the king (a cholle deare friend  
to them both) that there began such an entrie of ac-  
quaintance, knowledge, loue, mutuall goodwill, and  
intire friendship betwixt them, as continued alwaies

A great desire  
to do for all  
men.

A tender father to his children and a loving master to his servants.

*Sollicitudo homini  
atque in agro vi-  
tam agentis opinio  
iustissime necessaria  
est.*  
He was in-  
tirelic belourd  
of the officers  
of hir maie-  
ties household.

He was made knight the same daie fir William Cecil was.

He died at the  
bishops palace  
at worcester.

His death  
greatly be-  
mored.  
His corpse  
was buried at  
Denshurst

The time of  
my ladie Sid-  
neys death.

**Uerle expert  
and able he  
was of a bad  
clerke in time  
to frame a good  
secretarie.**

010 0000 0000  
 010 0000 0000  
 010 0000 0000  
 010 0000 0000  
 010 0000 0000  
 010 0000 0000

0000000000  
 0000000000  
 0000000000  
 0000000000  
 0000000000  
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 0000000000

Of great fact-  
lity in dis-  
patch of com-  
mon causes.



More resistance  
made by  
Pondragon.

Gravelin.

His hurt at  
the encounter  
nere fatal:  
when.

The date of  
the death of  
Sir Philip  
Sidneys.

Omnis virtus  
nos ad se allicit,  
facileque ut dili-  
gamus eos, in  
quibus inesse  
videatur, tam  
iusticiae quam  
modestia, et  
modestia.

Thomas  
Lovelace con-  
dignate puni-  
shed by judg-  
ment of the ho-  
norable court  
in the Star-  
chamber for  
counterfeiting  
of letters, &c.  
I.S.

offer of offense, insurrection, or resistance by Pondragon, who was of purpose imploied with sufficient force to defend the countrey, and to haue impeached all these attempts and actions.

Whereupon, his aduise for the seruice intended at Drauelin (dissenting in opinion from others, who were thought the most expert captains and best renowned and sorted souldiours) gaue such a sufficient proofe of his excellent wit, policie, and ripe iudgement; as his onelie act and counsell, with the losse of a verie few of his companie, wrought all their safeties, which otherwile by treacherie had bene most likelie to haue bene intrapped. And so consequentlie going forward in other seruices, at an encounter with the enimie not far from Zutphen, where he that daie most valiantlie serued (for he bare the instinctible mind of an ancient worthy Romane, who euer where he came made account of victorie) he receiued hurt by a musket shot a little aboue the left knee, which he brake and risted the bone, and so entred the thigh byward towards the bodie, as the bullet could not be found before his bodie was opened. Of which hurt notwithstanding he liued (though in great paine and extreame torment) six and twentie daies following, and died the seventeenth daie of October betwene two and thre of the clocke in the afternone at Arnem in Gelderland.

He greatly abounded in sundrie good vertues, which euer where he came, procured him loue, but cheseltie in iustice and liberalitie (a worthy & most speciall note in a gouernour) which gained him hartie loue coupled with fame and honoz. For the which especiallie, those vnder his late charge and gouernment so greatlie loued, esteemed, honozed, & in a sort adored him when he was alieue; as they made earnest meanes and intreatie to haue his bodie remaine there still with them for memorie when he was dead; and promised that (if they might obtaine it) to erect for him as faire a monument as anie prince had in christendome, yea though the same should cost halfe a tun of gold the building. His bodie was most honourablie conueied from Arnem to London, where it remained at the Pynoxes certeine daies, & from thence brought and remoued on the sixteenth of February along the streets through Cheapside, with funerall pompe and solemnitie becoming so martiall a gentleman; the ensignes of warre, and pikes trailed vpon the ground, the drums and futes covered with blacke and making a softis sound, with other statelie shewes of mournfull representations; the earle of Leicester with other honourable and worshipfull personages following the dead bodie, which finally was interred in Paules church of London.]

About this time one Thomas Lovelace, late of Staple inne gentleman, for counterfeiting of false and trecherous letters against his own kintred, containing most traitorous matter against hir maiesties owne person, was indged in the Starchamber to be carried on horse-backe about Westminster hall with his face to the horse taile, and a paper on his backe declaring his offense; then to be set on the pillorie in the palace at Westminster, and there to haue one of his eares cut off: then to ride in like sort into London, and in Cheapside to be set on the pillorie vpon a market daie: after that to be conueied into Kent, where standing openlie on the pillorie in the place of aillie as before, he should lose his other eare; and lastlie be set vpon the pillorie one market daie in Canturburie, and another at Rochester; his offense and punishment in euerie of the said places openlie read and published: which iudiciall sentence was accordingly executed.

On sundae the eight daie of Maie an ambassa-

dor, named Henric Raimelius, intituled *Cancellarius Germanicus*, arrived at the towne of London. A gentleman he was of goodlie personage, somewhat corpulent, and of sanguine complexion, verie eloquent likewise and learned, not onelie in the knowledge of diuerse tongues, as Latins, French, Italian, and German; but also in sundrie sciences. He came in ambassage from Frederike the second of that name, king of Denmarke, vnto the queens maiestie of England, and arriuing (as you haue heard) at the Tower, was honorablie receiued of the lord Cobham and other great estates; who conueied him from thence through Towler street into Bishopsgate street; and so to a faire and large house called Crobics place, where he was well lodged and remained.

The said Raimelius, during the time of his tariance had attendance done him conuenient for his person, both by water and by land: the queens maiesties barges and seruants imploied about him to & from London, the court then being at Greenwich; wither alwaies when he came, the nobilitie of England failed in no point of courtesie that might be desired: which he seemed (as he could no lesse) verie acceptable to take. Now being in England, and in the English court, he might (and no doubt did) marke the magnificence of hir maiestie, in all respects admirable. Whereof a notable president was giuen in Whitsonweke; at what time the said ambassador, being at the court, was accompanied with certeine English lords to hir highnesse chapel, and placed not far from hir excellencie, did heare diuine seruice so melodiously said and song, both by voice and instruments of consort, as a man halfe dead might thereby haue bene quickened. The gentlemen of the chapel with the rest of the quier bending themselves both with skill and zeale, that daie to honour their prince according to their place. The bishop of Salisburie and others distillie reading part of diuine seruice, and in presence of all the auditoie doing such obedience with kinde and countenance, as the presence of so gracious a soueraigne as they had in their eyes did require.

Now when this solemnitie was ended, hir maiestie departed; and so did the ambassador, attended vpon and accompanied vnto the place appointed for dinner, where standing nere vnto a faire window fronting into the open court, he might (being in communication, now with one and then with another English lord, as the L. Charles Howard L. Admirall, the lord Cobham lord warden of the cinque ports, &c.) behold the roiall seruice of hir maiestie, verie personable gentlemen thereto sorted, carlieng couered dishes all of siluer and gilt verie beautiful; themselves in beluet and silke suitable in eue respect, and as decentlie made, so decentlie worn; the trumpets sounding, and the drums plaieng therevnto: a marvellous delightfull thing to heare, & a passing gallant sight to behold. When dinner was done, the ambassador was made partaker of such courtlie recreations as for that time were fit, wherewith he could not but be pleasantlie conceipted; considering that as euerie thing was done with purpose to delight: so he with others must needs be accordingly affected. And as the better sort had their conuenient disposits, so were not the ordinarie people excluded from competent pleasure. For vpon a greene verie spacious and large, where thousands might stand and behold with good contentment, there bearebaiting & bulbaiting (tempered with other merrie disposits) were exhibited: whereat it cannot be spoken what pleasure the people took.

Now the daie being far spent, and the sun in his declination, the pastimes ended, and the actors there

Henric Raimelius ambassador out of Denmarke.

The Danish ambassador honorable interceded.

The maiestie of the English court.

Henricus moris in the queens chapel.

The ambassador of Denmarke seeth the roiall seruice of the queene of England.

Recreations and disposits for prince and people.

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there in twestie; the ambassadoz withdrew unto his lodging by barge to Crosbies place, where (no doubt) this daies solemnitie was thought vpon, and talked of; if not by him, yet by his traine, and perhaps (as like enough) of both. Now after this, and manie other English courtesses else where, verie bountifullie giuen and taken: the ambassadoz, after the finishing of such affaires as he was put in trust withall, taking his leaue both of the court, citie, and countrie, returned towards Denmarke on the thirteenth date of Maie next following, whome he will leaue vpon his boiage, and touch other matters happening at home.

In this yeare one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, and on the fourth date of June, a commission was directed from the queens maiestie then at Greenwich, tending to the ratification of a firme league of amitie betwene the two mightie princes, Elisabeth queene of England, and James the first of that name king of Scots, vpon certaine causes necessarie and important: the reigne and gouernement of the said princes, happening in so doubtfull and dangerous times, wherein the princes were aduising, who will be called catholike, agnising the popes authoritie, by mutual leagues do knit friendship, for the rooting vp and throwing out of the true, pure, and sincere religion of the gospell, not onelie out of their owne territories and dominions, but also out of other foreign kingdoms; and thereto haue obliged their faith.

I ease they therefore that loue the religion of the gospell, should take lesse carefull for the defense and supportation thereof, than they which earnestlie endeavour to mainteine and uphold that of Rome, least it should be overthowne; the said princes for the greater securitie of their persons, vpon whose safetie the safetie of the whole people both depend, and for the preservation of the true, ancient, and christian religion, which they now professe; haue thought good that a stricter bond of a mutuell and sociall league, than at any time hitherto hath bene agreed vpon betwene their maiesties progenitors, should now be substantiallie concluded. This league was articulated, and commissioners thereto appointed; the right honorable Edward earle of Rutland, (a complet noble man, answerable to the etymon of his name, and verie well deserving the poets report:

*nomen virtutibus aequat,  
Nec sinit ingenium nobilitate premi)*


the lord William Cues, and also Thomas Randolph elquier: who with their traine of attendants came to Berwik the nineteenth of June, where (the ambassadoz of Scotland being in like sort present) they accomplished the matter, whereto they were commissioned: the articles of the said league in all and euery part sufficientlie confirmed, on the first of Iulie. All which being dispatched, the said earle of Rutland with his traine returned. This ambassage is reported in the historie of Scotland, whereunto (for the avoiding of tautologie) we refer the reader.

In the moneth of Iulie a verie dangerous conspiracie was discovered, tending to the subuersion of the state and lamentable confusion of all things: wherein as the turbulent spirited did what they could to proceed, so it pleased God the author of peace to intercept them in the plot of their mischeuous deuise, and to overthrow them in their owne imagined nets. Kingleaders in this pretended treason were certaine gentlemen and others (of whome hereafter by particular name we will speake) who had waded and ventured so far therein, that vpon the notice thereof (as God will suffer no such attempts to lie long undetected) order was taken for a verie

strict inquirie and search vniuersallie to be made for their apprehension, which was accordingly executed, in so much that the conspirators distressed and succozles were put to verie hard shifts by this inquisition and pursue, and in fine apprehended, to the great reioicing of the citizens of London, diuerslie testified; as with bonfires, making merrie in the streets at square and round tables, singing of psalmes, marching about their fiers with tabber and pipe, and giuing manie a shot, that the aire rang withall. In so much that the consideration thereof did so worke in hir highnesse, as herevpon (a thing rare in a prince) she directed letters of thanks to the citie, for the manifold testifications of their loue and loialtie: which because they are materiall (as no word nor title proceeding from so singular a soveraigne, is to fall to the ground vncorreded) we are in dutie bound trulle to annex them, as we had them vnder publication. And first a briefe oration of maister James Walton, one of the counsellors of the citie of London, in the absence of the recorder, as followeth.

### The oration of maister James

*Dalton, &c.*

 Right worshipfull, my good countreiemens and citizens of this most noble citie of London: since the late brnte and report of a most wicked & traitorous conspiracie, not onelie to take awate the life of our most gracious soveraigne (whom God grant long to liue and reigne ouer vs) but also to stir vp a generall rebellion throughout the whole realme: the great and vniuersall iote of you all of this citie, vpon the apprehension of diuers of that most wicked conspiracie of late declared and testified, by manie outward acts and shewes, hath wrought in the queens most excellent maiestie such a gracious contentment; that it hath moued hir highnesse, by hir letters signed with hir owne hand, to signifie vnto my lord maiore of this citie & his brethren, hir most noble and princelie acceptation thereof, and that in such sort, as there by may appeare, that hir highnesse hath not more, no not so much reioiced at the most happie escape of the wicked mischiefe intended against hir owne person, as at the iote which hir louing subjects, & namelie you of this citie of London take at the apprehension of the practisers of that intended treason.

By occasion wherof, hir highnesse brought to a thankfull remembrance, and acknowledging of Gods infinit blessings bestowed on hir, comparable both anie prince or creature in the world, no worlde thing more or like accompteth of, than of the heartie loue of hir louing and faithfull subjects manie waies, and manie times before now; but especiallie by this our great iote in this sort, at this time, and vpon this occasion shewed. And that hir exceeding great loue and acceptation of our reioicing maie the more appeare vnto you: it hath pleased hir highnesse in the same letters to declare, that she desireth not longer to liue among vs, than she shall mainteine, continue, nourish, and increase the loue and goodwill of hir subjects towards hir. And this hir highnesse hath willed to be made knowne vnto you all, with this; that she will not faile with all care, and by all good means that appertaine to a christian prince, to seeke the conseruation of you all, so louing and dutifull affected subjects.

This hir maiesties pleasure in part now declared, and more to be made knowne vnto you by hir owne letters, which you shall heare read, my lord maiore and his brethren haue required me to declare

*A l l l l l g. vnto*

Sir wolstan  
Dixie lord ma-  
ior of London,  
Anthony  
Ratcliffe, and  
Henrie Brian-  
nell shuriffes.

# Queene Elisabeth.

An. Dom. 1588

An. Reg. 21

unto you all, that they do heartlie reioice & thanke God for the happie daie of the god acceptation of this your great ioie; & my lord himselfe hath wil- led me to giue you all heartie thanks in his name; for that in the time of his seruice, your dutifull be- haviours haue gotten to the citie so noble and wop- thie a testimonie of dutie and loialtie, of so noble and woorthie a quene. Now, for so much as Gods blessings wonderfullie abound, & one ioie cometh vpon another, let vs not be vnthankfull to God, but acknowledge his godnesse, and attribute the saue (as in ded we ought) to the sincere religion of almightie God, most godlie established by the quens most excellent maiestie, which hath taught vs to knowe God aright, our dutie to our soveraigne, and to loue our countrie, and hath made vs dutifull and obedient subiects, reioicing at all god things happening to hir maiestie, hir realme, or to anie in hir noble seruice; the true effects of a true and god religion: whereas the contemners thereof, and immoderat affectors of the Romish religion and so- perstitions, being void of the true knowledge of God, haue declined from God, their allegiance to their prince, their loue to their countrie, and haue become inueters of mischeces, bzuters and spea- ders abzode of false and seditious rumoys, such as ioie at no god thing; but contrariwise reioice at e- uerie euill successe, the badges and marks of their proffession, who haue befoze this, in this realme and in other hir highnesse dominions, stirred vpon rebellion, forren inuasion, and manie times practised the verie death & destruction of the quene hir selfe, the ruine & subuersion of the whole realme; the proper effects of their Romish religion.

We haue beheld all these things, and sene in our daies the ruine and mischeces inuented against others, fall vpon the inueters them selues; and haue knowne the wicked and violent hands of di- uerse of them, diuerse to kill and murder the m- selues, when most traitorouslie they would, and most happilie they could not, flea the lords annointed. As we haue knowne all these things, so God be thanked, that by a better religion, hauing bene bet- ter taught, we haue bene no partakers of their wic- ked deuises, but haue put to our helping hands, as occasion hath serued; and euer readie to ouerthrow the authors and denisers thereof. And I haue no doubt, but we of this noble citie, who hitherto haue bene alwaies readie, dutifullie and faithfullie to serue hir maiestie vpon all occasions (hir highnesse now so gratioislie accepting onelie of our reioicing at the apprehension of hir enemies, euen the least part of the dutie of a god subiect to so god a quene) will be readie euerie one with all that we can make, and with the vttermost aduenture of all our liues, speedilie to be reuenged vpon all such as shall villa- nouslie and traitorouslie attempt or put in bze anie mischefe to hir noble person; and in the meane time will haue a better eye and eare to all suspicious and miscontented persons, to their sayings and doings, to their false bzutes and reports, to the places and corners of their haunt and resort, to their harborers, companions, aiders and mainteiners. God vphold and continue his religion among vs, and increase our zeale therein, which hath made vs so louing and loiall, and so beloued and acceptable subiects to so woorthie a prince; and root out that wicked and Ro- mish religion, that hath made so manie dissollall and traitorous subiects; to whome is both odious & irke- some the long life and prosperous reigne of our most noble quene Elisabeth. God confound all such trai- tors; and preferue hir highnesse long to liue and reigne oure vs. ¶ Having thus spoken, the multi- tude all the while no lesse silent than attendant, the

speaker verie reuerentlie opened hir maiesties let- ters, & read the same with a verie distinct and audible voice, as folloiweth.

To our right trustie and welbeloued,  
the lord maior of our citie of London, and  
his brethren the aldermen of  
the same.

**R**ight trustie and welbeloued, we gréte you well. Being giuen to understand, how greatlie our god and most louing subiects of that citie, did reioice at the apprehension of certeine diuelish and wicked min- ded subiects of ours, that through the great and singular godnesse of God haue bene detected, to haue most wickedlie and vnnaturallie conspired, not onelie the taking awaie of our owne life, but also to haue stirred vp (as much as in them laie) a general rebellion throughout our whole realme: we could not but by our owne letters witnesse vn- to you the great and singular contentment we re- ceived vpon the knowledge thereof; assuring you, that we did not so much reioice at the escape of the in- tended attempt against our owne person, as to see the great ioie our most louing subiects toke at the apprehension of the contriners thereof: which to make their loue moze aparant, they haue (as we are to our great comfort informed) omitted no outward shew, that by anie eternall act might witnesse to the world the inward loue and dutifull affection they beare towards vs. And as we haue as great cause with all thankfulness to acknowledge Gods great godnesse toward vs, through the infinit blessings he laieth vpon vs, as manie as euer prince had; yea rather as euer creature had: yet do we not for anie wooldie blessing received from his diuine maiestie, so greatlie acknowledge the same, as in that it hath pleased him to incline the hearts of our subiects, euen from the first beginning of our reigne; to carie as great loue toward vs, as euer subiects carried toward prince, which ought to moue vs (as it doth in verie deed) to seeke with all care, & by all god means that appertene to a christian prince, the conseruation of so louing and dutifull affected subiects: assuring you, that we desire no longer to liue, than while we maie in the whole course of our gouernment carie our selues in such sort, as may not onelie nourish and continue their loue and god will toward vs, but also increase the same. We thinke meet, that these our letters should be communicated in some generall assemble to our most louing sub- iects the commoners of that citie. Giuen vnder our signet at our castell of Windsoz, the eighteenth daie of August one thousand five hundred foure score and six, in the eight and twentieth yere of our reigne.

But leauing this princelie president of thanke- fulnes to perpetuall recozd, we will touch the next occurrence, as course of time minisreth occasion. About this time of the yere returned into England Sir Francis Drake knight, a man of rare knowlege in navigation, and verie fortunat in the euent of his enterprizes, after manie seats of god seruice accom- plished in foren countries, as at Balon, Hispaniola, S. Dominico, Carthagea, &c: to the admiration of all people amongst whom he came, and contrarie to the expectation of the Spaniards, who vpon sup- posall of places impregnable grew so confident, that they seemed lightlie to esteeme anie purposed force of the enimie, and therefore doubted no kind of an- noyance. Wholbeit, they were as safe as he that hangeth by the leaues of a tree in the end of au- tumne, when as the leaues begin to fall. For they were

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The returne  
of Sir Francis  
Drake into  
England with  
great riches,  
&c.

Manie boia-  
ges of great  
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ken, but failed  
in the issue.

Sir Fran-  
Drake his  
turne into  
England  
his last bo-  
astish ed.

Traitors in-  
dicted, arrig-  
ned, and con-  
demned at  
Westminster.

I.S.



Hispaniola in  
old time called  
Ophir.

were so terrified at the sight of sacke and spoile, as also doubting a totall wast by fire and sword, that they were glad to yeld to composition. And here, because mention is made of Hispaniola, note ye that it is supposed that Salomon king of Ierusalem had his great riches of gold from hence, and that his ships sailed to Ophir (the old name as some affirm of Hispaniola) by the gulf of Persia, called *Sinus Persicus*. As for Santo Domingo, it is the chiefe citie in Hispaniola, reported in historie, as touching the building, that there is no citie in Spaine, *Tanto prestante*, no not Barcelona, that is to be preferred before it generallie. For the houses are for the most part of stone, as are they of Barcelona, or of so strong and well wrought earth, that it maketh a singular and strong binding.

Not leaving description of places, it shall not be amiss having now touched (though not with convenient dignitie) the last voyage of this singular gentleman, to annex in this place a memorie of a former voyage by him attempted, namelie on the thirtieth daie of December, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred seventie & seven: at what time accompanied with five tall ships well manned & appointed, he sailed into the west Indies: & by the same adventure (most luckily accomplished) eternised his name. At what time the king of Spaluccas admiring his order, & astonished at the hearing of the peales of English ordinance, roving like thunder (which he there at his arrivall valiantlie & liberallie discharged) received him right honorablie, causing foure gallies to conduct and bring his ship into the forest harbor, and him selfe with his companie to his presence. In this voyage he discovered a countrie erst unknowne, which he named *Isola Albion*, where by his courteous dealing he so allured and wonne the hearts of the inhabitants, that twice they crowned him king. Beyond the large countrie of Chile, where it hath bene heretofore thought that nothing had bene but continent and firme land, he found sundrie Islands, the furthest whereof lieng most south, he called by his maiesties name *Elisabetha*. Now after manie a singular note of his incomparable valorouslie exhibited in places where he came, and purposing to make his adventure profitable, he neglected no means that might stand with his honestie and honor: returning home into England with great riches the first twentieth of September, in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred and eightie; with one ship onelie. For of the five, where with (at his first setting forth) he was furnished, he was forced to set two on fire, the third perished, the fourth came backe and went not forwards at the first. A voyage of great adventure and prosperous successe, contrarie to the awkward and frowning hap of sundrie worthy gentlemen, whose attempts albeit honorable and commendable, yet matched with misfortune, or at least defectue in deserved and hoped issue: a soye discouragement to gentlemen of trauell, and not a little impeaching the art of navigation.

And now to resume our former remembrance of the conspirators, you shall understand, that after due examination had, & no rigor used either by torture or torment, the wicked wretches guiltie consciences driving them to voluntarie confession, on the seventh daie of September, certeine of them were led from the Tower of London to Westminster by water, where they were indicted; first, for intending treason against the queens owne person; secondlie, for stirring civil wars within the realme; and thirdlie, for practising to bring in forren power to invade the land. Seven of them appeared at Westminster on the thirtieth daie of September, who all

pleaded guiltie, and therefore had no surte, but were condemned; and had iudgement on the next morning.

On the fifteenth daie of September, other seven of them were likewise arraigned at Westminster, who pleading not guiltie, were tried by a iurie, found guiltie, and had iudgement accordingly. The effect of whose treasons hostile to touch them were these. John Savage, remaining long in France at Rheims, was persuaded by doctor Gilbert Gifford, that great honor should rebound to him, if he would take in hand to change religion, to invade the realme by forren power, to dispossesse the queene of England, and to proclame the Scottish queene, and set her in her place. All which Savage promised to do, or else to lose his life, and thereupon returned into England; where he imparted his purpose to Anthonie Babington, requiring his aid therein. Then John Ballard priest, also persuaded the said Babington to the purpose before expressed, promising him aid of thre score thousand men that secretlie should be landed, and told him both how & when (as he thought.) Whereupon Babington promised and concluded to make a slaughter upon the counsell of his maiestie in the Star chamber, then to have sacked London, to have burned the navie and chiefe ships, to kill or displace the lords, knights and magistrats, that remained true subjects to our right & lawfull queene and realme, and also to have cloied and poisoned the greatest ordinance, &c. These were their purposes.

Now touching the names of the traitors, their behaviours and speeches, with the maner of the execution, you shall understand, that upon the twentieth daie of September, being tuesday, John Ballard a priest, and first persuader of Babington to these odious treasons, was laid alone upon an hurdle, and six others two and two in like sort, all drawn from Tower hill through the citie of London, unto a field at the upper end of Holborne, hard by the high wate side to saint Giles in the field, where was erected a scaffold for their execution, & a paire of gallows of extraordinary height, as was that whereupon haughie Haman was hanged for his ambition, &c: the place likewise so railed to keepe off horsemen, as the people might plainelie see the execution. On the first daie the traitors were placed upon the scaffold, that the one might behold the reward of his fellows treason. Ballard the priest, who was the first brother of this treason, was the first that was hanged, who being cut downe (according to iudgement) was dismembred, his bellie ripped up, his bowels and traitorous heart taken out & throwne into the fire, his head also (secured from his shoulders) was set on a short stake upon the top of the gallows, and the trunkes of his bodie quartered and imbed in his owne blood, where with the executioners hands were bathed, and some of the standers by (but to their great loathing, as not able for their lives to avoid it, such was the throng bespitting.

This Ballard, at the verie time of his death not denying his treason, died an obstinate papist, and in his protestation doubtfullie said, that if he had of fended the queens maiestie, or anie man else, he was loye, and so conditionallie desired forgiveness. The malicious affection of his heart towards his highnesse appeared in the trembling passage of death, that whereas his treasons were impious, odious, and damnable, as the most wicked to wit his confederats for the most part) confessed (as the common fame goeth) that they exceeded the greatness of his maiesties mercie, which maie not be measured, where there is anie measure in offending.

The first seven condemned without anie iurie.

The effect of the last seven their treasons notable.

The place of their execution was some time the meeting place of their consultation.

The order of the traitors executed. John Ballard priest persuader of Babington to these odious treasons executed.

How Ballard was affected at his death.

Ballards confession of his treasons.

The returne of Sir Francis Drake into England with great riches, &c.

Spaine being of great difficulty have bene under taken, but failed in the issue.

Traitors indicted, arraigned, and condemned at Westminster.

Anthony Babington  
esquier executed.

A note of Babingtons pride  
at the verie instant of his  
execution.

John Savage gentle-  
man executed.

The fruites  
that issue from  
listening to  
the counsell of  
Iesuits, Ro-  
manists, and  
Rhemists.

Robert Barnewell  
gentleman  
executed.

Chidiocke Tichborne  
esquire execu-  
ted.  
Charles Wil-  
more a pen-  
sioner executed.

Edward Abington e-  
squier execu-  
ted, his thac-  
ting speech.

Thogmorton prophetic  
and Abing-  
tons of like  
truth in euent.

Thomas Salisburie  
esquier execu-  
ted.

The last seven  
traitors exe-  
cuted with  
great fauour.

And yet in his desire of remission at his highnesse hands, he added this condition (If) as one that doubt-  
ed if he had offended his person.

Pert vnto this preest, Anthony Babington was made readie to the gallowes, who in euerie point was handled like vnto Ballard; in whome a signe of his former pride was to be obserued. For whereas the rest (through the cogitation of death) were exercised in prayer vpon their knees and bare-headed; he (whose turne was next) stood on his feet with his hat on his head, as if he had bene but a beholder of the execution. Concerning his religion, he died a papist. His treasons were so odious, as the King of conscience compelled him to acknowledge himselfe a most greuous trespasser against the diuine maiestie, and the queens highnesse. Pert vnto Babington, Savage was likewise prepared for the execution. This notable traitor (as the same goeth) was the man that conferred with doctor Cusford at Paris; and by the confirmations of the English fugitiues at Rheims was resolved, and resolutely determined to kill the queene. It is likewise said, that vpon the apprehension of Ballard the preest, Babington accelerated and hastened this Savage to dispatch his resolution, and that he onelie deferred the matter for the making of a court-like suite of apparell.

When Savage was executed, Barnewell was made readie to die, an obstinat papist, who for his treason made conscience his best excuse; howbeit a rotten conscience, which was infected with the murder of a vertuous queene; which sith it was so bad, few there were that heard him, but forbade their conscience to pittie him, otherwise than charitable to be sorrowfull for his offense, deserting so shamefull a fall, and damnable before God and man. After this Barnewell, Tichborne turne was serued, a proper young gentleman, whose humilitie and mone moued much compassion. Wilmore one of the queens maiesties pensioners, next vnto Tichborne, made worke for the hangman, a wretch well worthy of death, who went about to take awaie his highnesse life.

The last of these seven that suffered was Edward Abington, whose father was an officer of good credit in his highnesse house, and for manie advancements was bound to saie; God saue god M. Elisabeth. But his sonne was a notable papist, & an architector, who at his death did all that in him laie, to stir a feare in the hearts of the ignorant multitude, with this speech, that there could not chuse but be great effusion of blood in England verie shortly. But Gods providence maketh it apparant, that the prophesies of traitors proue not euermore scripture. For Thogmorton the traitor said, that before one yeare was expired, the prosperitie & peace of England should be turned into generall calamitie. Howbeit, the date of that dinination is out, & they both (as maie be side the rest of that rebellious rout in their appointed time) by Gods grace partakers of semblable destinie. This Abington was the last of the first seven that were executed: and thus ended that daies worke, to the comfort of Israel, for that the execrable thing which troubled the whole land (and highlie offended the diuine maiestie) was taken awaie.

On the daie following (according to generall expectation) being the one and twentieth daie of September, Salisburie was laid alone vpon an hurdle, and other six, two and two in like manner, all drawne from Tower hill through the citie of London, vnto the former place of execution. Salisburie was the first man that suffered, who in all points was handled as the other seven the daie before;

sauing that he and the latter six were executed with this fauour, that they were permitted to hang vntill they were fullie dead, before the rest of their execution was performed. And albeit this man was blinded with the superstition of papistrie, even at the point of death, yet he mildly acknowledged his greuous offense against the queene, and in his last commendation charged all catholikes (so for he onelie accounted the papists) that they should leaue attempting to set vp their religion by violent hand, and by double and treble repetition exhorted them to patience, and earnestlie forbade them all manner of violence.

After Salisburie was with all possible fauour executed, Dun was striped into his shirt, and seemed penitent for his greuous offense: who after that with verie earnest perswasions he had likewise dissuaded the Romanists from attempting anie matter of violence, he was executed with exceeding fauour. This Dun (as the report goeth) liued reasonable wealthilie, but it seemeth the man was of a discontented humour, and in dislike with a contemptuous vocation; as appeared by this his baine imagination. For in Trinitie terme last, comming into the Kings bench office; among other pleasant speeches to one of his familiars; You will maruell (quoth he) to see me within one quarter of a yeare to walke vp and downe the streets with twentie men after me. Wherevpon one of his acquaintance pleasantlie answered, that he feared he should first see him followed to the gallowes with a thousand people. Dun shewed his desire, and the other read his destinie. But let the end of this traitor be a warning to all ambitious men, that destruction followeth presumption, and pride will haue a fall.

When the execution of Dun was finished, the next in that tragedie was Jones. This traitor (by that which was easie to be gathered of his behaviour at the gallowes) was a verie close papist, of a shrewd reach, and a most dangerous member in this common wealth. For notwithstanding his protestation that he dissuaded Salisburie from this odious enterprise; yet his owne talke shewed that his counsell proceeded of a feare which he had, that the proud humour of Babington threatened an overthrow of their purpose; rather than of anie dutifull zeale that he bare towards the safetie of the queens maiestie. For he neither would him selfe discover this treason of the highest degre, neither did he counsell his friend Salisburie to prevent his owne danger in detecting the conspiracie of his companions: yea when the obiousnesse thereof brake out into publicke knowledge, he (contrarie to the generall dutie of a good subject, and in contempt of a speciall warrant directed vnto him) not onelie refused (as he himselfe confessed) to apprehend Salisburie being in his owne house, but (so far as he might) succoured him, after that he was published to be a firebrand of that most wicked treason. One speciall thing neuertheless, which moued manie to pittie him about the rest, was, because with vehement words he protested, that although he was a catholike in religion, yet he so deepele weied the libertie of his countrie, as that he would be (and euer was) readie to spend his life in withstanding anie foren enimie, French, Itallish, Spanish, or whatsoeuer: by whose opinion the tolleration of inuasion was so far from nature and christian duetie, as no excuse or punishment might satisfie the crime.

After Jones had paid the price of his treason, with all possible fauour, then Charnocke was executed, and after him Trauers; both two men (as it seemed) bewitched with an ignorant deuotion; for that in their ends nothing was to be obserued but their praying

Salisburie acknowledged his greuous offense: a note of repentance. Violence forbidden by Salisburie.

Henrie Dun gentleman executed.

The ambitious humour of Henrie Dun.

Edward Jones esquier executed.

Foren inuasion reproued by Jones.

John Trauers & John Charnocke gentlemen executed.

Robert Cag executed.

His maiestie graciousnelle commended this traitor.

Hippocritie of Robert Cag

Jerom Bellame gentle-  
man executed

One of the Bellames hanged himselfe in the Tower.

Ex libello J. Nich. typis C. B. aucto 1581.

praising to our ladie, calling upon saints, tolmed with a number of ceremonies, crossings, and blessings, &c. So that it appeared that in their prayers, they were bound to forme more than to faith.

Robert Gage executed.

Hir maiesties gracioulnesse commended by this traitor.

Hypocritie of Robert Gage.

When the hangman had giuen these two his beate blessing, Gage prepared himselfe to die, who began his protestation, that there was neuer subiect more bound to a prince than his father was to hir maiestie: and from that reuerend recognisance and true acknowledgement of hir maiesties gracioulnesse, he fell to excuse him selfe of the obious treasons for which he was to die: but on to weake a ground, as the simplest iudgement then present, found (by the order of his owne confession) that he was a dangerous instrument for the pope. He confessed that he accompanied Ballard the seminarie priest (who hatched the great eg of this pestilent practise) into Poykehire, & that he wrote a letter for the said priest to a Frenchman or Spaniard of account beyond the seas. So be short, in all the course of his confession, in indifferent iudgements, he accused himselfe to be an hollow hearted subiect, and a sound papist. This cunning traitor Gage could neuer haue made a confession of more infamie to himselfe, than in acknowledging the queens maiesties most excellent fauour, shewed to his father (which a dutifull sonne ought to esteeme a benefit unto himselfe) and so to redouble the reproch of his treasons, he condemned himselfe of ingratitude, an unnatural vice, which the vertie soules of the aire abhorre: as (to use one example of sufficiencie for a thousand) is reported of the Roike; which so often as the hath pong, casteth one out of the nest for the hire of the house, and reward of him that lodged hir.

Jerom Bellamine gentleman executed.

The last that suffered was one of the Bellamines, whose countenance discovered him to be a settled papist, and who as he could saie little to save his life; so at the gallows he spake nothing to defend his death. Although this traitor had but a dull spirit, yet (as it seemed) he had a malicious heart, answerable to that of his friends, who succored Wabington and some of his associates, when feare of the law, and shame of their obious treasons, made them to shroud themselves like forces in holes and coverts. And it seemeth that they were as resolute to follow the treasons of Wabington, as they were ready to release him from the danger of the law. Otherwise if this Bellamines brother had not had an accusing conscience, he would neuer with violent hands haue hanged himselfe.

One of the Bellamines hanged himselfe in the Tower.

Thus ended the second daies execution, to the full satisfaction of the peoples expectation; who nevertheless (as the daie before) were inwardly touched with passions ingendred by the depe impressions of the present obiects: but touched they were, as nothing pittiens their deserued deaths, in regard they were most heinous malefactors: but as they were men, in whome humanitie should so haue prevailed, as that they should rather haue chosen losse of life & liuelod, than to haue intended the desolation of their native countrie, the depriuation of prince, the deposition of pères, the destruction of people; and whatsoeuer might seeme as a dirextoie to bloodshed and slaughter, from the highest governor sitting in roialtie adorned with crowne and scepter, to the sucking babe lieng in the cradle wrapped in swathing clouts. Which extremities of butcherie crueltie and unnatural slaughter, haue had an ancient purpose of practise, as maie appeare by a clause or two of John Nichols his recantation; where speaking of Pius Quintus, excommunicating our liege soueraine, he saith that the same was with in a twelue moneth of the first publication reuiued, and five hundred copies printed at Rome, which

Exhibello I. Nich. epus C. B. sacro 1581.

were dispersed throughout Italie, Spaine, & Germanie. Whereof what were the contents, is at large set downe in the treatise of execution of iustice in England for treason, not for religion.

But thus saith the same conuert, that a reader of diuinitie positue, in the hearing of two hundred scholars, bonneted these prophane words out of his uncircumcised mouth; that it was lawfull for anie of worship in England, to authorize the vilest wretch that is, to sake the death of hir highnesse: whose prosperous estate the Itallish priest and Spanish prince do so maligne; that they would worke wonders, were it not for certeine impedits: as father Pata a Spaniard, reader of diuinitie scholasticall in the Romane college, affirmed in an auditoie of three hundred, saieing: *Bona papa voluntas trita & manifest, & eius crumenaparata: sed R. P. aut metus subtrahit, aut potestatis defectus uocat, ut suum in Angliam exercitum ducere non audeat.* There (by the waie) would be noted an inuasion long since pretended. And that the queens maiesties estate was then maliciously aimed at, maie appeare by these comminations and threats, that they would burne hir bones, and the bones of all such as loued hir, either alieue or dead; of whome, some were lords temporall, some spirituall, &c. Memorandum, that this was to be done, when they held the sterne of gouernement: which shall be, when errant traitors are good subiects, and ranke knaues honest men.

And now to touch the punishment inflicted upon the foresaid wretches, there is none (if he be not a worone aduerfariie to the state, and an enimie to iustice) but must needs confesse, that although some of the conspirators were no lesse charpelie executed, than by law was censured: yet considering the qualitie of their offense, it was a death tempered with lenitie, if no more but the speedines of their execution be considered, whereby their paine and smart was but momentanie. Oh with what seueritie did the ancients punish offenses of this nature! And not without cause. For besides that nothing is more vniuall in all the whole scriptures, than prohibition to kill or to sake the life or honoz, not onlie of the prince, but also of inferiour magistrats, although they be wicked (and it is said in Exodus: Thou shalt not raise upon the iudges, neither speake euill of the ruler of the people) so is it provided by the lawes of nations, that not onlie he that hath killed his soueraigne, but he also that made the attempt, that gaue counsell, that yielded consent, that conceived the thought, is gilty of high treason. Yea, he that was neuer pccuented nor taken in the manner, in this point of the soueraigne, the law accounteth him as condemned already; and iudgeth him capable of death, that thought once in times past to haue seized upon the life of his prince, anie repentance that followed notwithstanding.

And trulie there was a gentleman of Norman die, who confessed to a franciscane frier, that he once minded to haue killed king Francis the first: but repented him of that euill thought. The frier gaue him absolution, but yet afterwards informed the king of the same; who sent the gentleman to the parlement at Paris there to be tried, where he was by common consent condemned to die, and after executed. Amongst the Macedonians there was a law, that condemned to death siue of their next kinsfolks that were conuicted of conspiracie against their prince. And most notable is the historie of Remulus, who seeing hir towne or citie besieged by a barbarous king, but yet youthfull and wanton, she signified unto the enimie by messengers, that she would betraie the citizens into his hands, if he would honour hir with marriage. Which when the king

See before pag 1377, 8, 60, &c. 1358, b, 60, &c.

The causes that haue so long hindered king Philip to invade England.

The reuerend regard that subiects ought to haue of their soueraignes, &c.

A gentleman indicted to die because he once thought to haue killed his prince.

A seuerer law against treason.

¶ nnnnnn.f.

king had promised to doe, the in the night season opened the gates, and (the people unwitting and ignorant) let in forren force. Now the king being entered & in possession, commanded that the towne should be sacked, and all the people slaughtered, Reminda excepted, the use of whose bodie (for his oth sake, which he was loth to violat) he had the same night as in wedlocke: howbeit, the next daie he cast hir off, and betooke hir to twelue scollions by turns to be abused; & lastlie pitcht hir vpon a stake.

A woman traitorisse well rewarded.

Here you haue examples in both sexes (man and woman) of treason and conspiracie most seuerlie executed: which if they be compared vnto the sufferings of our late offendors, Iesu what ods shall we see and confesse? And as the ancients had treason in mortall hatred; so could they not alwaie with ingratitude, as maie be obserued by the lawes of Draco (which were said to be written in blood, they were so sharpe and peremptorie) amongst which, there was a commandement, that if anie man had receiued a benefit of his neighbor, and it were proued against him long after that he had bene vnthankfull for it, and had ill acknowledged the good turne receiued; such a one should be put to death. So then we see how in old time they opposed their affections against particular vices, persecuting them with seueritie, as laboring to supplant them: this age of ours beholdeth ingratitude and treason combined, with a foule nest of other irksome and noisome sins, in the hearts of helboundes (for we maie not vouchsafe them the name of men) breasting out the vapors of their venomous infection, to the damniing of the whole commonwealth: what fauour then deserue such to find where they haue offended, or rather what rigour are they not worthy to suffer?

Against learning after nouelties, and to teach men to be well abused, &c.

Among the Locrians there was a strict decree, that euerie citizen, desirous to bring in a new law, should come and declare it publickly before the people with a halter about his necke; to the end that if his new law was not thought meet to be receiued, and verie profitable for the commonwealth, he might presentlie be strangled with the same rope. If they in old time went so short a waie to worke in a case of vniuersitiednesse, to teach others that they vnderstand nothing without mature deliberation: what are we taught to be conuenient for such, as heake not their wits either to deuile or prefer new lawes; but inderoie what they can to dissolve all law and order, all peace and societie, all government and subiection; and by the impulsioe of a furious mind to let in libertie, contempt, and all the enormities and abuses that accompanie a licentious life? To let passe the pluralitie of examples & authorites of this kind, the number being so great as that they would fill by Crotosthenes lute; and to saie some what of seueritie, that by opposition of countrie to countrie in that respect, we maie see the great difference betwene ours and theirs.

Extreme kinds of torments in other countries for treason, &c.

It is seueritie to sea men quicke, to chaine them aliuie to a stake, in such sort as they maie run round thereabout, the fier inuironing them on all sides: it is seueritie to haue collops of fleshy pluckt from the bodie with hot burning tongs: it is seueritie to be cast downe from a steepe place sharke naked vpon sharpe stakes: it is seueritie to be torne in peces with wild horses, and to haue the bones broken vpon a wheele. All these be extremities of torments awarded by law, and at this daie practised in forren regions for treason, and sometime for crimes of nothing so dangerous a nature. Finallie, if we confer the seueritie of this execution, exercised vpon rebellious and traitorous subiects in a superlatiue degree of disolualtie, with that of other nations commonlie

used, namelie in principall affaires, which concerne peace and warre, and matters of gouernment, to accept the seruice of runnagate slaues, to place them in authoritie, to change or depose at pleasure anie whatsoeuer; yea to strangle them vpon the least suspicion or dislike: our seueritie is clemencie. For in this is ripe reason and iudiciall processe, in the other will without wit, & (as commonlie they saie) *Omnia pro imperio, nihil pro officio*.

And therefore we conclude, that ingratitude being counted vnnaturall, and treason (a vice vomited out of hell mouth) linked together with manie knots of other shamefull sinnes, and all concurring in the hearts and liues of these outrageous conspirators as in a centre: whie should it be thought seueritie to haue iustice iustlie administered, that traitors should be dazone vpon hurdles, strangled in a halter, cut downe aliuie, dismembred, their bellies ripped, their bowels taken out and burned, their heads chopt from their shoulders, their bodies clouen in foure quarters, and set ouer the gates of London, for the foules of the aire to feed vpon at full: vnto which foule end maie all such come, as meane anie mischief against god queene Elisabeth, the lords of hir highnesse counsell, the bodie politike of the land, the slander or innouation of true religion, &c: wherein God make prince and people of one mind, and plant in all subiects a reuerend regard of obedience and contentment of present estate, supported with iustice and religion: least long after nouelties, it fare with them as with the frogs, who liuing at libertie in lakes and ponds, would needs (as mistaking their present intercommunitie of life) with one consent sue to Jupiter for a king, and so did. Whereat he wondering, granted their desires, and cast them an huge trunk of a tree, which besides that it made a great noise in the water as it fell, to their terrifieng; so it was cumbersome by taking vp their accustomed passage: insomuch that discontented therewithall, they assaulted Jupiter with a fresh petition, complaining that (besides diuerse dislikes otherwise) the king whom he gaue them was but a senselesse stocke, and vntoworthie of obedience: wherefore it would please him to appoint them another indured with life. Whereupon Jupiter sent the herne among them, who entring into the water, deuoured by the frogs one after another: insomuch that the residue, seeing their new king so rauenslike gobling by their fellowes, lamentable weeping besought Jupiter to deliuer them from the throte of that dragon and tyrant. But he (of purpose vndchangeable) made them a flat answer, that (will they nill they) the herne should rule ouer them.

Traitors iustlie rewarded, and yet nothing for as they deserue.

A pretty apologie to the present state of malcontents.

Barnardino de Spensdora, auailes mischief vnto the mind as against the state of England: note his practices with Ballard.

Whereby we are taught to be content when we are well, and to make much of god queene Elisabeth, by whom we enioie life and libertie, with other blessings from above; beseeching God we maie see a confirmation of the world, before the scepter of the kingdome be translated to another. For (as the proverbe saith) seldom commeth the better. But to the purpose, this execution being dispatched, and the testimonies thereof dispersed and visible in diuerse places about the citie, as at London bridge, where the traitors heads were ranged into their several classes: manie rimes, ballads, and pamphlets were set forth by sundrie well affected people, wherein befelie were comprised the plot of their conspiracie, the names of the traitors, and their successive suffering, which growing common and familiar both in citie and countrie, were chaunted with no lesse alacritie & courage of the singer, than willinglie and delightfullie listened vnto of the hearer. So that, what by one meane and what by another, all

Seldom commeth the better.

The Scottish queene is an adoe in this purposed conspiracie.

English

England was made acquainted with this horrible conspiracie, not so much admiring the manner of the mischances intended, as comforted that his highnesse had the holie hand of God ouerthadowing him, the surest protection that prince or people can haue against perill. So that England is replenished with faithfull and loving subiects, though here and there (like darnell among wheate) lurke a viper or aspe waiting opportunitie to bite or sting.

Now to make a complet discourse of all these heauie & tragicall accidents, hauing thus far continued much important matter concerning the same: the reader is with due regard to peruse the addition following, wherein is argument of aggravation touching these treasons: which being aduisedly read, considered, and conferred with the former narration, will yeld as sound, pitie, and effectuall information for the knowledge of the conspiratores purposed plot, as any subiect would desire: and more than without griefe or teares any true English heart can abide to read or heare. Where, by the waie, is to be noted, that Marie the Scottish Q. was a principall.

It is apparant by the subiectall confessions of John Ballard priest, Anthonie Babington, and their confederats, that the said John Ballard (being a priest of the English seminarie at Rheims) in Lent past (after he and sundrie other Jesuits and priests, of his sect, had travelled throughout all parts almost of this realme, & labored to their vttermost to breed in his maiesties subiects an inclination to rebell against him) he went into France, and there treated and concluded with Barnardino de Mendoza (the Spanish ambassado; resident at Paris) with Charles Paget & Thomas Morgan two English fugitives, and innumerable traitors for an inuasion to be made by foreyn forces into this kingdome. And because no assurance could then be made vnto Mendoza for the interteining, assisting, and good landing of those whome the king his maister, the pope, and the house of Guise should dispatch for that seruice, he sent the said Ballard into England at Whitsuntide last, with expresse charge to informe the catholikes, that for sundrie important considerations, the king his maister had vowed upon his soule to reforme England, or to lose Spaine: and for that purpose had in readinesse such forces & warlike preparations, as the like was neuer sene in these parts of christendome. And therefore willed him to stirre the people, and tooke the means to make some faction to giue them landing & interteinement at their coming: & speciallie to preferue the Scottish Q. in that confusion; letting the catholikes vnderstand, that in case they did not assist the inuaders, they would then enter as conquerors, put no difference betwixt man & man.

With this dispatch Ballard by the speciall direction of Morgan (a notorious traitor to this state, yea a professed & sworn seruant vnto the Scottish queene) repaired to Anthonie Babington, a gentleman to whom the said Scottish Q. upon the commendation of Morgan & the bishop of Glasco, had long before written letters of gratulation, & with whom she had secret intelligence by sending of letters & other messages, the space almost of two yeares before. To this gentleman Ballard discovered at large the whole purpose of Mendoza, Paget, & Morgan, and said (as he had in charge) that if hapilie a strong partie could be made here to assist the inuasion, and aduance the Scottish queene, men, munition, monie, and vittells should be abundantly supplied from beyond the seas; and therefore perswaded Babington to sound the whole realme, and to undertake the action. Babington at the first proposed manie difficulties, but principally this, that the inuaders or their assistants could haue no hope (the state being so well settled) to

peruaile during his maiesties life. Whereupon Ballard presentlie replied, that his life could be no hinderance therein. For upon like doubts inuaded beyond the seas by meanes already laid, John Savage (a conspirator) conuicted hereof by his owne confession) through the persuation and procurement principally of one William Gifford (an English fugitive, and reader of duintie in the English seminarie at Rheims) had vowed and sworn to kill his maiestie, as a thing resolved upon to be lawfull, honorable, and meritorious.

This difficultie being thus remoued, and Ballard from daie to daie continuing his persuations, and highlie commending the murthering of his maiestie as a deed of great honor, singular merit, and easie to effectuall: Babington undertooke the managing of the whole action, and hauing first with his complices entred into manie seuerall propositions of sundrie treasonable natures, as to surpriue his maiesties person by force, to kill the lord treasurer, the earle of Leicester, and sir Francis Walsingham, to remoue his counsellors, and to place new, to murther the nobilitie whilest they were set in administering iustice, to sacke the citie of London, to fire the nauie of the realme, to surpriue some forces and hauens, to furnish the pale of their forces by an vniuersall spoile and robbing of the richer sort; hauing (I saie) first entred into these and such like propositions in fine, he with Ballard and others resolved upon these three principall points: first, that the inuaders should be assisted by a prepared readinesse in the people to rebell in diuerse places, and to ioine with them upon their first landing; that his maiestie should be murthered by sir gentlemen of resolution; and lastlie, that the Scottish queene should be aduanced to the crowne of England. For the better performance of these resolutions, Ballard and Babington sounded diuerse, and dealt with manie; and so farre Babington proceeded in short time, that a choise was made by him of the sir that should execute the attempt against his maiesties person, that some others were especiallie assigned by him to attend and assist the inuasion, with direction from Babington to be popular vnto their vttermost; and that himselve resolved upon the first assurance either of his maiesties death, or of the strangers arrivall, to proclaim the queene of Scots queene of England.

Things standing in these terms, and Babington deferring onelie the execution of this plot, untill signification thereof were giuen to the Scottish queene, and his good pleasure knowne therein (God so ordering it) the Scottish queene in June last wrote vnto Babington a short letter in cipher, signifying his discontent for the breach of their intelligence, and requiring him to send by that bearer a packet received for him in April before, and untill that time retained by Babington, as wanting good meanes of conuiesing, and therefore fearing the danger of that seruice. Whereupon Babington vsing that opportunitie, both deliuered his packet vnto that messenger, and by him wrote vnto his touching euerie particular of this plot aboue mentioned, and how farre he had proceeded therein; signifying amongst manie other things, how desirous he was to do his some seruice, how well it might be performed, if assistance were giuen from beyond the seas for that which was undertaken thence, and how necessarie it were that rewards were promised vnto the chiefe actors for their better incouragement, and to be giuen to their posterities, in case they miscaried in the execution. And therefore he required, that the would grant authoritie to some such as it might like him to giue certelie offices and dignities necessarie

John Savage had vowed and sworn to kill the queene.

Babington undertaketh the managing of the whole action: note their treasons.

Barnardino de Mendoza, a maies mischievous the mired against the state of England: note his practices with Ballard.

The Scottish queene is an actor in this purposed conspiracie.

The Scottish queene writeth vnto Babington in cipher: with his aduise, direction, and request.



for this action. Unto this letter Babington about twentie daies after in the same cipher, by which he did write before, received answer from the Scottish quene, with which she also sent inclosed (as his secretarie now confesseth) a new alphabet in cipher, to be used betwene them from that time forward.

The Scottish quenes advice in this mischievous plot favouring altogether of inhumanitie.

Six gentlemen of resolution, &c.

And in this letter she not onelie declared his good opinion of Babington, gave him due thanks for his readinesse to do his service, promised correspondence in all that she might, and willed that the resolution being taken, he should with all speed impart it to Barnardino de Mendoza, considering first what forces on foot or horsebacke he could make, what place for their assemblie, what leaders in euerie shire, what generall or chiefe leaders; but also amongst infinite other traitorous directions (apparent by the verie letters) she advised that upon returne of answer from Mendoza, with assurance that all things were in a readinesse, then and not before it should be convenient to found the countrie. And to colour the prouision and preparation, it should be given out, that what they did, was not upon any euill or dissolall disposition towards his maiestie, but for the iust defense of catholikes, their bodies, liues, & lands, against the violence of the Puritans, the principall wherof being in the low countries with the chiefe forces of the realme, purposed at his returne to ruine not onelie the whole catholikes, but also meant to depriue his maiestie of the crowne. And that they should giue it out, that therefore the preparation was for the defense of his maiestie, and his lawfull successors, not naming the Scottish quene: vnder which pretense an association also might be made amongst the catholikes.

Which being done, and all things in readinesse both within and without the realme, it should be then time for the six gentlemen to worke, taking order that (because the time would be somewhat uncerteine of the exploit upon his maiesties person) there should be continuallie some men in readinesse about the court well horsed, to hying word in post into the countrie (by foure severall waies for feare of intercepting) when that designment was performed, to the end she might be taken awaie before his keeper could either conueie her awaie or fortifie the place. She wished that some fire might be kindled in Ireland, to the end the counsellors attention might be distracted from that part whense the stroke should come, which was from Flanders, Spaine, and the house of Guise. She advised Babington to deale carefulle and vigilantlie, to prouide all things necessarie for effecting the enterpryse, in such sort that it might take good effect by the grace of God (for so it pleaseth him to use the phrase). Lastlie, after great promises of large requital to all the conspirators, and manie other particular aduises tending wholie to the subuersion of this state, and depriuation of his maiesties life, she groweth towards a conclusion, with praise for his good successe in the aforesaid conspiracie. It were needlesse to expresse more particularlie the contents of his or her letters, the originals themselves being extant and surprisid.

Ballard apprehended being readie

Unto these letters Babington wrote for answer by the same messenger, that so soon as the resolution was fullie taken with Mendoza, he would informe his more; and thereupon within thre daies after aduised Ballard towards Mendoza with signification, that all things were here in a readinesse, and attended onelie the arrivall of their forces. But God, who hath alwaies protected his maiestie in all mercie beyond the expectation of man, euen almost in the verie point of execution, discovered the conspiracie. And thereupon Ballard (being readie to imbarke himselfe) was taken, upon whose apprehension

Babington forced (as he said) with the extreme danger to be discovered, and the no hope of any pardon for so hatefull an offense, entered a new resolution with Sauage aforesaid & Charnocke, to take his maiesties life awaie presentlie, otherwise intended to haue bene repited untill the iustification, which (as Ballard from the mouth of Mendoza swore) must at the bittermost haue bene performed by September. But Babington, finding himselfe restrained before he wist, and thereby assuring himselfe that all was knowne, found the meanes to escape, in hope to haue recovered the sea, and so to haue saued himselfe and his confederats. Yet after ten daies search through all countries adioining to London, though disguised in clothes attire, and discolored with walnut leaues, he was discovered, apprehended, and with some other of the conspirators brought vnto London, with greater manifestation of true iolie in the people for their surprisall, than tong can expresse or pen maie write.

The apprehension of Ballard and flight of Babington dismayed the rest, and dispersed the other conspirators; yet not so farre, but that iustice bath since laid hold upon the most of them. And though in the beginning they seemed all resolved to stand vnto the deniall of euerie part of this action; yet such is the force of truth, that without either hope of fauor or feare of torture, they haue all acknowledged the conspiracie, and confessed their severall offenses, agnising the Scottish quene to be the principall comforter, director, and imbracer of these treasons, and imputing this error to their deceivable expectation of his future greatnesse in this land, the hope whereof ioined with his allurements, bath heretofore as the world can witnesse (though these could not beware thereby) bred diuerse rebellions within this kingdome, ouerturned manie happy estates, and defiled sundrie families of unspecked fidelitie in former time.

All which notwithstanding our catholikes and others owe and attribute so great a priuilege to his person onelie, that being past expectation (as they terme it) of any god from the king his sonne, and not regarding the interest of any other to the succession of this state, if she by death or otherwise maie not be advanced vnto this kingdome: they are then determined to set the crowne on the house of Spaine, either by pretense of some putatiue title, to which effect some pamphlets haue bene already composed; or rather (to auoid all controuersies) by some grant and inuerture from the see apostolike: for the dispatch wherof (as the conspirators confesse) doctor Allen an English fugitiue, and some others attend in Rome to sollicite the pope. Which being once performed, some of the grauer and more reuerend sort (as they call them) of our fugitiue diuines, must secretlie make their repaire hither, and in auricular confession persuaade the principall catholikes of this land, and such as are able to swaie the rest, to fauor, mainteine and aduance that title of Spaine against all others, vnder paine of damnation. By meanes whereof it is intended that Spaine shall mount to so huge a greatnesse, as to be able of himselfe to giue lawes to all the states of christendome. With this note, being the verie flower and grace of all the former discourse, we will conclude, hauing now no more to saie touching the conspiracie, but these few verses, which we will vse in lieu of a conclusion, and so proceed vnto other matters of consequence, conuenient for the booke:

Quid non papa ruens spondet, modo iussa capebas?  
En diadema tibi, sceptraque, pactus Hymen.  
Dis similem votis mercedem, nactus sed ausis  
Et scelus resulis turba nefanda parem.

Successere

to be imbarked and transported out of sea.

The conspirators disguised themselves, thinking by that means to shift the matter.

Magna est reuerentia & preuolentia.

what the fugitiue diuines must doe for their parts.

In nefarium Babingtoni ceterarumque coniurationum, hexastichon.

Sir Philip Sidney slain at Zutphen Gelderland: of whose fate more pag. 1554.

Seminarie priests executed at Tibor

A tempestuous wind in October terrible and hurtfull.

The accident noted wherby by means of this blustering wind,

A strange accident of a walnut tree blowne downe with the wind, &c.

The third strange chance

*Succedere regi regno, corusque corona,  
Pro sceptro laqueus, pro thalamo tumultus.]*

Sir Philip  
Sidonie flaine  
at Zutphen in  
Gelderland :  
of whom see  
more pag.  
1554.

Seminarie  
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A strange ac-  
cident of a  
walnut tree  
blowne downe  
with the wind,  
&c.

The third  
strange chance

In this meane time, to wit, on thursdaie the 22 date of September, sir Philip Sidonie knight, a most valiant & towardlie gentleman, sonne & heire to sir Henrie Sidonie late deceased (as is before shewed, in service of his prince, and defense of his countrie, in the warres of the Netherlands) was shot into his thigh with a musket at Zutphen in Gelderland, whereof he died on the 17 of October, whose bodie was conueied into England, to be honourable buried. On the eight of October, John Loth, John Adams, and Robert Dibdale, being before condemned for treason, in being made priests by authoritie of the bishop of Rome, since the feast of John Baptist in the first yeare of his maiesties reigne, and remaining here after the terme of fourtie daies after session of the last parlement, were hanged to Tiboine, and there hanged, botwelled, and quartered.

On the same daie at night being saturday, there arose the greatest storme that happened since the wind which some doe call Doner wind; and some others, the wind that blew atwaie Calis, which was in the time of the reigne of queene Marie. For besides great harmes, which happened that night upon the seas, there were upon the land in euerie quarter ouerthrowne thereby, houses, cottages, barnes, haiesacks, tiles, chimneys, pales, and gates innumerable, and manie trees both great and small were not onelie tozned and rent asunder, but grubd by by the roots: in so much as upon the mondaie next in manie places men could not passe on horsebacke in the high waies, by reason of the trees that laie blowne and broken downe crosse ouerswart the streets. And among other strange chances happening in that tempest, I thought good (for a task) to recite three accidents which befell not farre asunder within the countie of Kent. The one was at Sittingborne, where a woman passing in the street by her neighbors house, saw a great tree standing close by the same, to waue and wag at the verie root, in such sort as she suspecting the ruine thereof, called vnto her neighbors who were then in bed, and told them the danger thereof, who presentlie arising, descended from out of the loft where they lodged, and were no sooner departed thence, but downe fell the tree and brake through the roofe of that house, and rested on the bed where they laie.

There was also blowne downe with the violence of the same wind not far off a great walnut tree, the armes and branches wherof bare and bent a couple of imps, in such sort as the owner in the morning to saue them, did cut off two branches from the walnut tree, and so departed to the church to heare morning prayer: but before he was returned home to dinner, his walnut tree stood as upright as euer it did, and so remaineth and groweth as before. The third strange chance happened that night at Dartford in the said shire, at the dwelling house of master Wbere Esquire, where by the force of the said wind, all the coping of one side of a great gable head of brycke (reaching from below the top of rofe of the same house almost to the eaves thereof) was blowne quite ouer the house under which it stood, and neuer touched anie part thereof at anie side. By these accidents happening within so small a circuit, it maye be conceived what great harmes were done that night throughout the whole realme. For it was thought vniuersall, as was also that which raged in the end of September, wherewithall fell such sharpe shewers of raine, that the drops thereof beating against the faces of travellers made them to smart, as with twigs of birch: and so vehement they were

that they perced through their clothing to their skin: so that manie lozinging wet and sore braten with wind and weather, being verie ill afraid, were glad to shorten their purposed iournies, by taking the next towne for their present succour, where they might see the roofes and rafters of houses naked of tiles, and heare the donging of belles as they hong in the steeples, &c. At what time it was reported by people of great age, that they had bene in manie tempests they thanked God, but none comparable to this: which might well be so, if a man were disposed to set downe a regisser of the particular casualties, losses, damages, hurts, hinderances, &c: thereby occasioned. In the table if you looke for tempests and winds, you shall read strange matter and worthy obseruation, though some account this and manie more but ridiculous stoffe: which kind of people I doubt are not of the number that wonder at Gods workes, but are too much addicted to naturall philosophie.

One of the west gates of the citie of London, commonlie called Ludgate, being sore decayed, and in perill to haue fallen, was taken downe, the prisoners thereof in the meane time remaining under the charge of Thomas Lutwiche custos or keeper of Ludgate, in the southeast quadrant to the same gate adjoining: which quadrant, for the ease of the prisoners freemen of that citie, was sometime builded by sir Steuen Foster fishmonger, lord maiour of that citie, in Anno 1453. And this yeare, the said gate was againe not onelie newlie, but also stronglie and beautifullie builded, at the charges of the citizens of the same citie, the foundation wherof, in the name and presence of sir Wolstan Dixie maiour, certeine of his brethren the aldermen, Anthonic Kattiffe and Henrie Wyanel shiriffes, was laid on the second daie of Maie, and so forthwith so diligentlie applied by William Kirwine free mason (and other workmen of diuerse crafts under his charge) who for a certeine sum had taken vpon him for all manner of stoffe & workmanship to the same belonging, that the same gate was fullie finished in the space of six moneths or lesse. So that on the 29 date of October in the same yeare, the said gate was set open to sir William Cicill knight lord treasurer, who first entered the same on horsebacke, accompanied of diuerse other honorable persons, and noble men of his maiesties private counsell, who all rode to the Guildhall, where on the same daie kept his feast George Barnes lord maiour of that citie, after he had taken his oath and charge in the exchequer at Westminster.

On the 29 date of October the archbishop of Canturburie, the lord treasurer, and the earle of Derby, representing the quens maiesties person, began the high court of parlement by prayer, which session of parlement was at this time assembled for trial of matters concerning Marie queene of Scots, as more plainlie shall appeare, by that which followeth the end of that session. In the moneth of November about the 23 daie, the right honorable lord Robert earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall of all his maiesties forces in the united prouinces of the low countries, returning from thence, arrived at London, and went late to the court, where as he was not so suddenlie come, as forwardlie welcome of the principall, and others, to the great reioicing of all estates throughout the whole realme, as maie appeare by verses of gratulation, in part as followeth:

*Solennem ingenio, magnum qui Nestora vincis  
Consilio pietate Numam, grauitate Catonem:  
Gratus ades, ter gratus ades, Comes inclite, ab oris  
Tentonicis, falsi cemensis vada carula ponti:  
Ranca sunt Wansteda diu, se absente, nec villas*

Annun n. ty.

Leitia

Ludgate of  
London newlie  
builded.

Parlement at  
Westminster.

Anno Reg. 29.  
The earle of  
Leicester re-  
turned from  
the low coun-  
tries, and ar-  
rived in Eng-  
land.

*In redium mag-  
nanimi heroi,  
Roberti Comit  
Lecestræ,  
Ad vasa, vna  
gratulationum  
T. R.*

*Letitia ediderat voces : Ilfordia celypsin  
Passa fuit, modulis fleuit Laetona canoris :  
Flammaque mœstificis voluit percussa curis.  
At veluti auricomus dispellit nebula Titan,  
Exhilarat tua sic nostras præsentia vultus  
Magne Comes, terra decus, immortale Britanna,  
Magnanimos inter merito numerande dynastias.*

The parlie-  
ment prozo-  
ged.

On the second daie of December, the session of parlement (begun the nine & twentieth of October as is afore shewed) was dissolved & broken up, and was prozozged untill the nine & twentieth of February next following. The substance and effect of matters handled in the same parlement, is set downe in a letter learnedlie penned, and directed to the right honorable the earle of Leicester, as followeth.

### THE COPIE OF A LETTER TO

the right honorable the earle of Leicester, lieutenant generall of all hir maiesties forces in the vnited prouinces of the low countries, written before, but deliuered at his returne from thence : with a report of certeine petitions and declarations made to the queenes maiestie at two seuerall times, from all the lords and commons latelie assembled in parlement : and hir maiesties answers therevnto by hir selfe deliuered, though not expresse by the reporter with such grace and life, as the same were vttered by hir maiestie.

To the right honorable the earle  
of Leicester, &c.

**A**lbeit with earnest desire of my heart (right honorable my vertie god lord) I haue alwaies indueozed to do your lordship some acceptable seruice, for the honour you first vouchsafed me from beyond my cradle, and after confirmed with the fauozable opinion therewith you haue alwaies countenanced me euer since, euen thus far onward on my daies, which also together with my yeares hath increased faster than mine abilitie to perfozme, being crossed in nothing more depelie, than when I was letted by the overmuch tendering of me by my parents, to attend your lordship in your late voiage and honozable expedition into the low countries : yet haue I bene euer since most studious to obserue and apprehend some good occasion, or fit opportunitie, to testifye the dutifull reuerence I beare to your lordship : wherein if hitherto I haue bene slacke in perfoz-  
mance during your absence, it hath proceeded of the care I had, not to intertaine your lordship with matter either frivolous or vulgar: though things of that nature might best become my condition, and well agré with my vnderstanding.

In which cogitation it came to my mind, that the report of the speeches deliuered by the queens most excellent maiestie in a late and weightie cause dealt in this parlement, in answer to the petitions presented to hir maiestie the twelue and foure and twentieth daie of November at Richmond by the lord chancelloz and speaker, respectiuelie, in the name and behalfe of both estates, accompanied with diuerse of either sort, would doubtlesse be a thing to your lordship most gratefull, as one euer pleased suffice to admire the rare perfections of hir mind, and approued iudgement, therewith according to your estate and place, deserueblie, your lordship hath bene vsuallie acquainted : as also worthy of eternall monument and euerlasting memorie, for as much as on the sudden they were deliuered by hir selfe, for answer of a matter propounded, deba-

ted, resolued, and digested, with great laboz and permeditation of the greatest, grauest, wisest, and most choise persons of the whole realme, whereof although I haue but slenderlie purtrated the lineaments, without expzessing to life the external ornaments of hir roiall speech, accompanied with all princelie and gracefull accomplements : yet doubt I not but your lordship will easilie find hir inward vertues, whereof it is impossible for me to make the least adumbzation.

And because in the easlie expectation of your lordships returne, I rested vncertaine how these might come safelie to your lordships handes : I did therfore aduise to haue this my letter with the included copies to be readie to attend your first arrivall, in gratulation of the safetie thereof, which hath bene long desired. Wherein, as I strue to perfozme a particular dutie to your lordship, so trust I you will haue that honozable consideration, that in the communication thereof with others, there grow not a nie preiudice to me for my presumption, in aduenturing to be a repozter of that, which in the deliuerie wrought so great astonishment to all the hearers, as it exceeded the fulnesse of euery mans expectation : and therefore, without some fauozable construction of mine attempt, I might incurre great blame by my slender manner of report, so to haue blessed the excellencie of hir maiesties speeches, whereof I humbly beseech your lordship to haue fauozable regard. Thus referring them to your lordships disposition, and my selfe to your fauozable protection, I humbly take my leaue. 25. Nouember. 1586.

Your lordships most humble in  
all dutie to command, R. C.

The brieue of the lord chancellors first speech, at the time when he deliuered hir most excellent maiestie a petition in writing, for and in the name of the lords and commons: which speeches were of more length than here are by me collected : but sure I am, the substance thereof is here trulie expresse.

**W**hat the lords and commons, hauing of long time to their intolerable greefe, found, by how manie practises the Scottish queene had compassed the destruction of hir highnesse most roiall person (in whose safetie next vnder God they acknowledged their chiefe felicitie to consist) thereby not onelie to be reaued them of the sincere and true religion in this realme professed and established, but to bring backe againe this noble realme into the thraldome of Romish tyrannie, and to ouerthrow the happie estate thereof : wherein, although hir highnesse of hir abundant, gracions, naturall clemencie, and princelie magnanimitie, hath either lightlie passed them over, or with no small indulgence tolerated, notwithstanding the often and earnest instances of hir nobilitie and commons in sundrie parlements heretofore : and further hath protected hir from the violent pursute of hir owne people : the yet, as a person obdurat in malice (as it appeareth) continued hir former practises, as had bene latelie manifested by certeine wicked conspiracies plotted by one Anthony Babington, and diuerse desperat persons, that had combined and confederated themselves by bow and oth in a most horrible enterpryse, by murder to take awaie the life of hir maiestie : wherein the Scottish queene did not onelie aduise them, but also direct, comfort, and abbet them, with persuasion, counsell, promise of reward, and earnest obtention.

whereby

Whereupon hir maiestie at the earnest request of such as tendered the safetie of hir roiall person, and the quiet of the realme, did direct commission under the great seale to sundrie lords and others of hir maiesties priuite counsell, & a great number of lords of parliament, of the greatest and most ancient degree, assisted with some of the principall iudges of the realme, to heare, examine, and determine the same, according to a statute in that behalf, made in the seven and twentieth yeare of hir reigne. Who to the number of thirtie and six, having attended the creation of the said commission, and diuerse daies and times heard the allegations against the said Scottish queene in hir owne presence and hearing the being permitted to saie what she would in hir owne excuse, did with one assent, find hir culpable both in priuite & consent to the said crimes objected, and also in compassing the queens maiesties death.

Which sentence, by hir owne directions, upon the hearing of the protest and proccesse in parliament, was iudged to haue bene most honorable and iust. And thereupon they all beseech hir maiestie, that forasmuch as the said queene of Scots, was the verie ground and onelie subiect, whereupon such dangerous practices and complots had bene founded, against hir maiesties most roiall person, and the estate of this realme for these manie yeares, to the overthrow of sundrie of the mobilitie of the land, and danger of christian religion, and that they could see no hope of hir desisting, and hir adherents; but that still hir maiesties safetie must be hazarded, and stand to the euent of the like miraculous discoueries.

Therefore, as most humble and instant suppliants, they did upon their knees at hir most gracious feet, beseech and request in most earnest manner, that as well for the continuance of Gods religion, the quiet of this kingdome, preservation of hir person, and defense of them and their posterities, it would please hir highnesse to take order, that the said sentence might be published, and such further direction given, as was requisite in this so weightie a cause, according to the purport and intent of the said statute. Wherein, if hir maiestie (pursuing hir wonted clemencie) should now be remisse, besides the imminent danger to hir person, she might by the state thereof, procure the heauie displeasure of almighty God, as by sundrie seuerer examples of his iustice in the sacred scriptures doth appeare. And so he deliuered to hir maiesties owne hands the petition in writing, which he said had bene with great deliberation assented vnto by all the whole parliament.

**A SHORT EXTRACT OF SVCH** reasons, as were deliuered in speech by maister fargent Puckering, speaker of the lower house, before the queens most excellent maiestie in hir presence chamber at Richmond, the twelue of Nouember 1586, in the eight and twentieth yere of hir reigne, containing diuerse apparant and imminent dangers, that maie grow to hir maiesties most roiall person, and to hir realme from the Scottish queene and hir adherents, if remedie be not provided.

*First touching the danger of hir maiesties person.*

**W**ith this Scottish queene and hir fauourers, do thinke hir to haue right, not to succeed but to inioine your crowne in possession: and therefore as she is a most impatient competitor, so will shee

not spare any means that soeuer, that maie be reache vs of your maiestie, the onelie impediment that she inioine not hir desire.

2 She is obdurat in malice against your roiall person, notwithstanding you haue shewed hir all fauour and merite, as well in preserving hir kingdome, as saving hir life, and saluing hir honor. And therefore there is no place for merite, since there is no hope that she will desist from most wicked attempts: the rather, for that hir malice appeareth such, that she maketh (as it were) hir testament of the same, to be executed after hir death, and appointeth hir executors to performe it.

3 She boldlie and openlie professed it lawfull for hir to make inuasion upon you. And therefore, as of inuasion victorie maie issue, and of victorie, the death of the vanquished: so did she thereby not obscurelie betraie, that she thought it lawfull for hir to destroye your sacred person.

4 She thinketh it not onelie lawfull, but honorable also and meritorious to take your life from you, as being already deprived of your crowne by the excommunication of the holie father. And therefore it is like she will (as hitherto she hath done) continually seeke it by what soeuer means.

5 That she is grieued of your maiesties death, and preferreth it before hir owne life and safetie: for in hir direction to one of hir late complices, she aduised (vnder couert termes) that whatsoeuer should become of hir, that tragicall execution should be performed vpon you.

1 It is most perillous to spare hir, that continually hath sought the overthrow and suppression of true religion, infected with poperie from hir tender youth, and being after that a confederat in that holie league when she came to age, and ever since a professed enimie against the truth.

2 She resteth wholie vpon popish hopes to deliuer and aduance hir, and is thereby so deuoted to that profession, that as well for satisfaction of others, as for feeding of hir owne humors, she will supplant the gospell, where and when so euer she maie: which euill is so much the greater, and the more to be auoided, as that it lieth the verie soule, and will spread it selfe not onelie ouer England and Scotland, but also into those parts beyond the seas, where the gospell of God is maintained, the which cannot but be exceedingly weakened, by the defection of this noble Island.

1 As the Egyptians said, *Pharon regem agnoscunt Lydi, diuis autem tolerare non possunt*: So we saie, *Pharicam reginam Elizabetham agnoscunt Angli, diuis autem tolerare non possunt*.

The danger of the overthrow of the true religion.

The perill of the state of the realme.

2 As she hath already by hir allurements brought to destruction more noble men and their houses, together with a greater multitude of the commons of this realme, during hir being here, than she should haue bene able to do, if she had bene in possession of hir owne crowne, and armed in the field against vs: so will she still be continuall cause of the like spoile, to the greater losse and perill of this estate: and therefore this realme neither can, nor maie endure hir.

3 Againe, she is the onelie hope of all discontented subiects, she is the foundation whereon all the euill disposed do build, she is the root from whence all rebellions and trecheries do spring: and therefore whilst this hope lasteth, this foundation standeth, and this root liueth, they will reueine heart, and set on foot whatsoeuer their deuises against the realme, which otherwise will fall awaie, die, and come to nothing.

4 Spercie

4 Mercie now in this case towards hir would in the end proue crueltie against vs all. *Nam est quædam crudelis misericordia*, and therefore to spare hir, is to spill vs.

5 Besides this, it will exceedingly graue and in a manner deable wound the hearts of all the good subiects of your land, if they shall see a conspiracie so horrible not condignlie punished.

6 Thousands of your maiesties most liege and louing subiects, of all sorts and degrees, that in a tender zeale of your maiesties safetie, haue most willingly both by open subscription and solemne vow, entered into a firme and solall association, and haue thereby protested to pursue vnto the death, by all forcible and possible meanes, such as the is by iust sentence now found to be: can neither discharge their loue, nor well saue their oths, if your maiestie shall keepe hir aliuie: of which burthen your maiesties subiects are most desirous to be releued, as the same maie be, if iustice be done.

7 Lastlie, your maiesties most louing and dutifull commons doubt not, but that as your maiestie is duly exercised in reading the booke of God: so it will please you to call to your princelie remembrance, how fearefull the examples of Gods vengeance be, that are there to be found against king Saule for sparing king Agag, & against king Achab for saving the life of Wenadad; both which were by the iust iudgement of God depriued of their kingdoms, for sparing those wicked princes, whome God had deliuered into their hands, of purpose to be slaine by them, as by the ministers of his eternall and diuine iustice. Wherein full wiselie Salomon proceeded to punishment, when he toke the life of his owne naturall and elder brother Abonias, for the onelie intention of a marriage, that gaue suspicion of treason against him. Herein we your maiesties most louing and obedient subiects earnestlie depend vpon your princelie resolution, which we assure our selues shall be to God most acceptable, and to vs no other than the state of your regall authoritie maie affoord vs, and the approued arguments of your tender care for our safetie vnder your charge doth promise to our expectation.

#### A REPORT OF HIR MAIESTIES

most gracious answer, deliuered by hir selfe verballie, to the first petitions of the lords and commons, being the estates of parlement, in hir chamber of preſence at Richmond, the twelſe daie of Nouember 1586, at the full almost of eight and twentie yeares of hir reigne. Whereof the reporter requireth of all that were hearers, a fauorable interpretation of his intent, because he findeth that he can not expresse the same answerable to the originall, which the learned call *Protypon*.

**T**he bottomlesse graces and immeasurable benefites bestowed vpon me by the almighty, are, and haue bene such, as I must not onelie acknowledge them, but admittre them, accounting them as well miracles as benefites; not so much in respect of his diuine maiestie, with whome nothing is more common than to do things rare and singular: as in regard of our weakenesse, who can not sufficientlie set forth his wonderfull works and graces, which to me haue bene so manie, so diuerselie folded and imbodered one vpon another, as in no sort I am able to expresse them. And although there liueth not anie, that maie more iustlie acknowledge themselves infinitely bound vnto God than I, whose life he hath miraculouſlie preserved at sundrie times (beyond my merit) from a multitude of perils & dangers: yet

is not that the cause, for which I count my selfe the deepest bound to giue him my humbleſt thanks, or to yeld him greatest recognition; but this which I shall tell you hereafter, which will deserue the name of wonder, if rare things and sel dome ſene be worthy of account. When this it is, that as I came to the crowne with the willing hearts of my subiects, so do I now after eight and twentie yeares reigne, perceiue in you no diminution of good wills, which if happily I should want, well might I breath, but neuer thinke I liued.

And now, albeit I find my life hath bene full dangerouslie sought, and death contriued by such as no desert procured: yet am I therein so cleare from malice (which hath the propertie to make men glad at the fals and faults of their foes, and make them ſame to do for other causes, when rancor is the ground) as I protest it is and hath bene my grauous thought, that one, not different in sex, of like estate, and my neere kin, should fall into so great a crime: yea I had so little purpose to pursue hir with anie colour of malice, that as it is not vnknown to some of my lords here (for now I will plaie the blab) I secretlie wrote hir a letter vpon the discouerie of sundrie treasons, that if she would confesse them, and privatlie acknowledge them by hir letters to my selfe, she neuer should need be called for them into so publike question. Neither did I it of mind to circumuent hir: for then I knew as much as she could confesse, and so did I write. And if even yet, now that the matter is made but too apparant, I thought she trulie would repent (as perhaps she would easilie appeare in outward shew to do) and that for hir, none other would take the matter vpon them; or that we were but as two milke maids with pailles vpon our armes, or that there were no more dependencie vpon vs but mine owne life were onelie in danger, and not the whole estate of your religion and well dings, I protest (wherein you maie beleue me, for though I maie haue manie vices, I hope I haue not accustomed my tong to be an instrument of vntruth) I would most willingly pardon and remit this offense.

And if by my death other nations and kingdoms might trulie ſaie, that this realme had attained an euer prosperous and flourishing estate: I would (I assure you) not desire to liue; but gladlie giue my life, to the end my death might procure you a better prince. And for your sakes it is, that I desire to liue, to keepe you from a worse. For as for me, I assure you, I find no great cause I should be ſond to liue: I take no such pleasure in it, that I should much wish it; nor conceiue such terror in death, that I should greatlie feare it: and yet I ſaie not, but if the stroke were comming, perchance flesh and blood would be moued with it, and ſeeke to shunt it. I haue had good experience and trial of this world: I know what it is to be a subiect; what to be a ſouereigne; what to haue good neighbors, and sometime meet euill willers. I haue found treason in trust, ſene great benefites little regarded, and in ſtead of gratefulnesse, courtes of purpose to crosse.

These former remembrances, present feeling, and future expectation of euils (I ſaie) haue made me thinke, An euill is much the better, the lesse while it indureth: & so, them happiest, that are ſonnest hence: and taught me to beare with a better mind these treasons, than is common to my sex: yea, with a better heart perhaps, than is in some men. Which I hope you will not merelie impute to my simplicitie or want of vnderſtanding, but rather, that I thus conceiued, that had their purposes taken effect, I should



should not haue found the blow, before I had felt it: and though my perill should haue bene great, my paine should haue bene but small and short: wherein, as I would be loth to die so bloudie a death, so doubt I not, but God would haue giuen me grace to be prepared for such an euent; chance when it shall, which I refer vnto his good pleasure. And now, as touching their treasons and conspiracies, together with the contriuer of them; I will not so preiudicat my selfe and this my realme, as to saie  
 10 o: thinke, that I might not, without the last statute, by the ancient lawes of this land, haue proceeded against hir, which was not made particularlie to preiudice hir; though perhaps it might then be suspected, in respect of the disposition of such as depend that waie. It was so far from being intended to intrap hir, that it was rather an admonition to warne the danger thereof: but sith it is made, and in the force of a law, I thought good, in that  
 20 which might concerne hir, to proceed according thereto, rather than by course of common law: wherein, if you the iudges haue not deceiued me, or that the books you brought me were not false (which God forbid) I might as iustlie haue tried hir by the ancient lawes of the land.

But you lawyers are so nice in sitting, and scanning euery word and letter, that manie times you stand more vpon forme than matter, vpon syllables than sense of the law. For in the strictnesse & exact following of common forme, the  
 30 must haue bene indicted in Staffordshire, haue holden vp hir hand at the barre, and bene tried by a iurie: a proper course forsooth, to deale in that manner with one of hir estate. I thought it better therefore, for quodding of these and more absurdities, to commit the cause to the inquisition of a good number of the greatest and most noble personages of this realme, of the iudges and others of good account, whose sentence I must approue: and all  
 40 little enough. For we princes, I tell you, are set on stages, in the sight and view of all the world duilie obserued; the eyes of manie behold our actions; a spot is soon spied in our garments; a blemish quickly noted in our doings. It behoueth vs therefore to be careful that our proceedings be iust and honorable.

But I must tell you one thing more, that in this last act of parlement you haue brought me vnto a narrow street, that I must giue direction for hir death, which cannot bee to me but a most  
 50 greuous and irksome burthen. And least you might mislike mine absence from this parlement (which I had almost forgotten) although there be no cause why I should willingly come amongst multitudes, for that amongst manie some maie bee euill: yet hath it not bene the doubt of anie such danger or occasion that kept me from thence; but onlie the great grieve to heare this cause spoken of; especiallie, that such a one of state and kin should need so open a declaration, and that  
 60 this nation should be so spotted with blot of disloyaltie. Wherein the lesse is my grieve, for that I hope the better part is mine, and thole of the worse not so much to be accounted of, for that in seeking my destruction, they might haue spoiled their owne souls. And euen now could I tell you, that which would make you sozie. It is a secret, and yet I will tell it you; although it is knowne I haue the proprietie to keepe counsell, but so well oftentimes so mine  
 owne perill. It is not long since mine eies did see it written, that an oth was taken within few daies, either to kill me, or to be hanged themselves: and that to be performed per one moneth were ended. Whereby I see your danger in me, and neither can

nor will be so vnthankfull or carelesse of your consciences, as not prouide for your safetie.

I am not vnmindfull of your oth made in the association, manifesting your great god wils and affections, taken and entered into, vpon good conscience, and true knowlege of the guilt, for safetie of my person, and conseruation of my life: done (I protest to God) before I heard it, or euer thought of such a matter, vntill a great number of hands  
 10 with manie obligations were shewed me, at Hampton court, signed and subscribed with the names and seales of the greatest of this land. Which as I doe acknowledge as a perfect argument of your true hearts, and great zeale to my safetie: so shall my bond be stronger tied to greater care for all your good. But for as much as this matter is rare, weightie, and of great consequence, I thinke you  
 20 doe not loke for anie present resolution: the rather, for that, as it is not my maner, in matters of far lesse moment, to giue speedie answer without due consideration; so in this of such importance, I thinke it verie requisite with earnest praier to beseech his diuine maiestie, so to illuminat my vnderstanding, and inspire me with his grace, as I maie doe and determine that, which shall serue to the establishment of his church, preservation of your estates, and prosperitie of this common wealth vnder my charge. Wherein (for that I know delaie is dangerous) you  
 30 shall haue with all conueniencie our resolution deliuered by our message. And what euer anie prince maie merit of their fabricts, for their approued testimonye of their vnfained sinceritie, either by governing iustlie, void of all parcialitie, or sufferance of anie iniuries done (euen to the poore), that doe I assuredlie promise inuolablie to performe, for requital of your so manie deserts.

#### ¶ The occasions of the second access.

**T**his answer thus made by hir maiestie, the lords and commons were dismissed. And then hir highnesse some few daies  
 40 after, vpon deliberation had of this petition, bring (as it appeared) of hir mercifull disposition of nature, and hir princelie magnanimitie, in some conflict with hir selfe what to do in a cause so weightie and important to hir and the realme, sent by the lord chancelor (as I heard) and by the  
 50 mouth of an honorable person, and a right worthy member of the lower house, this message to both houses: mouing and earnestlie charging them, to enter into a further consideration, whether there might not be some other waie of remedie, than that they had already required, so far disagreeing from hir owne naturall inclination. Wherevpon, the  
 60 lords and commons in either houses assembled, had sundrie consultations, both in their seuerall houses generalitie, and by priuat committes depuied specialtie. And after conference had betwixt the said committes, it was resolved with vnanimitie of consent amongst them in the lower house, and by vniuersall concord in the vpper house (the question there propounded to euery one of the lords) that there could be found no other sound and assured  
 meane, in the depth of their vnderstanding, for the continuance of the christian religion, quiet of the realme, and safetie of hir maiesties most roiall person, than that which was contained in their former petition. The reasons whereof were summarilie these that follow, which are more shortly reported than they were uttered.

## A brieue report of the second accesse

*the foure and twentieth of Nouember 1586:*

and of the answer made in the name of

*sue lords of the parlement, to a message**sent from hir maiestie by the**lord chancellor after**hir first answer.*

The lord chancellor, accompanied with aboute five or six and twentie lords of parlement, came before hir highnesse in hir chamber of presence, to deliuer the resolution of all the lords of parlement, concerning a message which he had not long before deliuered from hir maiestie, for further consultation, whether any other means could be thought of, or found out by any of them, how the Scottis quene's life might be spared, and yet hir maiesties person saued out of perill, and the state of the realme preserved in quiet; declared, that according to that he had received in commandement from hir maiestie, he had imparted the same vnto the lords assembled in the upper house, whom he found by their generall silence much amazed at the propounding thereof, considering the same had bene before in deliberation amongst them, and resolved vpon, and as appeared by their former petition exhibited to hir highnesse, wherein they had expressed the same resolution.

Notwithstanding, for hir maiesties further satisfaction, they had entred into a new consultation, & for that purpose selected a great number of the chiefest persons of the higher house of parlement to confer thereof, either priuatie or together with the lower house: which also was done accordinglie at severall times. At all which conferences it was concluded by them all, & so afterwards by the whole assemblee of both houses, that there could be no other assured means for the preservation of hir maiesties life, and continuance of Gods religion & quiet of this state, than by the full execution of the sentence according to their former petition, instantlie pressing hir maiestie with manie arguments and reasons tending thereto. All which, though by distance from his lordship I could not well conceiue, yet this I did remember precise and expectallie was one: that as it were iustitie to denie execution of law at the sute of any one particular, and the meanness of hir people: so much more not to yeld to the earnest instance and humble prayers of all hir faithfull and louing subiects. And so concluded, with earnest petition for hir maiesties resolute determination and answer, for a present and speedie direction by proclamation, and otherwise also, according vnto the forme of the statute.

## A summarie report of the second

*speech, uttered by the speaker of the**lower house, by direction**of all the commons.*

That if hir maiestie should be safe with out taking awaie the life of the Scottis quene, the same were most likelie and probable to grow, by one of these means following.

1 First, that happlie she might be reclaimed and become a repentant conuert, agnissing hir maiesties great mercie and fauors in remitting hir heinous offense, and by hir loialtie hereafter performinge the fruits of such conuersion.

2 Or else by a more strict gard be so kept, as there should be no feare of the like attempts hereafter.

3 Or that good assurance might be giuen by oth,

bonds or hostages, as cautions for hir god and lofe, all demeanour from henceforth.

4 Or lastlie by banishment, the realme might be voided of hir person, and thereby the perils further remoued that grow to hir maiestie by hir presence. The moments whereof beinge dulie pondered, did yet appeare so light in all their iudgements, that they durst not aduise any securitie to rest in any, no not in all of them. For touching hir conuersion, it was considered, that if pietie or dutie could haue restrained hir from such heinous attempts, there was cause abundantlie ministred vnto hir on hir maiesties behalfe, when she not onelie protected hir against the violence of hir owne subiects, who pursued hir to death by iustice, but covered hir honor when the same by publike fame was touched, and by verie heinous and capitall crimes (obteined and procured against hir before certeine committarie delegates assigned to examine the same) more than blemished; and spared hir life, when for hir former conspiracies and confederacies with the brother rebels, hir highnesse was with great instance pressed by both the houses in the fourteenth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, to do like iustice vpon hir, as now is desired, and as hir treasonable practises then had most iustlie deserved.

And where the penaltie of this act sufficientlie notified vnto hir, should haue terrified hir from so wicked attempts, she hath neuertheless insisted in hir former practises, as a person obdurat in malice against hir maiestie, and irreuerable; so as there was no probable hope of any conuersion, but rather great doubt and feare of relapse and reciduation, forasmuch as she stood obstinatlie in the deniall of matter most euidentlie proued, and now most iustlie sentenced against hir, and was not entred into the first sort of repentance, the recognition of hir offense, and so much the further off from the true fruits that should accompanie the same.

As for a surer gard & more strict imprisonment, it was resolved that there was no securitie therein, nor yet in the other two means propounded of bonds and hostages: forasmuch as the same meanes that should be practised to take hir maiesties life awaie, (which God forbid) would applie serue for the deliuerie of hir person, and release of the bonds & hostages that should be giuen for cautions in that behalfe: which beinge unhapplie achieved, and to our irreparable losse, who should sue the bonds, or deteine the hostages? Or beinge deteined, what proportion was there in bonds or hostages whatsoeuer, to counteruaile the value of so pretious & inestimable a iewel, as hir maiestie is to this realme, & to vs all? But she will solemnlie now take an oth, that she will not attempt any thing to the hurt of hir maiesties person. She hath already sundrie times falsified hir word, hir writing, and hir oth; and holdeth it for an article of religion, that faith is not to be holden with heretiks, of which sort she accounteth your maiestie and all the professors of the gospel to be: and therefore haue we little reason to trust hir in that, whereof she maketh so small a conscience.

As for banishment, that were a step *A malo in peius*, to set hir at libertie, a thing so greatlie desired and thirsted for by hir adherents, and by some printers hir allies, who sought hir enlargement chiefly to make hir a head to be set by against hir maiestie, in time of inuasion. To the which were added some few reasons collected out of hir owne letters and the confession of Wabington, hir instrument and conspirator: by which appeared how hir owne conscience belozated what might iustlie fall vpon hir, in case any of hir intended designements came to light, that she might haplie be shut vp in some more close

and strid prison, as the Tower of London, if there befell hir no worse thing. And in that she directed Babington, in case he failed in the action of hir deliuerie, that he should neuertheless proceed in the residue: which was the death of hir maiestie: who also confessed, that upon assurance of hir maiesties death, or the arriual of strangers, he intended to proclaime the quene of Scots, and made no doubt of the desired successe: and therefore hir maiesties death being so earnestlie sought, for aduancement of this competitio, hir highnesse could not remaine in quietnesse or securitie, if the Scottis quene should longer continue hir life.

### THE SECOND ANSWER

made by the queens maiestie, deliuered by hir owne mouth, to the second speech, vttered in the names of the lords and commons of the parlement.



All grauous is the waie, whose going on, and end, breedeth cumber for the hire of a laborious iourneie. I haue strided more this daie than ever in my life, whether I should speake, or be silent. If I speake and not complaine, I shall dissemble; if I hold my peace, your labour taken were full vaine. For me to make my mone, were strange and rare: for I suppose you shall find few, that for their owne particular, will cumber you with such a care. Yet such I protest hath bene my greedy desire and hungrie will, that of your consultation might haue fallen out some other meanes to worke my safetie toged with your assurance (than that for which you are become such earnest suitors) as I protest, I must needs be complainant, though not of you, but vnto you, and of the cause; for that I doe perceiue by your aduises, prayers, and desires, there falleth out this accident, that onelie my inturser bane must be my lifes suertie.

But if anie there liue so wicked of nature, to suppose, that I prolonged this time onelie, *Pro forma*, to the intent to make a shew of clemencie, thereby to set my prailes to the wicked iudges to lengthen them the more: they do me so great a wrong, as they can hardlie recompense. Or if anie person there be, that thinke or imagine, that the least vaine-glorious thought hath done me further herein, they do me as open iniurie as euer was done to a nie living creature, as he that is the maker of all thoughts knoweth best to be true. Or if there be anie, that thinke, that the lords appointed in commission durst do no other, as fearing thereby to displease, or else to be suspected to be of a contrarie opinion to my safetie, they do but heape vpon me inturions conceits. For either those put in trust by me to supplie my place, haue not performed their duties towards me; or else they haue signified vnto you all, that my desire was, that euerie one should do according to his conscience, and in the course of his proceedings should intole both freedom of voice and libertie of opinion; and that they would not openly declare, they might priuatlie to my selfe haue reuealed. It was of a willing mind and great desire I had, that some other meanes might be found out, wherein I should haue taken more comfort, than in anie other thing vnder the sun.

And sith now it is resolved, that my suertie can not be established without a princesse end, I haue iust cause to complaine; that I, who haue in my time pardoned so manie rebels, winked at so manie treasons, and either not produced them, or altogether slept them ouer with silence, should now be forced to this proceeding, against such a person. I haue besides, during my reigne. Seene and heard manie opprobrious books and pamphlets against me,

my realme and state, accusing me to be a tyrant; I thanke them for their almes: I beleene, therein their meaning was to tell me newes, and newes it is to me in deed; I would it were as strange to heare of their impietie! What will they not now saie, when it shall be spread, that for the safetie of hir life, a maiden quene could be content to spill the blood, euen of hir owne kinswoman: I maie therefore full well complaine, that anie man should thinke me giuen to crueltie, whereof I am so guiltlesse and innocent, as I should slander God, if I should saie he gaue me so vile a mind: yea, I protest, I am so far from it, that for mine owne life I would not touch hir: neither hath my care bene so much bent how to prolong mine, as how to preserve both: which I am right sozie is made so hard, yea so impossible.

I am not so void of iudgement, as not to see mine owne perill; nor yet so ignorant, as not to know it were in nature a foolish course, to cherish a sword to cut mine owne throte; nor so carelesse, as not to weigh that my life ballie is in hazard: but this I doe consider, that manie a man would put his life in danger for the safeguard of a king, I doe not saie that so will I: but I praie you thinke, that I haue thought vpon it. But sith so manie haue both written & spoken against me, I praie you giue me leaue to saie somewhat for my selfe, & before you returne to your countries, let you know, for what a one you haue passed so carefull thoughts. Wherein, as I thinke my selfe infinitlie beholding vnto you all, that seeke to preserve my life by all the meanes you maie: so I protest vnto you, that there liueth no prince, that euer shall be more mindfull to requite so good deserts. And as I perceiue you haue kept your old wonts, in a generall seeking of the lengthning of my daies: so am I sure that I shall neuer requite it, vnlesse I had as manie liues as you all: but for euer I will acknowledge it, while there is anie breath left me. Although I maie not iustifie, but maie iustlie condemne my sundrie faults and sinnes to God: yet for my care in this gouernment, let me acquaint you with my intents.

When first I toke the scepter, my title made me not forget the giuer: and therefore began, as it became me, with such religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, and I trust shall die in. Although I was not so simple, as not to know what danger and perill so great an alteration might procure me: how manie great princes of the contrarie opinion would attempt all they might against me: and generallie, what enimitie I should breed vnto my selfe: which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whose sake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that euer since I haue bene so dangerously prosecuted, as I rather marvelled that I am, than mused that I should not be: if it were not Gods holie hand that continueth me, beyond all other expectation. When entered I further into the schoole of experience, be thinking what it fitted a king to do: and there I saw, he scant was well furnished, if either he lacked iustice, temperance, magnanimitie, or iudgement. As for the two latter, I will not boast, my selfe doth not permit it: but for the two first, this dare I saie; amongst my subiects I neuer knew a difference of person, where right was one: nor neuer to my knowledge preferred for fauour, whome I thought not fit for worth: nor bent my eares to credit a tale that first was told me: nor was so rash, to corrupt my iudgement with my censure, before I heard the cause. I will not saie, but manie reports might fortune be brought me by such as might heare the case, whose partialitie might mar sometime the matter: for  
was

two princes maie not heare all our selues. But this dare I boldlie affirme, my verdict went euer with the truth of my knowledg. As full well wished Alciades his friend, that he should not giue anie answer, till he had recited the letters of the alphabet: so haue I not vsed ouer sudden resolutions, in matters that haue touched me full nere: you will saie that with me, I thinke.

And therefore, as touching your counsels and consultations, I conceiue them to be wise, honest, 10 and conscionable: so prouident and careful for the safetie of my life (which I wish no longer than maie be for your good) that though I neuer can yeld you of recompense your due: yet shall I endeavour my selfe to giue you cause, to thinke your god will not ill bestowen, and strue to make my selfe worthy for such subjects. And now for your petition, I shall praise you for this present, to content your selues with an answer without answer. Your iudgement I condemne not, neither doe I mislike your reasons, but praise you to accept my thankfulness, excuse my doubtfulness, and take in god part my answer answerlesse: wherein I attribute not so much to mine owne iudgement, but that I thinke manie particular persons maie go before me, though by my degre I go before them. Therefore if I should saie, I would not do what you request, it might peradventure be more than I thought: and to saie I would do it, might perhaps breed perill of 20 that you labour to preserve, being more than in your owne wisdoms and discretions would seeme conuenient, circumstances of place and time being duilie considered.

The sentence  
giuen against  
the Scottish  
queene solemnly  
proclaimed.

Thus far the proceeding against the Scottish queene, as the same is reported by R. C. Now follooweth the publication of the same, which was done with great port and stateliness. For vpon tuesdaye, being the first date of December, the lord maior of London, assisted with diuers earls, and barons, 40 the aldermen in their scarlet gownes, the principall officers of the citie, the greatest number of gentlemen of the best accompt in and about the citie, with the number of fourescore of the most graue & worshipfull citizens, in cotes of velvet, and chaines of gold, all on horse backe, in most solemne and statelie manner, by the sound of foure trumpets, about ten of the clocke in the forenone, made open and publike proclamation and declaration of the sentence latelie giuen by the nobilitie against the queene of Scots, vnder the great scale of England, bearing date at Richmond the fourth date of December, being openlie read by master Shewbright, totorie-clerke of London, & with loud voice solemnlie proclaimed by the sargent at armes of the said citie, in foure severall places, to wit, at the crosse in Cheape, at the end of Chancerie lane in Fleetstreet, ouer against the Temple, at Leaden hall corner, and at saint Agnons corner nere London byldge.

During which time, the like solemne proclamations were made with great solemnities in the countie of Middlesex, namelie in the palace at Westminster, without Temple barre, and in Holbozne, by the shiriffes of London and Middlesex, assisted with sundrie noblemen, gentlemen of good account, and the iustices of peace of the said countie, to the great and wonderfull reioicing of the people of all sorts, as manifestlie appeared by their eger running after the portlie traine, their thronging to heare the same published, their ringing of bells, making of bonfires, and singing of psalmes in euerie street and lane of the citie. The said proclamation followeth.

A true copie of the proclamation latelie published by the queenes maiestie, vnder the great scale of England, for the declaring of the sentence latelie giuen against the queene of Scots, in forme as followeth.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Whereas we were giuen to vnderstand very crediblie, though to our great greefe, that diuerse things were, and of late time had bene compassed, imagined, and resoluted intended, tending direalie to the hurt and destruction of our roiall person, and to the subuersion of the state of our realme by foreyn inuasions and rebellions at home, as well by the queene of Scots, remaining in our realme vnder our protection, as by manie diuerse other wicked persons with hir priuie, who had secretly confessed the same, and had thereupon receiued open triall, iudgement, and execution according to the lawes for their desert. And though in verie trust we were greatlie and deeply grieved in our mind, to thinke or imagine that anie such vnnatural and monstrous acts should be either deuised, or willinglie assented vnto against vs, by hir being a princesse bozne, and of our sex and bloud, and one also whose life & honor we had manie times before faued and preserved: yet were we so directlie drayone to thinke all the same to be true, by the sight and vnderstanding of such proofes as were manifestlie produced afore vs, vpon matters that had as well proceeded from hir selfe, as from the conspirators themselves, who voluntarilie & secretly without anie coercion had confessed their conspirations, both iointlie with hir, and directed by hir, against our person and our realme: and therefore also we sawe great reason, to thinke the same other dangerous to be suffered to passe onward to take their full effect. 10 Therefore we were by sundrie lordes of our nobilitie, and others our louing subjects, earnestlie moued and counsellled, to take vnbelayed order for the inquisition and examination of all these dangerous enterprizes & conspiracies, by sundrie waies directlie auowed to be by the said queene of Scots against vs and our realme certainlie intended; and also to vse all present meanes with expedition to withstand or rather to prevent the same. And for that we were verie vnwilling to proceed against hir, considering 20 hir birth and estate, by such vsuall sort as by the common lawes of the realme we might haue lawfullie done, which was by indictment and arraignment by ordinarie iuries: therefore, in respect both of our owne honor, and of hir person, we yielded, by good aduise giuen to vs, to proceed in the most honorable sort that could be deuised within our realme, to the examination hereof, according to a late act of parliament, made the thre and twentieth date of Nouember, in the seuen and twentieth yeare of our reigne. 30 Whereupon by our commission vnder our great scale of England, bearing date at our castell of Windsoze in our countie of Barkeshire, the first date of October now last past, we did (for that purpose) according to that statute, assigne, name, and appoint all the lordes and others of our priue counsell, and so manie other earls and barons lordes of parliament, of the greatest degre and most ancient of the nobilitie of this our realme, as with the same lordes and others of our priue counsell, made by the number of fortie and two, adding also thereto a further, number according to the tenor of the foresaid act of parliament, of certaine of the chiefe and other principall iudges of the courts of record at Westminster, amounting in the whole to the number 40

uer of foyle and senen, to examine all things com-  
passed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our roial  
all person, as well by the said queene of Scots; by  
the name of Marie the daughter & heire of James  
the first late king of Scots, commonlie called the  
queene of Scots & Dowager of France, as by anie  
other by hir pinitie, and all the circumstances there-  
of, & thereupon according to the tenor of the said act  
of parlement, to giue sentence or iudgment, as upon  
god pzoofe the matter vnto them should appeare, as  
by the same commission moze fullie appeareth.

And there afterwarde the moze part of the said  
councelloz, lordz, and iudges, in our said commissi-  
on named, that is to saie, the number of six and thir-  
tie, did in the pzenence and hearing of the said queene  
of Scots, where she remained at our castell of Ffo-  
beringhaite, at diuerse daies and times in publike  
place, verie exactlie, by sightlie, and with great deli-  
beration examine all the matters & offenses, where-  
of she was charged and accused, tending vnto the  
dangers afoze rehearsed and mentioned in our said  
commission and all the circumstances thereof, and  
heard also at large in all honorable maner, what the  
same queene did, or could saie for hir excuse and de-  
fense in that behalfe. Whereupon afterwarde on  
the five and twentieth daie of October now last past,  
all the said counsell, lordz, and iudges, that had  
heard and examined the same cause in the said  
queenes pzenence, as afoze is mentioned, with one  
assent and consent, after god deliberation did giue  
their sentence and iudgement, in this fozt follow-  
ing.

That after the first daie of June, in the seuen  
and twentieth yeare of our reigne, and before the  
daie of our said commission, diuerse things were  
compassed and imagined within this realme of En-  
gland by Anthonie Babington, and others, with the  
pinitie of the said Marie, pretending title to the  
croune of this realme of England, tending to the  
hurt, death, and destruction of our roiall per-  
son. And likewise, that after the same first daie of  
June, and before the daie of our said commission,  
the said Marie, pretending title to the same croune,  
had compassed & imagined within the same realme,  
diuers things tending to the hurt, death, and destruc-  
tion of our roiall person, contrarie to the forme of  
the said statute: which sentence and iudgement the  
same lordz and commissionners haue with one full  
consent caused to be put in wryting, and duilie in-  
groosed, with the whole processe of their proce-  
dings therevnto belonging, and haue subscri-  
bed the same with their hands, as by a record thereof  
sheweld to vs moze fullie and largelie doth appeare.

And whereas also, sithence the same sentence and  
iudgement so giuen and recozded, the lordz and com-  
mons in this pzenent parlement assembled, haue  
also at sundrie times in open parlement, heard and  
considered the principall evidences, pzoofes, and cir-  
cumstances, whereupon the same sentence and  
iudgement was groundes, and haue by their pub-  
like assent in parlement affirmed the same to be a  
iust, lawfull, and true sentence, and so haue allowed  
and approued the same in wryting pzenented vnto  
vs: and haue also notified to vs, how depelle they  
did foze see the great and manie imminent dangers,  
which otherwisse might and would grow to our per-  
son, and to the whole realme, if this sentence were  
not fullie executed: and consequentlie therefore,  
they did by their most humble and earnest petitions  
in that behalfe, of one accord, hauing accesse vnto  
vs (upon their sundrie requestes) most instantlie by  
on their knees, pzoate, beseech, and with manie rea-  
sons of great force and importance, moue and pzeffe  
vs, that the said sentence and iudgement so iustlie

& duilie giuen, and by them approued, as is afozesaid,  
might (according to the expresse tenor of the said act  
of parlement) by our proclamation vnder our great  
seale be declared and published, and the same also so  
nallie executed.

But after such most earnest request, so made to  
vs from all the said lordz and commons in parle-  
ment, they perceiuing by our owne speches and  
answers, how depelle we are graued to heare  
of these horrible and vnnaturall attempts and acti-  
ons of that queene, whose manie former offenses,  
manifestlie and dangeroullie committed against  
vs, our croune and realme, we had ouerpast with  
our ouer great clemencie, contrarie to the manie  
advises and requestes of our subiects, as well in parle-  
ment as otherwisse: and therefore they also under-  
standing from our selfe, how desirous we were to  
haue some other meanes deuised by them in their  
seuerall places of parlement, to withstand these  
mischiefes intended both against our selfe, and the  
publike quiet state of our realme, and suertie of our  
god subiects, than by execution of the foresaid sen-  
tence, as was required: they did after their sundrie  
consultations apart, and conferences iointlie with  
one accord, in the names of all the lordz of parle-  
ment, euen by the particular votes of them all as-  
sembled, and also of the commons with one vniuer-  
sall assent, representing the state of all our realme,  
at their seuerall times of accesse vnto vs, alledge,  
declare, and pzoest, that upon their long, manie, &  
aduised consultations and conferences by our com-  
mandement, and for our satisfaction in that behalfe  
had, they could not by anie meanes find or deuise,  
how the suertie of our roiall person, and the pzefer-  
uation of themselves and their posteritie, with the  
god state of the realme, might be provided for and  
continued, without the publication and due execu-  
tion of the said sentence.

Whereupon, being not onelie moued to our  
grafe, but also ouercome with the earnest requestes,  
declarations, and important reasons of all our said  
subiects, the nobles and commons of our realme,  
whose iudgement, knowledge, and naturall care of  
vs, and the whole realme, we know doth farre sur-  
mount all others, being not so interessed therein, and  
so iustlie to be esteemed: and perceiuing also the said  
sentence to haue bene honourable, lawfullie, and  
iustlie giuen, agreeable to iustice and to the lawes  
of our realme: we did yeld, and do according to  
this said statute by this our proclamation vnder our  
great seale of England, declare, notifie, and publish  
to all our louing subiects, and other persons whatso-  
euer, that the said sentence and iudgement is giuen  
in maner afozesaid, to the intent, that they and ene-  
rie of them, by this our proclamation may haue full  
understanding and knowledge thereof. We do also  
will you, that you returne this our proclamation in-  
to our court of Chancerie, as speedilie as you maie  
conuenientlie, with the place and time of the procla-  
ming thereof thereupon indoxied, whereof saile you  
not. In witness whereof, we haue caused this our  
proclamation to be made patent, and sealed with  
the great seale of England. At our manoz of Rich-  
mont the fourth daie of December, the nine and  
twentieth yeare of our reigne, and in the yeare of our  
Lord God, one thousand five hundred fourescore  
and six.

Now to conclude with a remembrance of perpe-  
tuitie concerning the queens maiestie, of whose lo-  
uing care and tender affection towards all hir faith-  
full subiects as we haue manifold testimonies in  
the hystorie of hir highnesse time, whereby their  
hearts are linked vnto hir maiestie with an indif-  
D o o o o o o . j. solible



solable knot of deserved loue and loialtie : so the maie not omit in anie case the publike witnesse of hir highnesse naturall care and mercifull prouidence ouer hir liege people, euen those of the poorer sort, vnto whome the comfortable streames of hir rare regard for their benefit and welfare, in a hard time of scarcitie, doe most plentifully flow. But because our barren and saplesse stile is insufficient, with conuenient dignitie to describe, nate not so much as to delineat or shadow out this incomparable pittie and pietie of hir highnesse tender heart to hir commons, I will surcease to intermedle therein, reseruing the same vnto the due consideration of euerie particular member of this bodie politike (whereof hir maiestie is the soueraigne head) by the view and perusal of the proclamation and orders here annexed.

A true copie of the said proclamation concerning corne, &c.

**T**he quenes most excellent maiestie, foreseeing the generall dearth growne of corne & other vittells, partlie through the vnseasonableness of the yeare past, whereby want hath growne more in some countries than in others, but most of all generallie through the couetousnes & vncharitable greedines of such as be great cornemasters & ingrofers of corne, vsing all the subtil meanes they can, to worke their owne present vnconscionable gaine against the rules of charitie, which hir maiestie of hir princelie care and loue towards hir people, bitterlie condeemeth, and earnestlie desireth to remedie, for the releefe of the poorer sort. And therefore, hir maiestie with hir princelie care towards hir people, hauing (with the aduise of hir counsell) had god consideration hereof, doth by this hir proclamation, giue expresse commandement and charge vnto all such to whom it shall or maye apperteyne, that such god orders as hir maiestie hath commanded to be deuised for that purpose, and now also are sent to all parts of hir realme, be diligentlie and effectually put in spede execution: signifieng withall vnto all hir god and louing subiects, that if anie shall be found obstinat or negligent in the due execution, or otherwise in the obseruation thereof, that then vpon due information and pfoe thereof made vnto hir highnesse said counsell, which she requireth not to be spared by anie, hauing iust cause of complaint, for respect of anie person, she hath giuen speciall commandement and order, that they shall be speedilie called to answer; & therevpon, according to the qualitie of their offenses, shall receiue sharpe punishment, whereby others maye take example to auoid the like contempt, negligence, or other defaults.

And although this dearth hath in sundrie parts of the realme first growne by the visitation of almightie God, in the alteration of seasonable weather this last yeare, which neuertheless of his great mercie hath not bene so extreme in this realme, as in manie other countries adioyning, where the dearth is by manie occasions manifestlie knowne to be far greater than is in this realme hitherto, or by his godnesse is like to be: yet it is manifestlie knowne the said dearth to haue bin wilfullie increased in verie manie places of this realme, not onelie by & through the couetousnes of manie ingrofers of corne & cornemasters, but also by vnlawfull transportation of graine, & lacke also of preservation of stoe in time requisit. Hir highnesse acknowledging this manner of Gods mercie and fauour in a more fauourable measure towards hir countrie and hir people, than to other forren parts nere adioyning, hath thought god and necessarie, for a further remedie against the vncharitable couetousnes of the corne-

masters, as cause shall require, to notifie, that if such as be the great cornemasters and owners of graine, or of other necessarie vittells for food of the poore, shall not be willing, or doe not performe these orders, whereby the poorer sort maye be releued in the markets at reasonable prices; or that it shall appere that other needfull vittells shall by couetousnesse of anie persons growe to excessive prices, to the pinching of the poorer sort: then hir highnesse doth hereby signifie, that she will not onelie seuerelie punish the offenders for their cruell couetousnesse and offenses against hir orders; but will also for redress of the excessive prices of other needfull vittells, giue order that reasonable prices shall be set both on corne and other vittells, to be sold for the releefe of hir maiesties poore subiects, according both to hir prerogative roiall, and to the order of iustice, as by speciall law of parlement therfore made in the five and twentieth yeare of the reigne of hir late noble and deare father king Henrie the eight, is speciallie in such cases prouided. Given at Greenwich the second date of Januarie, one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, in the nine and twentieth yeare of hir highnesse reigne.

Now the said orders before specified, being a matter of coherence (deuised by the speciall commandement of hir maiestie, for the releefe and staie of the present dearth of graine within the realme) and published at large, doe here follow (agreeable to that which was sent from the court at Greenwich abroad into the realme, the second date of Januarie, one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, in the nine and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne, by hir maiesties priuie counsell) but abridged according to the annotations. And first; That the iustices shall diuide themselves into sundrie parts to execute these orders: To appoint sundrie iuries to inquire of things hereafter following: The oth of the iurors, with charge to inquire what number of persons be in the houses of them that haue stoe of corne: For badgers, broggers, and carriers of corne: Spaltnakers, bakers, and brywers: Buyers of corne to sell againe: Sellers of corne vpon the ground: Against such as shall refuse to declare the truth of the matters inquirable: Parties offending to appeare afoze the counsell: A consideration of all persons that haue corne, to determine how they shall serue the markets with such portions as they maye spare: The forme of the recognisance to be freely taken.

Orders to be obserued by such as shall be appointed to serue the markets with corne, for the releefe of the poore people first: To whome corne shall be sold, after that the poore are serued: No corne brought to the market vnfold, to be caried out of the towne: None to buye such kind of corne as they shall bring to sell, but by warrant vpon reasonable cause: No corne to be bought & to sell againe: No corne to be bought but in open market: Inquire to be made against ingrofers: An order for all licences from the iustices of the peace, to be kept in a record: Regard to the bakers for keeping of the sile of bread: Bread faultie in anie exesse to be sold towards the releefe of the poore: No badger to buye corne but in open market, and with a sufficient licence in writing: The badgers to shew welkellie their books of buyeng: No iustices seruant to be a badger, nor none other, but such as shall be licensed in open sessions: No badger, baker, brywer, or purueior, to buye graine, vntill an houre after the fall market begin: Some iustices to be present in the market, to see the poore releued vpon reasonable prices.

Where iustices are wanting in anie hundred for

An abridgement of the orders deuised for the releefe of the poore in this time of dearth, &c.

Starch.

F. T.

S. arch.

for to appoint some rich persons to supplye the want : That ministers and preachers exhort the rich sort to be liberall to helpe the poore with monie or vittells needfull : To make malt of oates in countries where there hath bene vse thereof : No waste of bread corne superfluouslie, nor anie expence thereof but for feeding of people : Some suffered to make starch of anie graine : Able poore people to be set to worke : Stocks of monie for provision of worke for poore people : Clothiers to continue their worke : folke : Soulbodys hurt, and impotent people, to be relieved in their dwelling places : That no millers be suffered to be common butlers of coyne, nor to sell meale, but to attend to the true grinding of the corne brought, & to vse measureable tole these deare seasons : Conferences to be had betwixt the iustices of peace in the shires, and the principall officers of cities and townes corporat for provisions of graine, for the inhabitants in cities and corporat townes : Order for places exempted from the iurisdiction of the iustices of peace in the bodies of the shires : Regard to staie all transportation of graine out of the realme : Certificat to be made of the execution of these orders monethlie to the shiriffe, and he to certifie the same to the priuie counsell within euerie foote daies : To certifie what iustices be absent from the seruice, that such as without iust excuse shall not attend, maie be displaced, and their rooms, if there be need, supplied.

The conclusion of these orders is this *Ad verbum*, That if anie shall offend against the true meaning of these instructions, or of anie part thereof, or shall vse anie sinister meane to the defrauding thereof, that such be severellie punished according to the lawes ; and for such obstinat persons as shall not conforme themselves, the iustices shall at their pleasure bind them to appeare before the quenees maiesties priuie counsell by a date certaine, there to be further delt with by seuerie punishment, for the better example of all others.

F. T.

As to as I polinshed and such as with painfull care and loue to their countrie haue thought good before me, to knit by the severall reigne of euerie severall king with a generallie of the severall wryters in that princes daies : So haue I bene importuned by manie of my friends, to knit by the said whole historie with a particular catalog of all such as haue purposed in severall histories of this realme, or by the waie in the histories of other countries written of England and English matter. For which cause (with the title of other anonymall chronicles) I haue here for that purpose, by order of alphabet set downe the same. Wherein, although I shall not set downe euerie mans name, nor of what time & qualitie euerie one was (for he is not living I suppose that can do the same) yet having done my good will therein, and that more than perhaps some others would haue done, I praye thee to beare with the defaults, and accept that which I haue done and could do. And although perhaps I maie set downe one man twise, as first by his name, and then set downe the worke without his name, as another severall thing : yet is it not of purpose done, or to the end that I would make a grea thet, and seeme ambitious of names or knowledge ; but for that I haue not as yet attained to that perfection, which hereafter I hope to do in distinguishing of the same. For Rome was not built in one daie, & yet if one daies foundation thereof had not bene first laid, it had neuer bene after builded : and so to the matter.

A, Abbo Floriacensis lived in the time of Dunstane archbishop of Cantuarie, to whome he dedicated his booke : Abbas Wilsburgenfis, Nicholaus

Adams lived in the daies of king Edward the first, Alfric Abbas, Alfric that gathered the lives of the saints in Saronie, which I sometimes had, it maie be that these two were all one man ; Altridus Beuerlacenfis thesaurarius whom I calleth Aluredus Fibroleganus ; Alanus abbat of Tenkesterie, one of the foure that writt the *Quadrilogium* of Thomas Becket in the time of king John, Alexander Hessebientis ; he writt *Epitome Britannica historie* ; Alexander Somerfetenfis, Alexander Staffordientis, Aelius Spartianus, Alured or Alfred king of England in the yeare of Christ nine hundred and three, Adam Sperimuth canon of Paules in the reigne of Richard the second, Anianus Marcellinus, Richardus Angeruil surnamed De Berie, bishop of Durham died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred fortie and five ; Antoninus, Arnold of London in the time of king Henrie the eight, Affricus Meneuenfis, Aurelius or Aluredus Riualenfis, Robert Auerberie.

B, Sir Nicholas Bacon knight lord keeper of the great seale unto queene Elisabeth, Benedictus Claudiocrestenfis, Valentine a Scot, William Baldwin lived in the time of king Edward the first, Stephan Batemaine died in the yere one thousand five hundred eightie and foure, Beda an English Saron died in the yere of Christ seven hundred thirtie and two, C. de Harrie archdeacon of S. Davids writt the life of Kemigius bishop of Lincolne, John Bale flourished in the time of Edward the first, Barnardus Andreas writt a chronicle intituled *Liber Barnardi Andrea Tolofati poeta laureati regis historiographi de vita atque gestis Henrici septimi*, in whose time he flourished ; Robert Bosson in the time of Edward the second, Rafe Baldoche bishop of London under Edward the second, Peter Basset in the time of Henrie the first, whose life he did writte ; Robert Bale recorder of London, he died in the yere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and one about the latter end of the reigne of Richard the second ; Edmund Bedenham wryter of the chronicles of Rochester ; John Biamus, and not Bzomus as saith Bale a monke of Ledford ; John Backlow a Benedictine monke, in the yere one thousand two hundred fourtane ; Iohannes Brompton, *historia vetus quam consuli Iornal monasterio, ac hath spatheto Parker In vita episcop. Cantu.* Ferdinando Blake lived in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and foure. Bodinus, John Bouchet a Frenchman of Aquitaine, Nicholas Bodingham or Bodingham, John Bolue of Barie, Blondus Foroliuensis, Henrie Bradshaw borne in Cheshire a blacke monke there in the time of Henrie the eight, John Burgh a monke in the daies of R. Edward the third, Nicholas Bungete borne in a towne of the same name in Northfolke in the daies of king Henrie the first, sir John Bouchier knight lord Barnes translated Froissard, Bullerus, Roger Bond, Thomas Buckhurst lord Buckhurst now living, Stephan Birchington, George Buchanan lived in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred and foure score.

C, Thomas Castleford, sir William Cecil knight lord Burleigh lord tresuro of England now living, William Capton lured in the daies of king Edward the fourth, Campbell, Carion a Germane, Caradocus Lancarnauenfis lived in the daies of R. Stephan, Iulius Caesar a Romane, John Capgrauve borne in Kent an Augustine frer died in the fourth yere of king Edward the fourth, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand foure hundred three score and foure, Cornelius Hibernensis, Cornelius Tacitus, Albertus Crantz, John Caius died in the reigne of our queene Elisabeth, William Campden

den now living, George Cauendish gentleman  
bher unto cardinall Wolfeie, whose life he did  
write, John Clinu or Linu an Irishman, he flour-  
ished in the yere of Christ one thousand three hundred  
and fiftie, Kase Coggeshall abbat of Coggeshall in  
Essex liued in the time of king Henrie the third and  
writ the appendix to Radulphus Niger, Thomas  
Coper bishop of Winchester now living, Richard  
Carguent flourished in the daies of king Edward  
the first, Thomas Churchyard now living. D, De-  
metrius a Britaine, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius,  
Dion Cassius, Thomas Dando a Carmelit frier of  
Marlebozow, writ the life of Alphzed king of Per-  
cia or rather of west Saxons, and liued in the time  
of king Henrie the first; Diouionensis, Dolensis writ  
*De laudibus Britonum*.

E, Edmerus a monke of Canturburie liued in the  
time of Henrie the second; Elwardus, Eutropius a  
Romane preest, Enguerrant de Monfrellet a  
Frenchman, and scholer in Paris in the time of  
king Henrie the first; Edmund Campian a Jesuit  
brought up in Oxford, & executed in the yere of our  
Lord 1581; John Guerden a monke of Burie  
flourished in the time of king Edward the first, and  
so continued in the time of king Edward the third;  
Ernulpheus bishop of Rochester liued in the time of  
king Henrie the second, and compiled *Textus Roffen-  
sis*, containing the grants of the lands to the same  
house, & the copies of sundrie ancient lawes in the  
Saxon tong; Thomas Elmeham pzior of Lenton.

F, Robert Fabian alderman of London, liued in  
the time of Henrie the seventh, Cestceie Fenton  
now living; Samuel and Abraham Flemings both  
living, byethzen by one bellie, and Londoners borne,  
*Quorum prior historiam quandam de regimine Mariae nuper  
Anglorum principis, eamque elegantem, Latino idiomate (nun-  
quam tam excusam) cotexuit: posterior in huius chronici deter-  
genda atque dilatanda, una cum uerborum indicum accessi-  
one, plurimum desudauit; Iohannes Fibernis or Bucer  
writ the historie of Westminster, John Froissart,  
Ferculphus, Flaccus Albinus or Alcuinus, Willp  
Flattesherie a worthy Irish gentleman flouri-  
shed in the yere 1517, John Fourdon a Scot, John  
For a learned diuine, that writ the Actes and Monu-  
ments, and is now living; George Ferres living in  
the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred three  
score and eight, Fabius Questor, Florentius Wigor-  
nius died about the yere of our Lord one thousand  
one hundred and eightene, being about the eigh-  
teenth yere of king Henrie the first.*

G, Robert Gagwin a Frenchman, John Greie  
bishop of Poswich in king Johns time, Thomas  
Cardiner a monke of Westminster in the time of  
Henrie the eighth; Robert Glouer by office named  
Somerset now living a most rare antiquarie, and  
worthily deseruing to be named *scientissimus antiqui-  
tatis*; Francis Guiciardine an Italian living in the  
yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred three  
score and eightene, Laurence Guiciardine, Gildas  
Sapiens, Gildas Cambrensis, Gildas Badonicus, Gil-  
das Albanus, Cestceie of Dunmouth liued in the  
time of king Stephan, John Colver knight died a-  
bout the second of Henrie the fourth, Giraldus  
Cambrensis liued in the time of Henrie the second,  
Richard the first, and king John; Nicholas Gill a  
Frenchman, Gocelinus first a monke of saint Ber-  
rine beyond the seas, and after a monke of Cantur-  
burie; Giraldus Cornubiensis *De gestis Anglorum*,  
Gulielmus Malmesberie in the daies of B. Stephan,  
Gulielmus Parus alias Gulielmus Nouoburgensis  
or Peterberie, Geruasius Dorobernenis. Geruasius  
Tilberienis, Richard Craffon in the time of queene  
Elisabeth, Robert Crane, Guido de Columna.

H, John Hales, Hugo Albus Petroburgensis, in the

time of king John; John Harding esquier liued in  
the daies of Edward the fourth, Edward Hall a  
counsellor of Greies inne flourished in the time of  
Henrie the eighth and Edward the first; Abrahamus  
Hartwellus *Academicus Cantab.* that writ in verse  
*Regina literata*; Henrie of Marlebozow, Walter  
Hemigford a monke of Silborne in the daies of  
Edward the third, Hector Boetius a Scot, Hirman-  
nus archdeacon in the yere of our Lord one thou-  
sand three score and ten, Herbert de Wotham one of  
the foure that writ the life of Thomas Becket, Hoc-  
let one that liued in the time of Henrie the first in  
the yere of our Lord one thousand four hundred  
fiftie and foure, John de Heram and Richard de  
Heram liued in the daies of king Richard the first,  
Wilfrid Holme vnder Henrie the eighth, Raphaell  
Holmshed in the time of queene Elisabeth, Willi-  
am Harrison now living, John Harrison doctor of  
arts and of physicke, Kase Higden alias Cestrensis  
flourished in the time of Edward the third, John  
Higgins now living, Roger Houeden liued in the  
time of king John, Hugo de sancto Victore; Hugo  
Abbas Petroburgensis, it maie be that Hugo Ab-  
bas before & this Hugo were one man, although for  
this time I suppose the contrarie; Hugo de Genesio  
an Italian, John Hooker alias Colwell now living.

I, Iehan de Bauge, Iohannes Maior a Scot, Iohan-  
nes Seuerianus, Iohannes Carnotensis one of the  
foure that writ the *Quadrilogium* of the life of Tho-  
mas Becket, Iohannes Anglicus writ *Historiam au-  
rea*, Iehan Maior de Belgis, Iohannes Londoniensis,  
John a monke of Ford, Iosridus Crowlandensis,  
Ingulfus abbat of Crowland in the daies of Willi-  
am Conqueroz, Thomas Ithingham whome Le-  
land calleth Thomas Vicanius, Iosephus Domnoni-  
ensis, Joceline of Furneis, Peter de Iham or Ie-  
tham a monke, whose booke beginneth *Non solum au-  
dienda sacra scriptura uerbis aures sedulus auditor accom-  
dare tenetur, which booke Caim de antiquitate Cantab.*  
both ascribe to Robert Remington, as after shall  
appeare; Iulius Capitolinus *In vita Antony Dy.*

K, Albertus Krantz a Dane, Kentigernus, Henrie  
Brighton liued in the time of king Richard the se-  
cond, L. Lanfrancus that writ a chronicle in Welsh,  
Stephan Langton bishop of Canturburie writ  
the life of king Richard the first, John Leland in the  
time of Henrie the eighth and Edward the first, Wil-  
liam Lambard esquire now living, and deseruing  
well of all antiquitie; George Lillie, Humfreie  
Lhold, he died in the time of queene Elisabeth;  
Wiers de Longtoft, Thomas Lanquet, John  
Lesse a Scot bishop of Ross in Scotland now li-  
uing, John Langden bishop of Rochester.

M, Marcerius an Englishman, of whom John  
Baconthorpe speaketh in the prolog of the fourth  
booke of Senten. quæst. 10. John Paluerne monke  
of Worcester continued Ranulphus in the yere of  
Christ, one thousand three hundred three score and  
fiftene; Marianus Scotus liued about the yere  
of Christ one thousand foure score and ten, Pat-  
thelw Paris, Patthelw Westminster alias Flores  
historiarum a monke of Westminster, and liued in  
the king time of Edward the third; Thomas Poze  
knight lord chancellor of England, Thomas de la  
More knight liued in the daies of Edward the se-  
cond, Radulphus Marham, Merlinus Ambrosius,  
Merlinus Syluester, Melkinus, Nicholas Pontar-  
cute liued in the time of Henrie the first, Edmund  
Polineur now living, Sebastian Punsler a Ger-  
mane.

N, Nennius Helius brother to Cassiulane & Lud  
kings of Britaine, Nennius Banchoensis, Naucle-  
rus Alexander Penill now living, Laurence Pot-  
ell died about the firste yere of queene Elisabeth,  
Ninianus

Ninians that wrote Eulogium, O. Osbert de Clare prior of Westminster, Osbernus Dorobornensis in the time of William the Conqueror, Thomas Deterborne a Franciscan or greie frier lived in the time of Henrie the first, Abraham Dytchus now living a Fleming; Christopher Deland now living sometime schoolmaster in Southwoker.

P. William Pakington clerke & treasurer to the blacke prince of his household in Gascoigne, Patricius Consul, Ioannes de Prato a writer of Aquitaine & protonotarie, Paulus Aemilius, Petrus Blesensis archdeacon of Bath, Philip de Comines alias mon-  
sieur de Argentonne secretaire to Charles duke of Burgoyne, Polydorus Virgili an Urbinate Italian and canon of Paulus in the daies of Henrie the eight, Paulus Iovius an Italian bishop of Nucerne, John Pike. John Pitoe knight died in the reigne of queene Elisabeth, William Paten now living, John Proctor schoolmaster of Cambridge to whom I was sometime scholar, Prothomeus, David Peto  
all now living.

R. John Read in the time of Edward the first, John Russell, Radulphus Londoniensis, Radulphus Niger lived in the daies of king Henrie the third, Radulphus de Diceto deane of Paulus in London in the time of king John, Retha king of Scots. Michael Ricus, William Rishanger a monk of saint Albons in the daies of Edward the second. Richeser a monk of Westminster lived in the time of Edward the third, and wrote an excellent chronicle beginning at the coming of the Saxons in the yeare of our Lord four hundred forty and nine, & continued it untill the yeare one thousand three hundred forty and eight, containing eight hundred fourscore and nine years; Richardus Deuileensis, Richardus Cadneus, Richardus Eliensis whose storie beginneth *Con ardua dexterem excel-*  
*lationem ducit in fida.* Richardus Eliensis an other from the former that wrote an other historie of Elis. Robert abbat of saint Michaels mount florished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight; Robertus Montensis, Robertus sine cognomento, Robertus Remingtonus *De gestis Anglorum, nunc initium, Non solum audire sed et scribere debet.* This saith Caius In antiquitate Cantabrigie. But others attribute that worke to Peter de  
them, see before in the letter J.

Robert Record living in the time of queene Marie, Robert bishop of Hereford which lived in the yeare of our redemption one thousand three  
score and twelue, Robertus de Parema that wrote the register of Oxford, Robert a prior of Shrewsburie, Roger of Abindon, Roger of Winflow, Roger de Wundore, Roger of Chester lived in the daies of Edward the third, John Ruse borne in Warwickschire lived in the daies of Henrie the fourth, and being a canon of Ouse died at Warwickschire in the yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred fourscore and eleuen, Thomas Rubboorne archdeacon of Sudberie after bishop of S. Davids in Wales lived in the time of Henrie the fourth, Henrie the first, and Henrie the first; Thomas Rubboorne an other from the former was a monk of Winchester and followed manie other authors, amongst which was the said Thomas Rubboorne bishop of S. Davids.

S. Saxo Grammaticus a Dane, Samuel Britannus, Sexrus Aurelius, Sentleger, Edward Segefwike now living, Johannes Sulgenus or Sullenus, Solinus, Siegerus Gemblacensis, Thomas Spot who lived in the reigne of Edward the first, Antonius Sabellus a Genesian, John Sleidan a Germane, Richard Solowwell, Reginald Scot now living, Simon Dunelmensis, John Stow

now living, John Smith a Cornish man in the daies of Henrie the eight, Richard Stanibull borne in Ireland now living, Sharon now living, John Swapham, Stephanides alias Fitzstephan. T. Titus Livius Patavienis, Titus Livius Ferolienis an Italian lived in the time of Henrie the first, John Tarto a monk of Burie, Andrew Thurst a Frenchman, Nicholas Triuet a blacke frier borne in Northfolke some to sit Thomas Triuet knight one of the kings iustices lived in the daies of Edward the third, and died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred twentie and eight; John Silburie florished in the pere of Christ one thousand one hundred fourscore and ten; John Trevisa a Cornishman priest and vicar of Warblete, Teleminus a Briton, Francis Wotemile alias Wrin now living, Brian Tuke knight lived in the daies of Henrie the eight, John Twome died in the reigne of queene Elisabeth, William Thorne lived in the daies of Richard the second, Richard Turpin borne of a two shipfull familie in England served in the garrison of Calis, he died in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred forty and one; Tobias Rossensis, Turgotus which lived in the yeare of Christ one thousand ninetie and eight in the time of William Rufus wrote a chronicle of Durham.

V. Veremund a Spaniard, Raphael Volateran, Giovanni Vilani a Florentine, Ponticus Virunnius an Italian, John Wford, John Wton. W. John Wethamsted otherwise called Frumentarius a learned man abbat of S. Albons lived in the daies of Henrie the first, Roger Wall an herald who in Latine writt the doings of Henrie the first, Thomas Wallingham a monk of the abbrie of S. Albons lived in the reigne of Henrie the first, William of Wiaall lived in the age of king Stephen, Willielmus Cantuariensis one of the foure that wrote the *Quadrilogium* of Thomas Becket lived in the time of king John, Willielmus Gemeticensis, Willielmus filius Stephani a clerke of the Chancerie and deane of the chapell of Thomas Becket in the daies of Henrie the second, Willielmus Summerfetenis, Willielmus Crowlandensis (for the other Willielmus in the letter G, in the name of Gulielmus) Thomas Wike canon of Wincles, John Walworth, Walterus Excestrensis, Walterus Couentrensis.

Annales Burtonenses, Memoriale historiarum, Chronica Dunstable, Chronicle of Linnmouth, Chronicles of S. Albons, Desforaciones Galfridi, Historia obsecutionis Eliensis in fida, Chronica, *canonici instituta*, *Calendarium Briti*, Chronicle beginning *Ex Britonum*, Chronica Westmonast, Chronicle beginning *In diebus sanctissimi regis Edwardi*, Chronicle beginning *Aeneas cum Aeneas*, Cronica chronicorum, Supplementum chronicorum, Fasciculus temporum, Historia Richardi secundi beginning *De parte Briti*, Eulogii, Historia Iornalenis, Historia Carina written in Latine compiled in the thirtieth yeare of Richard the second by whom it was caused to be written, as the title declareth, which for that it hath no name of the author, and for that maister For borrowed the same of maister Carie citizen of London, maister For in his Acts and Monuments the second edition calleth the same booke *Historia Carina*.

The epitome of chronicles from Britte to Henrie 6. beginning *Ab origine mundi concurrunt anni secundum Hebraeos*, 6646. Chronicle beginning *Chronicorum verò que sunt imagines historiæ*, Chronicle of generalogies beginning *Cuiuslibet principi congruum*, The chronicles of S. Swithin, The commentaries of Hyde, The continuances of Roger Howden beginning *Excerpta ex dictis viri religiosi*. An other chronicle of S. Albons beginning *Fecit rex Edwardus tertius comes, Historia*

Chronicle of nameless chronicles, in a ring which is in part of England.

*Historia regia vel sancti Edmundi*, Chronicle of Elie beginning *Anno ab incarnatione dominica*, 616, qui est annus 21, ex quo Augustinus cum socijs ad predicandum genti Anglorum missus est, Historia Anglorum beginning *Considerans historia Britonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, Saxonum, Anglorum, Danorum, & Normannorum proximitatem, &c.* Le mere des histories, Les annales de France, Les annales d'Acquitaine, Les grandronicqz de Britane, Les petitronicqz de Britane, Lesronicqz de Normandi, Le Rosarie, Les genealogies des roys, Cronicles de Flandres, The chronicles of London, The chronicle called Wynter, The Saxon chronicle of the church of Worcester, The Saxon chronicle of the abbete of Peterborough, The Saxon chronicle written in the yere of Christ eight hundred foure score and five, The chronicles of England. Thus far this catalog. Now peradventure some will loke for a rehearfall omni gatherum of such as haue written in the reigne of our blessed soueraigne: but herein as it passeth our possibilitie to satisfie their expectation, their number being infinit, and manie of them unknowne and vnwozthie of remembrance: so it were to be wished that some fauourer of learned mens fame, would compile their names and woorks in a particular volume, therein imitating either the order of Bale, or Gesner; or else the commendable method of John James the Frislander, printed at Tigurie one thousand five hundred fourescore and thre, either of which courses being taken would well serue the turne.

The conclusion.

\* Thus far (blessed be Christ) the extent of English chronicles; a long labour, of great care and expence: howbeit at length conquered and overcome, by the benefit of his grace who enableth vs to go through with all things that be good: his name be praised therefore. Wherein if the helpe of such as are furnished with varietie of knowledge, or as by gorgeous shew of words and rich pompe of phrase pretend profound skill, had bene as forward to aduance this woрке (being of vnperced magnifude by means of the multitude of contents) as some of late saile, willing to late out their poxe talent, haue afforded what furtherance they were able (some what to the satisfieng of those honest minded men and parteners, at whose great costs and charges the same is now newlie printed, though not to their full contentment who were euer desirous and diuers.

lie made assaies to haue it so absolute, as nothing might want of due perfection, if the meanes might haue bene obtained) the chronicles of England, both for matter & maner, had bene comparable to anie historie or annals in Christendome. Howbeit perfected as it is, though not with exquisit curiosnes to please euerie sickle fanisie, yet according to the proportion of skill vouchsafed of God to the dealers therein (men of commendable diligence though not of deepest iudgement) somewhat to satisfie the well affected and indifferent mind, the same is now come abroad, yielding matter no lesse manifold than the spring doth floures, and the same maruellous frutefull, if they haue their right vse and due application: which indeed is the verie end of histories and chronicles. And so craning a fauorable acceptation of this tedious trauell, with a toleration of all such defaults as haplie therein lie hidden, and by diligent reading maie sone be spied; we wish that they which best maie, would once in their life grow resolute and at a point, in this laudable kind of studie (most necessarie, next to the word of God, for common knowledge) little or much to exercise their head and hand. Finally beseeching God to blesse the realme of England, and the pretious ieiwell of the same (euen god quene Elisabeth) to saue as the apple of his eye; to protect hir with the target of his powe against all the pernicious practises of satans instruments; to lengthen the lines of hir highnesse honorable countelloz, by whose vigilant policie this whole land fauorably the better; in preuenting, intercepting and making frustrat (God directing and prospering their consultations and proceedings) all the attempts of traitors, to whom God in vengeance giue the iudgement of Judas, as they haue bene partakers of his sinne; let them be intangled and taken in the traps of their trecheries, and swallowed up in the seas of deserued confusion, that they be no more a familie. And we beseech God to increase the multitude of loiall subiects, to make them strong in faith towards him, and in loue one with another, that the gospell (which is the doctrine of pacification and obedience) maie be glorified in the commonwealth of England, a corner of the world, O Lord, which thou hast singled out for the magnifieng of thy name.

He, and wherof we praye thee to giue vs a daily remembrance: so shall we make conscience of sin, & addit our selues to the exercises of righteousness, Amen.

F f N f S.







The third table for the Chronicles of England from the conquest vntill this present regiment : wherin the reader is to obserue these notes for his better direction ; namelie, to seeke for the surnames of persons as more commonlie knowne than the proper ; and also when the name faileth to looke for the dignitie, title, office and degree of such persons ; as Armenia, Cipriots, Spaine, France, Portingall, Nauarre, Denmarke, &c ; if they were kings : Archbishop, Bishop, Pope, Carnall, Legat, &c ; if they were Clergiemen : Chancellors, Treasurers, Lord high constables, Lord wardens of the cinque ports, &c ; Duke, Earle, Marquess, Queene, Duchesse, Countesse, &c ; if they were great states : Maior, Sargents at law, Officers, &c : if they were of that degree : knights and esquires excepted, who as they were of renoume, are accordinglie noted by their vsuall names. Likewise for such as haue bene executed as notorious offenders against the prince and the state, to come to the knowledge of their names, looke for the qualitie of their offense ; as counterfeiting, coineclippers, conspiracie and conspirators, murder and murtherers, rebellion and rebels, treason and traitors, preests leminarie, &c : of all which this table affordeth infinit examples. Finallie, wherefoeuer you find this word  
(Note) there dooth matter of confideration come to hand.

If the reader be not satisfied with this table, let him not blame the order, but his owne conceipt. Gathered by Abraham Fleming.

- A.
- A**basie of winchester obtained for monie, 21, a 40  
**Abbat** Agelnothus, ¶ See Agelnothus. Of Battell intersewing winchelsea is put to flight, 427, a 50. Egelsin. ¶ See Egelsin. Egeltwine. ¶ See Egeltwine. Fecknam of westminster instilled, 1132, b 20. Frederike. ¶ See Frederike. Joachim, a man of great fame, 126, a 10. Of Glaffenburie an eris son, 42, a 60. Lofaunge. ¶ See Lofaunge. Danle. ¶ See Danle. Of saint Augustine captiue of an armie, 2 a 10. Of S. Edmundsburie, Robert Lou an earle sonne, 20, a 40. Churstan. ¶ See Churstan. Of westminster dieth suddenlie, 516, b 30. ¶ See Conspiracie.
- Abbas** ordeined by William Rufus, 20, a 60. They and priors deppined, and whie, 30, b 10. Not to be made knights, &c : note, 30, b 50  
**Abbie** of Battell with the roll thereof, 3, a 5. The first of whie monks when and by whom founded, 26, a 60. Of S. Albons repared by Lanfranke, 18, a 60  
**Abbes** builded thre by duke William, 15, a 40. Founded in king Stephans time, 64, b 60  
**Cleuener** out to farne, 26, a 40. Searched and ransacked at duke Williams commandement, 8, b 50. Suppressed, 945, b 50, 946, b 10, 947, b 50. Their lands promised by queene Marie to be restored : note, 1127, b 10, &c. ¶ See Churches and Monneries.
- Aburaton** for speaking against the popes anthoritie, 898, b 30. Of bishop Decocke, 646, a 60. ¶ See Bishop Decocke.
- Abolition** to be purchased from Rome, 214, b 60. Of the clergie sued for from Rome, 201, b 60. Of Oxford by legat Ditho, 222, a 50. For bowes & other offenses, 257, b 60. For an oth obtained, 313, b 60. For the offense of disobedience, 201, b 10. Pronounced by cardinal Howle to the parliament house, 1123, b 10  
**Burgauennie** lord arreigned at westminster, 872, b 10. Resembleth a power against witat, & putteth them to flight, 1094, a 10, b 20  
**Accusation** false for a time preuailed but in fine frustrate : note, 223, b 50, 60. Of a iustice for taking of bribes, 243, b 50. Of two noble men that had the custodie of the king and queene of Scots, 251, a 30. Against prince Henrie to king Henrie the fourth his father, 139, a 10. Unjust rethunderth to the accusants shame, 937, b 60. Interchangeable and doubtfull tried by combat : note, 992, b 60, 993, a 10. False punished, 968, a 50. By the pillorie : note, 1132, b 30. Of a maister against his seruant whereof followed secret vengeance, 1084, b 20, 30  
**Acon** knight his rebellion, surprised, he and his complices condemned of treason and heresie, 544, a 60, b 40  
**Adela** married to Richard Henrie the second his son, 94, a 30  
**Adelicia**. ¶ See Aduene.
- Admonition**. ¶ See warning.
- Adnothus** master of the hoztie to king Harold slaine in fight, 6, a 60  
**Aduenturers**, 875, b 10. Soldiers and whie so called, 880, b 60, 881, a 10. Their capteine slaine, and they discomfited, 882, b 10. Good seruitors, 882, b 60. Slaine and discomfited, their finall end, 883, b 50. ¶ See Kerekers.
- Adule**. ¶ See Emperor.
- Auulerie** punished with hanging, 211, b 60. Seuerelle created in a maiors time of London, 440, b 10. ¶ See Incest and whoredome.
- Auinitie** ¶ See frendship and Marriage.
- Agatha** the mother of Edgar Etheling diuven by tempest into Scotland, 6, a 30  
**Agelmarius** bishop of Chertford deposed and whie, 9, a 20  
**Agelnothus** abbat of Glaffenburie, 5, a 10  
**Agincourt** battell, 552, b 60. When fought, 618, b 20. The number of the slaine, noblemen prisoners, 555, a 50, 60, b 10, &c.
- Agreement**. ¶ See Peace.
- Aire** red as though on fier, 38, a 40. Full of clouds, red, pillow & greene, 102, b 60. Budie of colour as thought burned and of a sanguine hue, 142, a 10. Seemed to be on a bright fier, 167, a 40. ¶ See Sights.
- Aiske** a towne, burned by the English, 810, b 30  
**Aiane** earle of Britaine arraigned by duke William his uncle, 7, a 60  
**Aiane** the blacke earle, slaine, 7, b 20  
**Aiane le Roux**, slaine, 7, b 20  
**Aian** the son of Stephan, 7, b 30  
**Aianon** besieged & payed vp, 561, a 40
- Albemarle** besieged by French king, 146, b 30. Wone by the earle of flanders, 88, b 30  
**Albemarle** William, whose son should haue bene made king of England, 22, a 10  
**Alberic** ruler of Northumberland, 13, a 40  
**Albertus** de Lasco, &c : his coming into England, 1353, b Cj.
- Aldepreareth** for his returne into Poland, 1354, b 60. Described, 1355, a 10. Interretted at Oxford, 50, 60, b 10. His departing thence, 20, ¶ See Poland.
- Alberman** of London his anthoritie, 120, a 30. Seuen deceased within the space of ten moneths, 1209, b 60, 1132, b 10  
**Almshouses**, Charitie, Londoners, and Scholre.
- Aligitha** queene, sister to Edwin & Mercia sent to Chertford, 1, a 30  
**Alized** archbishop of York, 1, a 40. Crowned duke William, 1, b 20. And Edward queene, 6, a 60. Dieth for griefe, b 60.  
**Alexander** king of Scots deceased, the manner thereof, 283, a 10  
**Alexander** bishop of Lincolne fled into Scotland, 8, a 30  
**Alexander** Robert. ¶ See Justs triumphant.
- Alexander**. ¶ See Pope.
- Alice** the daughter of eric Monarchie sold for monie, 84, a 60, 791  
**Alum** deere, 1377, b 30  
**Almaine** great and tall encountered withall by the duke of Suffolke, 833, b 60, 834, a 10  
**Almes**. ¶ See Charitie.
- Almshouses** for the poore, 1311, b 20. Within Bishopsgate, 1062, b 30. Of David Smith for poore widows, 1375, b 50, 1376. For the reliefe of the poore, 1377, b 30  
**Aluramunot** king of the Saracens killeth himselfe dead, 124, a 20
- Altars** taken downe and tables set in their rowe, 1062, b 10  
**Ambsadour** into Denmarke, 892, b 10. 1344. a 20, 30, &c. Sent into France, 110, b 10, 167, a 50, 205, a 60, 209, a 20, 257, a 20, 336, a 20, 351, a 50, 477, a 30, 485, b 30, 546, b 30, 849, a 10, &c : 1229, a 10.

# The third table for the

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**Embassadoz** **ligier** of **Spain**. **¶ See** **Spinoza**.

**Embassage** **disdainfull**, 545, a 10. **Royal** into **France**, 477, a 60.

**Emberwillers** **castell** taken, 589, a 60.

**Amphibalus** **body** found and buried at **saint Albons**, 101, b 30.

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**Ambrion** was **Iselme** loth to be suspected of, 28, a 10. **Of** **earle Robert** of **Normberland**, 22, b 10. **Of** **earle John**, 132, b 40. **In** the **French** and **Spanish** kings aspiring to the empire, 851, a 40, 8c. **Of** **archbishop** **Churkane** notable, 38, b 10. **Of** **bishop** **Longchampe**, 129, a 10. **Of** an old aged **bishop** of **Durham**: note, 119, b 40, 50, 60. **Of** **earles** **fuing** to be kings, 1, a 30. **Of** two **archbishops**, 39, b 60. **Of** **bishops**, 38, b 20. **Contentious**, 121, a 30. **Of** two monks labouring for an abbasie, 18, b 60. **Of** **mansnate**, 76, a 40, 714, a 30. **The** working thereof, 739, b 60. **And** **fruits** thereof: noted in **Robert**, 12, a 30. **It** will haue a fall: note, 734, b 60. **Note** the whole **storie**, from page 1083, a 60, b 10, 8c. 1084, b 10, 8c. **¶ See** **Selim** and **Turke**.

**Amsterdam** a towne of great concurse and commerce, inexpugnable, 1430, b 30, 50.

**Anabaptists** **do** **penance** and are burned, 946, a 40, 50. **Their** **heresies**, **recantation**, and **penance** at **Pauls** **croffe**, 1260, b 10, 20, 30, 8c. **Washed** in **Smithfield**, 1261, b 40. **Wanne** in **Amsterdam**, 1430, b 40.

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**Angiers** **citie** taken, 158, b 30. **Wome** of **king John** by **assault**, 170, a 30. **And** by him repaired, 170, b 30.

**Anglois** **inutrone** with the sea, 23, a 40.

**Angoleime** recovered by the **Frenchmen**, 369, a 30.

**Antou**, a **rode** made thereunto by the duke of **Clarence**, 779, b 60.

**Anne** **Askeu** and others **are** **reigned** and **acquied**, 968, b 10, 8c.

**Anne** **Bullen** created **marthionelle** of **Denbroke**, 928, b 30. **¶ See** **Deuene**.

**Anne** of **Cleue**, a marriage betweene **hir** and **king Henrie** the **eight** concluded, 947, b 60. **She** is received at **Calis**, landeth in **Kent**, the order of **hir** **receiving** on **Blackheath**, 948, a 40, b 30. **The** **meeting** of **hir** and the king, **hir** **chariot** wherein she rode all **hir** **iourne**, **hir** **welcome** to **Greenewich**, 949, a 50, b 20, 60. **She** is married to **king Henrie** the **eight**, 950, a 10, 8c. **At** **quene Maries** **coponation**, 1091, a 30. **Deceafeth**, 1133, b 60.

**Anneses** **forbidden** to be paid to the pope, 928, a 40.

**Annuities**. **¶ See** **Patents**.

**Anselme** **archbishop** of **Canterburie** elected, 20, a 60. **At** **strike** with **william Rufus**, and **whir**, 24, a 10. **His** **gift** for **his** **paiment** to **william Rufus** and **his** **honest** **satisfaction**, 22, b 10. **¶ See** **Archbishop**. **Prepared** to avoid the **realme** by **ship**, and **complaint** to the pope of **william Rufus**, 26, a 10. **His** **admonition** from **Rome** to **william Rufus**, **returneth** into **England**, 27, b 60. **At** the **instance** of **Hugh** **earle** of **Chester** **cometh** **ouer** into **England**, 28, a 10. **Restored** home, 28, b 20. **Goeeth** to **Rome**, 31, b 20. **Denieth** to **do** **homage** to **Henrie** the **first**: note, 29, a 50. **Holdeth** a **counsell** at **Wellminster**: note, and **what** was there decreed, 30, a 60. **Refuseth** to **consecrate** the **bishops** **inuested** by the king, 31, a 60. **Banished**, and **his** **see** **seized** upon into the **kings** **hands**, 32, a 10. **Received** into **Henrie** the **firsts** **fauour** and **returneth** home, 33, b 20, 30. **Held** a **synod**, and **what** was there decreed, 34, b 10. **Writeth** to **pope** **Paschall** that he would not send **archbishop** **Thomas** of **York** **his** **pall**, 35, a 20. **His** **cursie** feared of **king Henrie** the **first** and **his** **bishops**, 36, b 30. **He** **faileth** **sicke**, 35, b 60. **His** **death**, and **what** **countrie** **man** **he** **was**, 36, a 30.

**Antedating** of the **kings** **scale** **treasonable** and so executed, 953, a 20.

**Anticipation**. **¶ See** **Subsidie**.

**Antipape**, 421, a 50, b 50, 475, a 10, 535, a 10, 24, b 20. **¶ See** **Fitzico**, **Dope**, and **Schilme**.

**Antiquitie** **reuerenced**, note the meaning of the **proclamation**, 1321, b 30. **Presented** unto **quene Elizabeth** at **Notwich**, 1293, b 30, 1294, a 60, b 10.

**Antwerpe** **entred** into by the **Spaniards** who played the **cruell** **tyrants**, 1263, a 10. **In** **terteine** the duke of **Blanson** **right** **royallie**: note, 1332, 1333, 8c: 101344, a 10. **He** **waileth** at the duke of **Blanson** **coming**, 1331, a 60. **¶ See** **Duke** of **Blanson**.

**Apparell** of **king Henrie** the **eight** at **his** **coponation**, 801, a 40. **Running** at the ring, 805, b 60. **Of** **him** and **his** **nobles** going to meet **Marilian**, 810, a 10, 20. **After** the taking of **Copnaie**, 822, b 60. **Sumptuous** at **quene Annes** **coponation**, 931, a 10, 8c, b 60. **Of** the duke of **Blanson** **whereat** the **French** **wondered**, 1337, a 10. **Of** **william Rufus** counted **gorgeous** then, but now **verie** **simple**, 27, b 40. **Of** **Edward** the **second** **gorgeous** and **triumphant**, 322, a 20. **Sumptuous** of **Richard** the **second**, 501, b 40. **Of** **sir John** **Arundell** **verie** **sumptuous**, 423, b 50. **Strange** of **prince Henrie**, **sonne** to **Henrie** the **fourth**, 539, a 30. **Gorgeous** of **Richard** the **second** **court**: note, at the **verie** end of **his** **storie**, 544. **Of** **Edward** the **fourth** at an **interview** with the **French** king, 699, a 60, b 10, 8c. **Sumptuous** of the **earle** of **Nottingham**, 791, a 60. **Sumptuous** of the duke of **Buckingham**, 801, a 10. **Of** **great** **estates**, 825, a 20. **Statelie** in **France** at a **tit**, 834, a 30. **Of** the **earle** of **Shurie** **receiving** the **French** **kings** **ambassadors**, 148, a 40. **Statelie** of the **duchie** of **Wabant**, 1336, a 20. **Of** the **monieur** of **Wabant**, 1333, b 60. **Of** the king of **England** and **France** at an **interview**, 851, a 50, b 60, 859, a 60, 866, a 20, 30, 40. **Right** **gorgeous** in a **show**, 807, b 40. **Faire** **lutes** **giuen** by **king John** and the **archbishop** of **Canterburie** to their **seruants**: note, 163, a 60. **Disguised** **souldiers** in **womens** **apparell**: note, 1188, b 40. **Of** **women** wherein a **bishop** **disguiseth** himselfe, 132, a 10. **Castie** **forbidden**, 111, b 40. **An** **act** for it, 353, a 40, 396, b 40. **Of** a knight all not worth **four** **hillings**, 1099, b 20. **Changed** from robes to rags: note, 460, b 30. **¶ See** **Wafke**.

**Apparition**. **¶ See** **Wifion**.

**Appeales** to **Rome**, 213, a 40, 133, a 60, 98, a 50, 210, a 30. **Forbidden**, 8c, 74, a 30. **Of** the **prince** of **Wales** before the **French** king, 401, a 20.

**Appletre**. **¶ See** **Gun**.

**Apprentices** at **what** **time** **admitted** to **fellowships** of **companies**, 120, a 20.

**Aques** **belieged** by **earle Richard**, **Henrie** the **second** **sonne**, 99, b 40.

**Aquitane** full of **warre**, 603, a 50. **The** **grant** **thereof** to the duke of **Lancaster** **reueked**, 485, b 10. **Reuered** by the **French**, the **digitie** and **state** of that **duke**, 641, a 40, 50.

**Arbitrement** of **certeine** **grace** persons in the **strife** betweene **william Rufus** and **his** **brother** **Robert** **reueked**, and **whie**, 21, a 60.

**Archbishop** **Alidze** **submiteth** himselfe to **duke** **william**, 1, a 50. **¶ See** **Alidze**. **Anselme**, **¶ See** **Anselme**. **Arundell** of **Canterburie** **his** **answer** for the **clergie**, he **chafeth**, the **kings** **answer** to him, 526, a 20, 40, 60. **Wald** **duke** of **Canterburie** **deceafeth**, 130, b 50. **Exhorted** men to go to **warre** against the **Soracens**, 108, a 40. **Wom** **face** of **Canterburie** **duke** to **quene** **Elisabeth**, 225, a 60. **Described**, and **how** he came to be **advanced**, 226, a 60. **He** **deceafeth**, 767, a 30. **Courtneie** of **Canterburie** **his** **visitation**, 483, b 60. **He** **excommunicate** the **wick** **rits**: note, 484, a 10. **Authorized** by the pope to **leue** **four** **pence** of the **pound**, 8c: note, 485, a 20. **Cramer** of **Canterburie**, 929, b 30. **¶ See** **Cramer**. **Edmund** of **Canterburie** **getteth** him to **Pontme** to **remain** in **voluntarie** **exile**, 224, b 60. **What** **caused** him to **depart** **England**, **his** **death** and **sur** **name**, **reputed** a **saint**, 225, a 10, 20. **Grindall** of **Canterburie** **elected**, 1262, a 30. **Deceafeth**, 1354, a 20. **Heath** of **Canterburie** **his** **woords** **uttered** in the **parlement** **house** **touching** the **procla** **ming** of **quene Elizabeth**, 1170, a 40. **Lord** **chancel** **lor**, 1130, b 40. **Hubert** **re** **lected** of **Canterburie**, **lord** **cheefe** **iustice**, 140, a 30, 145, b 30. **Complained** of to the pope, 153, a 20. **His** **woords** at the **coponation** of **king John**, 158, b 60. **Lord** **chan** **celor**, to the **mislike** of some: note, 159, b 30. **Deceafeth**, 169, a 50. **Lanfranke**. **¶ See** **Lanfranke**. **Langton** of **Canterburie** **elected** **whiles** **two** **others** **were** **striving** **for** **it**, 171, a 10. **Heuill** of **Canterburie** **commended**, 213, a 60. **His** **conditions**, b 10, 8c. **Darker** of **Canterburie** **deceafeth**, 1261, a 10. **His** **com** **mendation**, 20. **Benefactor** **diuerse** **waies**, 40, 50, 60. **¶ See** **Darker**. **Rafe** of **Canterburie** **returne** into **Eng** **land** **out** of **Normandie**, 41, a 10. **Dieth**, 42, a 60. **Reignolds** **election** of **Canterburie** **had** **much** **discord**, 169, a 60. **Richard** of **Canterburie** **elected** **receiveth** **his** **pall**, 37, b 20. **His** **consecration** **disurberd**, 85, b 60. **His** **death**, and **con** **ditions**: note, 108, a 40. **Rob** **ert** of **Canterburie** **accused** by **Edward** the **first** to the pope, **suspended**, 313, b 50. **Roger** of **Canterburie**, 64, b 20. **Sanage** of **Canterburie** **deceafeth**, 795, b 30. **Ses** **phan** of **Canterburie** **deceafeth**, 210, a 10. **Strigand**. **¶ See** **Strigand**. **Stratford** of **Canterburie** in **Edward** the

the **thi** **rest** **to** **come** **to** **30**, **60** **turbur** **four**, 42. **Canu** **a** **60**. **D** **mas**, 9, **wother** **turbur** **gift** **doe** **full** **for** **the** **arm** **he** **inot** **he** **anfor** **tic**, 135. **the** **priu** **60**, **will**

**Archbishop** **primat** **made** **t** **b** **50**. **W** **castell**, **of** **the** **re** **to** **Rom** **power** **le** **and** **kin** **tion** **and** **teine** **of** **i** **by** **from** **1**, **b** **20**, **by** **the** **5** **490**, **b** **perpetue** **a** **50**. **Hi** **ment** **in** **clergie**, **t** **ed** **from** **8c**: **301**, **l** **assat**, **b** **20**, **50**, **f** **of** **the** **p** **238**, **a** **6** **6**, **514**, **a** **60**, **f** **made** **fre** **stander** **the** **stied** **clergie**, **i** **the** **earle** **to** **Rome** **turne** **fr** **30**, **8c**. **W** **contentio** **ga** **and** **ic** **England**

**Archbishops** **primat** **cited** **by** **shops** **of** **1** **Sentence** **pope**, **9**, **i** **Rome**, **ant** **strie**, **35**, **maie**: **not** **rough** **ant** **both** **perfo** **secration** **10**, **8c**. **At** **seruice** **at** **the** **first**, **4** **for** **carrien** **142**, **b** **20**. **Henrie** **the** **b** **30**. **Of** **his** **bo** **four** **Henrie** **the**

**Archbishops** **from** **the** **fir** **names** **and** **downe** **in** **a**

**Archbhop** **W** **York**, **119**, **i** **his** **pall**, **13** **ten** **to** **pri** **son** **Deputed** **ar** **Restored** **to** **163**, **b** **20**. **Sh** **realme**, **170**, **i**

# Chronicles of England.

the thirds displeasure, he writeth unto him, resolutely to come to the court, 361, a 10, 30, 60. Shaddurie of Canturburie made lord chancellor, 424, b 50. Theobald of Canturburie consecrated, 50, a 60. Deceased, 68, b 60. Thomas, 9, a 20. *¶* *Shē* Thomas, whether he elected to Canturburie, 210, a 10. Whithers gift doctor of divinitie, thankfull for his advancements, the armes of both sees which he imoied blasoned, his possi answerable to his properties, 1355, b 30, *¶* *Shē* Made of the priute counsell, 1434, b 60. William of Canturburie, 42, a 60.

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**Archer** god was Henrie the eight, 806, a 40.

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**Archers Irish**, 986, a 20. Discomfited, 984, b 40. *¶* *Shē* Inclosures.

**Arden** assaulted by the Englishmen, 522, b 40.

**Arden** murdered by the means of his wife a notable whore: note, 1062, b 40, *¶* *Shē*.

**Arden**, *¶* *Shē* Sumernull, 819, a 30.

**Arks** beleaged, 819, a 30.

**Arlet** duke William Conquerors mother the daughter of a burgesse, 20, a 10.

**Armach** in Ireland, where the see metropolitane is, 100, b 40.

**Armenia**, the king thereof cometh over into England for aid against the Turkes, 448, b 50. Sueth for a safeconduct to come into England, which is denied him, 453, b 30. Would gladly that a peace betwene England and France should be concluded, 480, b 30.

**Armetrids** the wife of Hugh Lou earle of Chester, 20, a 40.

**Armie** called the armie of God and the holie church, 185, a 50.

**Armour**, and an ordinance for the same, 105, a 30. *¶* *Shē* England.

**Arnalt knight** his ballantine, 997, a 10, 40.

**Arrogancie** of Becket blamed, 77, b 10. *¶* *Shē* Ambition and pride.

**Arslacide**, *¶* *Shē* Saracens.

**Arthur** made aware by means of his uncle king John, and while, 7, b 30.

**Arthur** the eldest and first son of Henrie the seventh boine, 769, b 10. Had carnall knowledge with his wife, he is sent into wales, 789, a 50, 60, b 20. Deceased, 790, b 10.

**Arthur** Plantagenet created vicount Lisle, 878, a 50. Deceased in the tower, 955, a 60. *¶* *Shē* Plantagenet.

**Arthur** of Britaine. *¶* *Shē* Duke.

**Arundell** castle beleaged, 30, a 50.

**Arundell knight** drowned, his excellence and sumptuous apparel, 423, b 10, 60.

**Aske** a notable rebel pardoned: note, 942, b 30. He and others pacific to raise a new rebellion, 944, a 10, *¶* *Shē*. He with his coparteners is executed, 944, b 30.

**Assassini**, *¶* *Shē* Saracens.

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672	in	in
673	an	an
674	811	811
675	24	24
676	fer	fer
677	pi	pi
678	ag	ag
679	noi	noi
680	251	251
681	dji	dji
682	rag	rag
683	261	261
684	mei	mei
685	40	40
686	ing	ing
687	271	271
688	spd	spd
689	ing	ing
690	281	281
691	sh	sh
692	fr	fr
693	314	314
694	h	h
695	320	320
696	330	330
697	340	340
698	350	350
699	360	360
700	370	370
701	380	380
702	390	390
703	400	400
704	410	410
705	420	420
706	430	430
707	440	440
708	450	450
709	460	460
710	470	470
711	480	480
712	490	490
713	500	500
714	510	510
715	520	520
716	530	530
717	540	540
718	550	550
719	560	560
720	570	570
721	580	580
722	590	590
723	600	600
724	610	610
725	620	620
726	630	630
727	640	640
728	650	650
729	660	660
730	670	670
731	680	680
732	690	690
733	700	700
734	710	710
735	720	720
736	730	730
737	740	740
738	750	750
739	760	760
740	770	770
741	780	780
742	790	790
743	800	800
744	810	810
745	820	820
746	830	830
747	840	840
748	850	850
749	860	860
750	870	870
751	880	880
752	890	890
753	900	900
754	910	910
755	920	920
756	930	930
757	940	940
758	950	950
759	960	960
760	970	970
761	980	980
762	990	990
763	1000	1000

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*These faults to be amended. For Sir John Perot, read Pollard, pag. 1551, b. 10. For sealed read fildome, 1555, b. 50. For Henry: the first read the second, 1548, b. 50.*  
The rest good reader, as judgement shall lead thee, reforme.

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Maiesties reigne, with the full continuation of the  
former yeares, at the expenses of Iohn Hari-  
son, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie,  
Henrie Denham, and Tho-  
mas Woodcocke.



AT LONDON  
*Printed in Aldersgate street at the signe  
of the Starre.*

Cum priuilegio.